

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF SIKHISM

Volume II
E—L

HARBANS SINGH
Editor-in-Chief



PUNJABI UNIVERSITY, PATIALA



PUNJABI UNIVERSITY PATIALA
(Established under Punjab Act No. 35 of 1961)

Patron :

Dr. Jaspal Singh
Vice-Chancellor

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Harbans Singh	Editor-in-Chief
Harminder Singh Kohli	Assistant Editor
Sardar Singh Bhatia	Reader
Dharam Singh	Reader
Gurnek Singh	Lecturer
Gurmukh Singh (Major)	Research Assistant
Gurcharan Singh Giani	Research Scholar

ISBN 81-7380-204-1

Third Edition : 2011
Copies : 1100
Price : Rs. 800-00

To the memory of my wife
KAILASH KAUR

PREFACE

“Encyclopaedias do not grow on trees,” I had read somewhere as I was browsing among materials in the library. My object was to delve deeper into the mystique of the *genre* preparatory to drawing up my own plan of work on an Encyclopaedia of Sikhism I had been assigned to by the Syndicate of the Punjabi University. But I was not daunted by the dictum. I let it pass up. However, the admonishment it contained was not entirely lost upon me. I knew it would by no means be an easy task. It would be hard, arduous labour all the way up, demanding unceasing search and toil. I was not totally unaware of it, nor unprepared for it.

The Sikh Encyclopaedia was the brainchild of Professor Kirpāl Singh Nāraṅg who was then the vice-chancellor of the Punjabi University. He had worked overtime to draw up for the University an elaborate programme in honour of the 300th anniversary of the birth of Gurū Gobind Singh, the tenth Gurū or prophet-mentor of the Sikhs, which came off in 1966-67. The celebrations bequeathed to Paṭiālā two permanent monuments; one, Gurū Gobind Singh Bhavan, an intriguing, modern-looking structure, planted as if it were in the heart of the University campus and, second, a department of Religion, embracing the study of five world traditions — Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Sikhism, with the sixth, Jainism, diving in from the side a little later. Prior to putting down his plans on paper the vice-chancellor had taken a special trip out to Harvard University to seek the advice of the famous Professor Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Director, Center for the Study of World Religions. The department at Paṭiālā was going to be the first academic set-up of its kind in India where Religion in the academe had been considered a highly combustible substance and where everyone seemed to have a hush-hush attitude towards it. Professor Kirpāl Singh Nāraṅg, with the weight of his argument and with a dash of prescience, had his way. He linked up the academic programme with the Gurū Gobind Singh celebrations and made it look generally as acceptable as the latter. When working out the courses of study and syllabi for the various traditions it soon became obvious that Sikhism among them was the least well-served by existing literary and historical materials. The suggestion emerged that the creation of a comprehensive reference work would be the first thing to do. The vice-chancellor promptly spelt out the title — the Encyclopaedia of Sikhism — and simultaneously nominated the chairman of the Gurū Gobind Singh Department of Religious Studies to take charge of the matter.

How simplistic were the notions I had been nurturing in my mind began soon to dawn upon me. Also readily began to show up the shortcomings in the scheme I had devised. I had planned that, since it would not be practicable to collect under one roof specialists in different fields, most of the articles of the Encyclopaedia would be written by “outside” experts and that we would have a small editorial unit at the University to shepherd the

PREFACE

manuscripts, fact-check them, and revise them to ensure some kind of a literary discipline and symmetry. It seems I was not above exaggerating my own editorial experience and capacities. Three or four of the scholars whose names were on the top of my list were too busy and were chary of putting anything additional on their plate. They declined our invitations. This in fact turned out to be the principal pitfall. The number of contributors we could call upon fell dismally short of our needs. Scholars with experience of research in Sikh studies and of specialized writing were few and far between. Our choice was thus severely limited. In some cases our invitations for articles got accumulated in a few pairs of hands and our files were soon bursting at the seams with copies of reminders we had had to send out chasing after our contributors. We had to wait for long periods of time before securing manuscripts from them.

Still we had no choice except to adhere to the plan we had originally prepared.

Then we had no precedents to go by. On Sikh doctrine no concisely argued work existed. Even historical fact was far from well sifted. To this may be added the paucity of reliable and firm documentation. Authorities of whatever vintage hopelessly contradicted one another. This, despite the fact that most of the Sikh enterprise had occurred within the full view of history! It seems the focus has been woefully warped at some point. Efforts at rectification have remained tentative. It is not easy to restate and repack the entire range of information and knowledge of a people. An attempt has been made here precisely to define the ideas and terms of Sikhism. The writing is intended to be simple and tight, shunning the purple and the loose alike. The aim throughout has been clarity and precision.

Bypassing Amritsar, religious headquarters of Sikhism, as well as Anandpur Sāhib, the birthplace of the Khālsā, Paṭiālā became the focus of the world-wide Gurū Gobind Singh celebrations in 1966-67. It is not on record if any other anniversary on the Sikh calendar had been observed with similar zeal and eclat. M.A. Macauliffe (1841-1913), British historian of the Sikhs, did draw their attention to the 200th birth anniversary of the Khālsā, due in 1899, but the event did not draw much popular attention. However, the tercentenary of Gurū Gobind Singh's birth, 67 years later, was an event celebrated round the globe with unprecedented fervour. Festive and academic programmes to mark the occasion were set up in many parts of the world. The largest share of the responsibility was claimed by Paṭiālā where Gurū Gobind Singh Foundation was formed to direct and guide the celebrations.

The chief minister of the Punjab, Rām Kishan, called, on 8 August 1965, a convention representative of the religious, literary and lay elements in the life of the country. This gathering was the precursor of the permanent body called the Gurū Gobind Singh Foundation. Mahārājā Yādavinder Singh (1913-1974) of Paṭiālā was chosen to be the president of the Foundation and a sum of Rs 12 lakhs was set apart for the celebrations by the State government in its annual budget which amount was, happily through an oversight, most unusual for a financial set-up anywhere in the world, repeated in the following year's budget. The Foundation was thus born with a "silver spoon" in its mouth.

The next meeting of the Foundation took place in the chandeliered hall of the palace of the Mahārājā of Paṭiālā, with a large portrait of Mahārājā Ālā Singh, 18th century Sikh hero and founder of the Paṭiālā dynasty, overlooking the assembly from one side and the Hungarian painter August Schoefft's famous canvas depicting Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's court with a replica in gold of the Amritsar Golden Temple underneath it, from the other.

PREFACE

Past and present thus converged at the time of that small Sikh assembly on 30 November 1965, refracting history into the current moment. Chandīgarh, the State capital, was named the headquarters of the Foundation with Giānī Zail Singh as the general secretary. One of the several committees appointed was charged with planning and bringing out literature appropriate to the occasion. From the offices of the Foundation soon began to flow a steady stream of literature comprising a commemoration volume, illustrated books for young readers, annotated editions of Gurū Gobind Singh's works, and a biography of Gurū Gobind Singh in English which was simultaneously translated into all major Indian languages such as Saṅskrit, Hindī, Punjabi, Beṅgālī, Assamese, Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Oṛiyā, Sindhī, Tamil, Telugū, Malayālam, Kannaḍa, Kashmīrī and Maithilī.

In this spontaneous enthusiasm for anniversary celebration is reflected the Sikhs' response to the historical memory of the Gurūs and to the important events of their history. Visible here is also their deep commitment to their faith, their joyous and urgent participation in their historical tradition, their cohesion and their love of the spectacular.

The burgeoning of interest in the study of Sikhism brought to light the grave paucity of materials on Sikhism, highlighting at the same time the need for serious academic research and study. The present publication aims at supplying the gap. The purpose of the undertaking was to prepare in English and Punjabi a general reference work about Sikh religion. The work was to be comprehensive in scope and was to cover topics such as Sikh theology, philosophy, history, ethics, literature, art, ceremonies, customs, personalities, shrines, sects, etc. The details of the scheme were worked out under the aegis of an advisory committee consisting of leading scholars of the day — Dr Bhāi Jodh Singh, Dr Gaṇḍā Singh, Professor Gurbachan Singh Tālib, Dr Faujā Singh, Dr Tāran Singh and Professor Gulwanṭ Singh. The staff originally provided consisted of the Editor (Professor Harbaṅs Singh), two Assistant Editors (Dr Harkīrat Singh and Professor Harminder Singh Kohli; the former was on his retirement replaced by Dr Jodh Singh), two Senior Research Fellows (Sardār Singh Bhāṭīā and G.S. Nayyar), one Research Associate (Dharam Singh), two Research Assistants (Gurnek Singh and Major Gurmukh Singh), and Research Scholar (Giānī Gurcharan Singh). Some initial exploration was made by Himat Singh.

The first task was to compile a list of subject-titles to be included in the Encyclopaedia. To this end, the staff, in the first instance, rummaged through libraries — on the campus, the University Library, Bhāi Mohan Singh Vaid collection and Bhāi Kāhn Singh collection, and off the campus, the Motībāgh Palace library, and the State Archives, and compiled a list of likely topics. A list of nearly 4,000 titles thus emerged. At the same time a roster of likely authors was prepared. This comprised lists in Punjabi and in English. Those who did not write in English were free to write in Punjabi. We had their work translated into English.

Having to work on a long-term project has its own hazards. I passed through several health crises. At one point, I was incapacitated following an eye-surgery, but was, thanks to the skill and devoted care of the surgeon, Dr Robert M. Johnston, Leeburg, U.S.A., rescued from a hopeless situation recovering the full use of the eye. In 1989 I was felled by a stroke which led to serious physical decrepity but, fortunately, left my mental faculties generally intact. This was all the Gurū's own mercy and I was able to continue my work on the Encyclopaedia. A tragedy hit me on the eve of the release of this volume. My beloved wife, Kailāsh Kaur, who had waited for a long time for the consummation of

PREFACE

my life's work and who had nursed me most lovingly throughout this period, passed away suddenly on 12 November 1992, leaving me utterly forlorn and shaken.

I must record here my gratitude to the Punjabi University for providing me with the necessary facilities and help. Successive vice-chancellors after Professor Kirpāl Singh Nāraṅg, namely, Mrs Inderjit Kaur Sandhū, Dr Amrīk Singh, Dr S.S. Johl, Dr Bhagat Singh and Dr H.K. Manmohan Singh nursed the project with all their heart, and treated me personally with much courtesy and affection. Dr H.K. Manmohan Singh has especially been alive to its scholarly needs and I am very happy that the first volume is being issued during his time. The first thing the newly arrived Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Dr J.S. Puār, did upon stepping on the campus was graciously to call upon the ailing editor-in-chief. On that occasion and subsequently he had many a positive word to say about the Encyclopaedia project. I need scarcely say how delighted I am to see the Encyclopaedia in print. I trust it will fulfil the hopes with which it was launched and help fertilize Sikh learning. I feel especially gratified fulfilling the promise I made to the academic fraternity several years ago. To my colleagues I render my heart-felt, affectionate thanks for the solid manner in which they stood by me, through thick and thin. Dr Hazārā Singh, Head, Publication Bureau, who has earned wide acclaim for himself in this part of the country by his contribution to the art of printing, had reserved his special love for this publication. I must thank him for the attention and care he gave it. I must not omit the name of Santosh Kumār, my P.A., who very cheerfully gave this work many of his Sundays and holidays especially after I had been struck down and spent many a long hour when taking down notes trying to come to terms with my speech somewhat lispied by the malady. I thank him and all the rest of my colleagues for bearing with me so sportingly.

A-1, Punjabi University
Patiala
12 December 1992

HARBANS SINGH
Editor-in-Chief

TRANSCRIPTION/PRONUNCIATION KEY FOR NON-ENGLISH WORDS/PHRASES

Certain names and terms have been used in the text in their original Punjabi form. In order to facilitate their correct pronunciation, the following key has been used while transcribing the original into the Roman script:

Punjabi phonemes (Gurmukhī script)	Hindi/Sanskrit phonemes (Devanāgarī script)	Urdu/Persian Arabic phonemes (Persian script)	Roman script equivalents
Letter/Vowel symbol	Letter/Vowel symbol	Letter/Vowel symbol	
ਅ	अ	ا	a
ਆ	आ	آ	ā
ਇ	इ	اِ	i
ਈ	ई	اِي	ī
ਉ	उ	اُ	u
ਊ	ऊ	اُو	ū
ਏ	ए	اِے	e
ਐ	ऐ	اِے	ai
ਓ	ओ	او	o
ਔ	औ	او	au
ਸ	स	س	s
ਹ	ह	ح	h
ਕ	क	ك	k
ਖ	ख	خ	kh
ਗ	ग	گ	g
ਘ	घ	غ	gh
ਙ	ङ	ن	ṅ
ਚ	च	چ	ch or c (1)
ਛ	छ	چھ	chh or ch (1)
ਜ	ज	ج	j
ਝ	झ	جھ	jh
ਞ	ञ	ن	ṅ
ਟ	ट	ٹ	t
ਠ	ठ	ٹھ	th
ਡ	ड	ڈ	d
ਢ	ढ	ڈھ	ḍh
ਨ	ण	ن	ṇ

TRANSCRIPTION/PRONUNCIATION KEY FOR NON-ENGLISH WORDS/PHRASES

Punjabi phonemes (Gurmukhī script) Letter/Vowel symbol	Hindi/Sanskrit phonemes (Devanāgarī script) Letter/Vowel symbol	Urdu/Persian Arabic phonemes (Persian script) Letter/Vowel symbol	Roman script equivalents
<p>ੳ ਥ ਦ ਧ ਨ ਪ ਫ ਬ ਮ ਯ ਰ ਲ ਕ ਙ ਖ ਗ ਜ ਞ</p>	<p>त थ द ध न प फ ब भ म य र ल क ङ श</p>	<p>ت ، ط ث د ن پ ف ب م ی ر ل ک ج غ ذ ز ض ظ ف</p>	<p>t th d dh n p ph b bh m y r l v, w (2) r (3) rh sh, ś kh gh z f</p>
	<p>ऋ ष क्ष त्र ज्ञ</p>	<p>ع</p>	<p>r (4) ṣ (4) kṣ tr jñ, gi, gy (5) 'followed by vowel symbol q</p>

TRANSCRIPTION/PRONUNCIATION KEY FOR NON-ENGLISH WORDS/PHRASES

Nasalization

- (i) ñ preceding ढ, ङ, ञ, झ, ञ, ङ, ञ, ङ, ञ, ङ, ञ
 - (ii) ñ preceding च, छ, ज, झ, ञ
 - (iii) ñ preceding ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ञ
 - (iv) n preceding उ, ष, द, ध, न
 - (v) m preceding प, फ, ब, भ, म
- (1) Normally ch represents the sound च, च or च and chh has been used for the heavier phoneme छ, छ or च्च but in exceptional cases while transliterating Sanskrit terms or texts, c and ch have been used for the two sounds, respectively.
 - (2) Normally v has been used to represent Punjabi ਵ or Hindi व and w to represent و of Persian script in words of Persio-Arabic origin such as *koṭwāl*, *fatwā*, etc. There are, however, exceptions, as in the case of *divān* (religious assembly or congregation) and *diwān* (title or institutional designation), or Goindvāl (place name in India) and Gujrañwālā or Peshāwar (place names in Pakistan). W has also been used in certain personal names where the individuals concerned are known to have used it when spelling their own names. For instance, Balwant Singh, Jawāharlāl, Tiwāṇā, etc.
 - (3) In spelling some place names, ḍ has been used for ङ to follow prevalent usage, e.g. Nānded and Jinvaḍā. There may be found some other instances where current usage has been preserved, as in Scindā, Gwālior, Lucknow or Phagwārā.
 - (4) Use of r and ṣ has been made sparingly in Sanskrit names and texts only. At other places ri and sh has been used to transliterate ऋ and ष respectively. Examples are (Lord) Kṛṣṇa and (Gurū Har) Kṛṣhan.
 - (5) jñ for ञ is used only in spelling ज्ञ (jñān) and its derivatives in Sanskrit or classical context. Elsewhere gy or gi has been used as in Gyān or, more often, Giān.

USE OF ITALICS AND DIACRITICS

All non-English words, phrases and texts are printed in italics with diacritical marks as indicated in the transcription key. There is, however, an exception. Under 'Bibliography' diacritics are used only where works cited are in Indian languages or in Persian. In the case of works in English or other European languages, diacritics have not been used even for the names of the authors though they be Indian. Italics and diacritics have also not been used in names of countries and of languages.

DATES

Dates are generally given in the Christian era. Where, however, Bikramī or Hijri dates are cited in the original sources, they have also been made use of along with corresponding Christian era dates.

ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Anno Domini (Christian era)
AH	Hijri era
b.	born in
BC	Before Christ
Bk	Bikramī era
c.	circa
d.	died in
e.g.	for example
f./ff.	folio/folios
GG	Sri Gurū Granth Sāhib
i.e.	that is
km	kilometre (s)
lit.	literally
MS./MSS.	manuscript/manuscripts
p./pp.	page/pages
Skt.	Sanskrit

CONTRIBUTORS

A.C.B.	A.C. Banerjee
A.S.	Amrīk Siᅅgh
A.S.S.	Ajīt Siᅅgh Sarhadī
Ad.S.	Ardaman Siᅅgh
Aj.S.	Ajmer Siᅅgh
Aj.S.L.	Ajmer Siᅅgh, Lohgarh
Ajn.S.	Arjan Siᅅgh
Ar.S.S	Autār Siᅅgh Sandhū
At.S.	Ātam Siᅅgh
Atj.S.	Ātamjīt Siᅅgh
B.J.H.	B.J. Hasrat
B.J.S.	Braham Jagdīsh Siᅅgh
B.O.	B.Ohrī
B.R.N.	Baldev Rāj Nayar
B.S.	Bhagat Siᅅgh
B.S.A.	Balwant Siᅅgh Anand
B.S.D.	Balbīr Siᅅgh Dil
B.S.N.	B.S.Nijjar
B.S.V.	Balbīr Siᅅgh Viyogī
Bb.S.N.	Balbīr Siᅅgh Nandā
Bh.K.S.	Bhāī Kirpāl Siᅅgh
Bh.S.	Bhāg Siᅅgh
Bk.S.	Balkār Siᅅgh
Bl.S.	Balwant Siᅅgh
C.H.L.	C.H.Loehlin
C.O.M.	Clarence O.McMullen
D.C.S.	David C. Scott
D.G.D.	Donald G.Dawe
D.K.B.	Dilīp K. Biswās
D.K.G.	Dharmendra Kumār Gupta
D.P.A	Dharam Pāl Āshᅇā
D.S.	Dharam Siᅅgh
D.S.B.	Dīwān Siᅅgh Bhallā
D.S.M.	Darshan Siᅅgh Mainī
D.S.U.	Dalīp Siᅅgh Uppal
E.C.B.	Emily C.Brown
E.K.M.	Ethne K.Marenco
E.N.M.R.	E.N.Maᅅgat Rāī
F.S.	Faujā Siᅅgh
F.S.A.	F.S.Aijāzuddīn
G.A.H	Gerald A. Heeger
G.B.S.	Giānī Balwant Siᅅgh

CONTRIBUTORS

G.G.S.	Giānī Garjā Singh
G.K.	Gunīndar Kaur
G.N.R.	G.N.Rājgurū
G.R.S.	Gur Rattan Pāl Singh
G.R.T.	G.R.Thursby
G.S.	Gaṇḍā Singh
G.S.A.	Gurcharan Singh Anand
G.S.Ch.	G.S.Chhābrā
G.S.D.	Gurdev Singh Deol
G.S.G.	Gurcharan Singh Giānī
G.S.K.	Gurdiāl Singh Khoslā
G.S.M.	Gurbachan Singh Maṅgaṭ
G.S.Mr.	Gurmukh Singh Musāfir
G.S.Ms.	G.S.Mansukhānī
G.S.N.	G.S.Nayyar
G.S.P.	Gurdiāl Singh Phul
G.S.R.	Gurdīp Singh Randhāwā
G.S.T.	Gurbachan Singh Tālib
G.S.Z.	Gurcharan Singh, Zira
Gb.S.	Gurbax Singh
Gbh.S.	Gurbhagat Singh
Gbch.S.	Gurbachan Singh
Gbch.S.G.	Gurbachan Singh Giānī
Gch.S.	Gurcharan Singh
Gd.S.	Gurdarshan Singh
Gdl.S.	Gurdiāl Singh
Gl.S.	Gulcharan Singh
Gm.S.	Gurmukh Singh
Gn.S.	Gurnek Singh
Gp.S.D.	Gurdīp Singh Dīp
Gr.S.	Gurdev Singh
Gs.S.	Gursewak Singh
Gsh.S.	Gursharan Singh
Gt.S.	Gurtej Singh
H.B.	Himadri Banerjee
H.D.	Hameed ud-Dīn
H.M.	Harjī Malik
H.R.G.	Harī Rām Gupta
H.S.D.	Harjinder Singh Dilgeer
H.S.G.	Harjīt Singh Gill
H.S.V.	Hardev Singh Virk
Hch.S.	Harcharan Singh
Hj.S.	Harjot Singh
Hk.S.	Harkīrat Singh
Hm.S.	Harmandar Singh
Hn.S.	Harnām Singh
Hr.B.	Hardev Bāhrī
Hr.S.	Harī Singh
I.C.	Ian Copland

CONTRIBUTORS

I.J.K.	Ian J.Kerr
Iq.S.	Iqbāl Singh
J.B.S.	Jaṅg Bahādur Singh
J.C.B.W.	John C.B.Webster
J.K.	Jitinder Kaur
J.M.L.	J.M.Lafont
J.P.	Jeffrey Perrill
J.Pg.	Joyce Pettigrew
J.P.S.U.	J.P.S.Uberoi
J.R.G.	Jatī Rām Gupta
J.S.A.	Jagjīt Singh Anand
J.S.G.	J.S.Grewāl
J.S.J.	Jaswant Singh Jas
J.S.K.	J.S.Khurānā
J.S.N.	Jaswant Singh Neki
J.S.S.	Jit Singh Sital
Jb.S.A.	Jasbīr Singh Ahlūwālīā
Jd.S.	Jodh Singh
Jg.S.	Jagjīt Singh
Jn.S.	Janak Singh
K.A.N.	K.A. Nizāmī
K.C.G.	K.C. Gulāṭī
K.J.S.	K. Jagjīt Singh
K.K.B.	Krishnā Kumārī Bāṅsal
K.L.S.	Krishan Lāl Sharmā
K.L.T.	K.L.Ṭuṭejā
K.M.	Kamlesh Mohan
K.R.S.	K.R.Srinivāsa Iyenger
K.S.	Khushwant Singh
K.S.D.	Kuldīp Singh Dhīr
K.S.Dl.	Kartār Singh Duggal
K.S.K.	K.S.Kaṅg
K.S.M.	K.S.Malhī
K.S.S.	Kerniāl Singh Sandhū
K.S.T.	K.S.Thāpar
K.S.V.	Kulwant Singh Virk
K.S.Tl.	K.S.Talwar
K.T.L.	K.T.Lālwanī
K.W.J.	Kenneth W. Jones
Kn.S.	Kishan Singh
Kr.S.	Kirpāl Singh
Kt.S.	Kartār Singh
L.C.	Lachman Chellārām
L.M.J.	L.M. Joshi
M.A.S.	Mahārājā Amarinder Singh of Paṭiālā
M.G.S.	Major Gurmukh Singh

CONTRIBUTORS

M.K.	Madanjit Kaur
M.J.	Mark Juergensmeyer
M.J.C.	Marie Joy Curtiss
M.J.L.	Murray J. Leaf
M.L.A.	M.L. Ahlūwālīā
M.L.J.	Moti Lāl Jotwānī
M.R.A.	Mulk Rāj Anand
M.S.	Mohinder Singh
M.S.A.	M.S. Ahlūwālīā
M.S.G.	Mohinder Singh Gill
M.S.N.	Mān Singh Nirānkārī
Mb.S.	Mubārak Singh
Md.A.	Mohammad Aslam
Mg.S.	Mrigendra Singh
MI.S.	Milkhā Singh
Mm.S.	Manmohan Sehgal
Mp.S.	Maheep Singh
Mt.S.	Melhtāb Singh
Mv.S.	Mehervān Singh, Singapore

N.Q.K.	Noel Q. King
N.S.A.	Nirvair Singh Arshī
N.S.G.	Naunihāl Singh Giānī
N.S.S.	N.S. Sodhī
N.S.Sa.	Nirañjan Singh Sāthī
Nj.S.	Nirañjan Singh
Np.S.	Nripinder Singh
Nr.S.	Narain Singh
Nz.S.	Nāzer Singh

P.M.W.	P.M. Wylam
P.S.	Piār Singh
P.S.G.	Pratāp Singh Giānī
P.S.Gl.	Pritam Singh Gill
P.S.J.	Parkāsh Singh Jammū
P.S.P.	Piārā Singh Padam
P.S.S.	Piārā Singh Sāmbhī
P.S.Sf.	Pritam Singh Safeer
Pd.S.	Parduman Singh
Pr.S.G.	Partāp Singh Gill
Pk.S.	Parkāsh Singh

R.K.	Rachhpāl Kaur
R.R.	Rājā Ram
R.S.D.	R.S. Dutta
R.S.J.	Rattan Singh Jaggī
R.S., Q.E.	Rājinder Singh, Qaumī Ektā
Rj.S.	Rājinder Singh
Rm.S.	Rām Singh

CONTRIBUTORS

S.H.A.	Syed Hasan Askari
S.K.B.	S.K. Bajāj
S.K.K.	Satish K. Kapoor
S.L.	Spencer Lavan
S.M.	Swarnjit Mehtā
S.M.R.	Satya M. Rāi
S.P.S.	S.P. Singh
S.R.B.	Sīta Rām Bāhri
S.R.S.	Sri Rām Shārmā
S.S.A.	Shamsher Singh Ashok
S.S.Am.	Sarmukh Singh Amole
S.S.B.	S.S. Bhāijā
S.S.Bl.	S.S. Bal
S.S.C.	Sukhdev Singh Charak
S.S.D.	Surjit Singh Dulāi
S.S.G.	Surjit Singh Gāndhī
S.S.J.	Sohan Singh Josh
S.S.K.	Surinder Singh Kohli
S.S.S.	Sant Singh Sekhon
S.S.U.	Swinder Singh Uppal
S.S.V.B.	S.S. Vañjārā Bedī
S.S.W.	Surain Singh Wilkhū
Sb.S.	Satbir Singh
Sb.S.S.	Sāhib Singh Sethī
Sd.S.	Sudarshan Singh
Sm.S.	Shamsher Singh
Sn.S.	Sohan Singh
Sw.S.	Sarwan Singh
Sy.S.	Satyindra Singh AVSM (Retd.)
T.H.	Tecnā Hazoorīa
T.S.	Tāran Singh
T.S.B.	Trilochan Singh Bedī
T.S.R.	T.S. Rājū
U.S.	Ujāgar Singh
V.N.D.	V.N. Datta
W.H.M.	W.H. McLeod
W.O.C.	W. Owen Cole
W.S.	Wazir Singh
Wm.S.	Waryām Singh
Y.F.	Yohanan Friedmann
Z.S.	Zail Singh

E

EDWARDES, SIR HERBERT BENJAMIN (1819-1868), soldier, writer and statesman, son of the Rev. B. Edwardes, was born on 12 November 1819. He joined the Bengal infantry as a cadet in 1841, and served as Urdu, Hindi and Persian interpreter to his regiment. He was aide-de-camp to Lord Hugh Gough during the first Anglo-Sikh war and was, in 1847, appointed assistant to Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, British Resident at the Sikh capital, who sent him to effect the settlement of Bannū, the account of which is given in his work, *A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848-49*, London, 1851. Upon the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Multān and the rebellion of Dīwān Mūl Rāj in April 1848, Edwardes collected a force of tribesmen and, with the aid of Nawāb of Bahāwalpur and Colonel Van Cortlandt of the Sikh service, attacked Mūl Rāj and his supporters, defeating them at Kinerī on 18 June and gaining another victory over them at Saddosān on 2 July. Edwardes opened negotiations with Mūl Rāj and, at the same time, frantically sought from the Resident at Lahore a few heavy guns, a mortar battery, and sappers and miners.

The Multān affair was a local incident which the Governor-General Lord Dalhousie seemed determined to enlarge into a Sikh national uprising to have an excuse to invade the Punjab. He was critical of the conduct of Edwardes and wrote to the Resident at Lahore saying that he altogether disapproved of army officers such as Lieut. Edwardes taking upon themselves to volun-

teer negotiations on a subject of such critical importance without authority from their superiors.

Edwardes served as commissioner of Peshāwar (1853-59) and commissioner of Ambālā (1862-65). He died in London on 23 December 1868.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ganda Singh, *The British Occupation of the Panjab*. Patiala, 1956
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1956
3. Hasrat, B.J., *Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968
4. Edwardes, Sir Herbert Benjamin, *A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848-49*. London, 1851

B.J.H.

EKĀDASĪ, from Sanskrit *ekadaśa*—*eka* (one)+*daśa* (ten) — meaning eleven, is the eleventh day of the lunar fortnight, in both its dark and light halves. Among Vaiṣṇavite Hindus, *ekādaśī* also *harivāsar* (lit. Viṣṇu's day) is a day of fasting. Partaking of food in any form on this day is considered a sin, while observing a fast on this day is believed to be meritorious. In the Sikh system no special sanctity attaches to any particular day, nor any demerit. As says Gurū Amar Dās, Nānak III:

The fifteen lunar days, seven days of the week,
Months and seasons repeat themselves endlessly;
So do the days and nights.
That is how the world goes.

Coming and going is by the Creator's Will;

The Creator alone is truth immutable.

(GG, 842)

According to Gurū Nānak, a true Ekādāsī is observed by him who lodges the One in his heart and who eschews violence and worldly allurements. Engrossed in superstition, one does not perceive the essence (GG, 840). In the same tone is Gurū Arjan's verse in the Gauṛī measure:

On Ekādāsī see God by your side,
Controlling your passion, listen to the
Lord's praise.

Let contentment reside in your heart
and compassion for all living beings;
Thus will your *brata* be fulfilled.

(GG, 299)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Śabadārth Sṛī Gurū Granth Sāhib. Amritsar, 1964

M.G.S.

ELECTRIFICATION OF THE GOLDEN TEMPLE. Whether or not electricity be inducted into the Golden Temple premises was a raging polemic in the closing years of the nineteenth century. There were views pro and con, and the debate was joined by both sides vehemently – and unyieldingly. As was then the style of making controversies, religious and social, no holds were barred and no acrimonious word spared to settle the argument. If tradition and usage were drawn upon by opponents, need to move with the times was urged by the supporters, pejoratively called *bijlī bhaktas*, devotees of electricity.

The initiative came from the Sṛī Gurū Singh Sabhā, Amritsar. At its 23rd annual session, on 26 January 1896, it made a formal resolution recommending the installation of electricity in the Golden Temple. Sardār Sundar Singh Majīṭhīā told the audience that Sṛī Harimandar which was in beauty the very image of *baikunṭh*, i.e. paradise, by day was

shrouded in darkness by night. Many holy and old people who came to do homage late in the evening or in the small hours of the morning suffered injury owing to lack of lighting. Electric light would, pleaded Sardār Sundar Singh, enhance the glory of the Golden Temple and prove a boon to the visiting devotees.

Col Sardār Javālā Singh, the officially appointed manager of the Golden Temple, and Master Naraiṅ Singh of Khālsā High School, Gujṛānwālā, endorsed Sardār Sundar Singh's proposal. An 11-member committee, with Sardār Bahādur Sardār Arjan Singh as president, was set up to carry through the plan. The committee secured the support of influential men in the Sikh community such as Bābā Sir Khem Singh Bedī, Rāi Bahādur Sardār Sujān Singh of Rāwalpiṅḍī and Sardār Balwant Singh of Aṭṭārī. Subscription lists were opened and fund-raising started in towns and villages.

The lighting committee sent a deputation to wait on Rājā Bikram Singh of Farīdkoṭ who was the patron of the Khālsā Dīwān of Amritsar and helped religious and public causes with an open hand. Col Javālā Singh and Sardār Sundar Singh Majīṭhīā, who led the group to Farīdkoṭ, returned with an assurance from the Mahārājā for financial support. At a meeting held at Akāl Takht on 25 April 1897, three of the courtiers sent by the Mahārājā of Farīdkoṭ announced on his behalf that, in commemoration of the uninterrupted 60-year rule of Queen Victoria, he would have electricity installed in the Golden Temple premises at a cost of Rs 20 thousand.

Then opposition raised its head. In May 1897, three *granthīs* of Golden Temple served a registered notice on Sardār Sundar Singh Majīṭhīā, secretary of the lighting committee, censuring the scheme.

On 22 June 1897, the Diamond Jubilee was observed by Sikhs in Amritsar. Kaṅvar Gajendra Singh, son of the Mahārājā of

Farīdkoṭ, participated in the celebrations. On this occasion, electricity was displayed in the Golden Temple by importing temporarily into the precincts the private generator belonging to Rāi Ḍholaṅ Dās.

The Mahārājā of Farīdkoṭ visited Amritsar on 14 August 1897, and, at a public meeting of the Sikhs, announced a donation of Rs 1 lac for electricity as well as for a new building for *Gurū kā Langar*. Part of the money was invested in a generating set and accessories.

The opponents had not been idle. On 29 July 1897, the executive committee of the Lahore Singh Sabhā placed on record its disapproval of the proposal. The three Golden Temple *granthīs*, Bhāi Harnām Singh, Bhāi Bhagat Singh and Bhāi Partāp Singh, published a letter in the *Khālsā Akhbār* of Lahore, 27 August 1897, openly attacking the proposal. Argument upon argument was marshalled to show the utter inappropriateness of inducting electricity into the sacred premises. The article was repeated in a tract entitled *Bijlī Bidāran* ("Demolition of Electricity").

Electricity was dangerous. To substantiate the point, allusion was made to the title of Government enactment of 1887 which ran as follows: An act to provide for the protection of person and property from the risks incident to the supply and use of electricity for lighting and other purposes. Another extract quoted was from the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, 27 October 1897: "Several persons in America have lost their lives in various cities through coming in contact with electric light and power wires." Instances were mentioned of the damage caused by electricity to a factory in Dhārīvāl and the disorder created at the inaugural ceremonies for the opening of Sirhind canal. The *granthīs* argued that there was no precedent of electricity having been installed either in Bethlehem or in Kā'abā. Of more than 1500 churches in London, not one had been electrified — not even Westminster Abbey. Thirdly, it was

urged, custom and tradition sanctioned only illumination by *ghee*. Electricity was sheer extravagance. Its dazzle would hinder concentration and meditation. As a *coup de grace*, the point was pressed that electric light was western and the building of Harimandar eastern. The two were contradictory.

The *granthīs* were backed by *pujārīs* of Takht Sri Abchal Nagar at Nāndēḍ, who rejected all other lighting except that by *ghee* which alone had the necessary sanctity. Bābū Tejā Singh of Bhasaur, a leading figure in the Singh Sabhā renovation, contributed a letter to the *Khālsā Akhbār*, 3 September 1897, to make the point that the real light the Sikhs needed was for the elimination of distinctions of caste in the community. For Harimandar, lighting by *ghee*, permitted by their eastern custom, was the most appropriate. Another correspondent in a letter in the *Khālsā Akhbār*, 27 August 1897, had stated that he had enquired from the Archbishop of the Punjab and learnt that there was no electric light in St. Peter's or in St. Paul's. He also recalled the criticism made by Englishmen themselves who termed the Gothic-style clock-tower beside the Golden Temple a monstrosity. Western light inside the Temple would be similarly offensive, he concluded. Sant Khālsā Dyāl Singh of Houī Mardān joined the fray with an angrily written pamphlet. He said that splitting the roof or walls of the temple to fix electric wiring would be a sacrilege.

In its editorial on 6 August 1897, the *Khālsā Akhbār* commented that the Golden Temple was not a museum to which people had to be allured by such meretricious display. On 20 August 1897, it praised the Mahārājā of Farīdkoṭ for his munificence in providing funds for electricity, but satirized his friends who had counselled him this kind of extravagance.

In the *Khālsā Akhbār* of 6 August 1897, Sri Gurū Singh Sabhā of Jalandhar published a note in support of the *granthīs*. One of the

questions raised was: "What will happen if the engine went out of order?" In its editorial the same day, the *Khālsā Akhbār* wrote: "What the Sikhs needed was the light of the Gurūs' Word rather than that of electricity."

Electricity, when it came, did appear a novelty. Visiting the Golden Temple after an interval of 16 years, Dr John Campbell Oman, who had been a Professor at Government College at Lahore (1877-97) and Principal of the *Khālsā* College at Amritsar (1898-99), referred to it in these terms: "... the garish electric light, installed on the temple itself amidst the modest old-world *cherāghs*, looking like an ill-mannered, obtrusive upstart completely out of its proper element."

The advocates of *bijli* had won. But the controversy left behind a trail of bitterness. Essentially, it was a conflict between the Lahore and Amritsar wings of the Singh Sabhā. Both were mutually hostile and had persistently wrangled over all sorts of issues, major and minor. But, surprisingly, the Lahore group which styled itself more progressive and derided the Amritsar group for its "conservatism," was foremost in opposing electricity. Yet it was not able to obstruct the march of events. Electricity would have, in any case, come. But the initiative taken by Sardār Sundar Singh Majithiā and the support given him by the Mahārājā of Farīdkot will be remembered in history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Prārthanā Pattar*. Amritsar, 1951
2. *Bijli Bidāran*. Amritsar, 1897
3. The *Khālsā Akhbār*. Lahore, 1897
4. Sant Khālsā, Dyāl Singh, *Srī Darbār Sāhib Amritsar vich bijli di roshni nāl beadli*. Amritsar, 1897
5. Oman, John Campbell, *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India*. Delhi, 1972

S.S.B.

ELLENBOROUGH, LORD EDWARD LAW (1790-1871), Governor-General of India (1842-44), son of Edward Law, Baron

Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of England, was born on 8 September 1790. He was educated at Eton and at St John's College, Cambridge. He became a member of the House of Lords in 1818. He was appointed Lord Privy Seal in 1828 and president of the Board of Control (1828-30) whence began his connection with Indian affairs. He succeeded Lord Auckland as Governor-General of India in February 1842. On his arrival in India, Lord Ellenborough found himself confronted with an alarming situation in Afghanistan and northwest frontier. The garrisons of Jalālābād and Ghaznī were surrounded by hostile Afghāns; the Qandahār division was unfit to move for lack of support; and of the five brigades moved across the River Rāvi, none had yet reached Peshāwar. Large Sikh forces were collected at Peshāwar where General Pollock with three British brigades felt uneasy at the large assemblage. In that hour of difficulty, voices were being raised for full military support from the Sikhs. Mahārājā Sher Singh was being blamed for not having helped his British allies whole-heartedly.

When in April 1842, Robert Sale had defeated the Afghān army under the walls of Jalālābād and Pollock had forced the Khaibar, Lord Ellenborough hastily decided to terminate the Tripartite Treaty. An offer was made to the Sikh government to occupy Jalālābād after the withdrawal of the British army. The offer was in reality aimed at diverting the Sikh troops then employed in the Chinese Tartary, and those garrisoned at Lahore and Amritsar. Ellenborough, who was assembling a large British force on the Anglo-Sikh frontier at the River Sutlej, wished to see the Sikh position weakened by the withdrawal of the Sikh troops. As is evident from his private correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, he was preparing for a war with the Sikhs. The correspondence shows that, as early as October 1843, he had begun to discuss with the Home Government possibilities of a military occupation of the Punjab. He had laid

out a network of spies and agents provocateur in the Sikh capital and had raised the strength of British military outposts to 11,639 men and 48 guns. A flotilla of seventy 35-ton boats to bridge the Sutlej at Ferozpur had been under construction. Ellenborough wrote in April 1844: "Let our policy [towards the Sikhs] be what it may, the contest must come at last, and the intervening time that may be given to us should be employed in unostentatious but vigilant preparation."

Two years after his return to England, Ellenborough became First Lord of Admiralty in Sir Robert Peel's ministry in 1846. In 1858, under Lord Derby he became president of the Board of Control. He died on 22 December 1871.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Hasrat, B.J., *The Punjab Papers*. Hoshiarpur, 1970
2. Law, Algernon, *India Under Lord Ellenborough 1842-44*. London, 1926
3. Buckland, C.E., *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. London, 1906

B.J.H.

ELLENBOROUGH PAPERS, official and private correspondence and papers of Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General of India (1842-44), preserved in the Public Records Office, London. Some of these papers were used by Lord Colchester in his *History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough in His Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington and the Queen* (London, 1874). Similarly, Sir Algernon Law published some selected papers in his *India under Lord Ellenborough* (London, 1926) containing references to the Punjab, particularly the dissensions in the State and the intentions of British government about its future. Among others, the Papers contain letters to and from the Governor-General's Agent, North-West Frontier (January 1844-June 1844) PRO 30/12 (60) and PRO 30/12 (106). Also included are files containing correspondence and papers

relative to the Punjab (1839-44) PRO 30/12 Part II (i); Lord Ellenborough's private correspondence, with Sir Henry and Lady Hardinge (1842-47), providing information about Hardinge's policy towards the Punjab before and after the Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46, and the British military movement towards the Sutlej frontier, and about his deals with Gulāb Singh (PRO 30/12, 21/7); and about Ellenborough's military policy and bellicosity towards the Sikhs (PRO 30/12 (72).

The Ellenborough Papers contain some of the most revealing documents relevant to Anglo-Sikh relations. Soon after the disaster of the first Afghān War, Ellenborough abruptly terminated the Tripartite Treaty, and decided to re-establish British "military character" by the collection of a large British force on the Company's "weakest frontier," i.e. the Sutlej (PRO 30/13-28/12). He conceived the idea of extending the Dogrā power at the expense of the Lahore Darbār by separating the Jammū hills from the plains of the Punjab. His letter to Queen Victoria (October 1843) unravels his designs "to bring plains first, and at a later period hills, under our direct protection and control." Consequently, the Company's relations with the State of Lahore were viewed by him as that of "an armed truce:" and to repeat, "Let our policy [towards the Sikhs] be what it may, the contest must come at last, and the intervening time that may be given to us should be employed in unostentatious but vigilant preparation."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hasrat, B.J., *The Punjab Papers*. Hoshiarpur, 1970

B.J.H.

EMINĀBĀD (32°-2'N, 74°-16'E), an ancient town in Gujrānwālā district of Pakistan, is sacred to Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) in whose day it was called Sayyidpur. According to *Bhāi Bālā Janam Sākhī*, after leaving Sultānpur and before setting out on his long travels, Gurū Nānak, accompanied by Bhāi Mardānā,

first visited Eminābād where Bhāi Lālo, a carpenter by profession, became his Sikh. A hymn of Gurū Nānak in the Gurū Granth Sāhib suggests that he was in Eminābād when the town was sacked by Bābar in 1521. Janam Sākhī also mention that during the attack by the Mughal force the Gurū was held in prison and given a stonemill to ply. Eminābād came under Sikh rule when Sardār Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkīā occupied it during the 1760's.

The town claimed historical shrines which were administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhāk Committee since 28 February 1922 until 1947.

GURDWARĀ ROṢĪ SĀHIB, half a kilometre northwest of the town, marks the site where, according to tradition, Gurū Nānak after the destruction of the town had stayed with Bhāi Lālo. Here the Gurū had to sit and lie on a hard bed of small stones (*roṣī* in Punjabi) as alluded to in Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, I. 24. This was the premier *gurdwārā* of the town. The multi-storeyed building was set on fire by a mob of zealots soon after the partition of the Punjab on 15 August 1947.

GURDWARĀ CHAKKĪ SĀHIB, inside the town, preserved as a relic a stonemill which was believed to be the one which Gurū Nānak was made to ply during his brief period of captivity.

GURDWARĀ KHŪHĪ BHĀI LĀLO, also inside the town, marked the house and the well (*khūhī*, in Punjabi) belonging to Bhāi Lālo. Here Gurū Nānak had first met him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975

4. Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origins of the Sikh Faith*. Bombay, 1969

M.G.S.

ETĀWĀH (26° - 47'N, 78° - 58'E), a district town of Uttar Pradesh, 127 km southeast of Āgrā, has two Udāsī Āshrams commemorating the visits of Gurū Nānak and Bābā Srī Chand. Sikh chronicles have not recorded these visits, but they do mention that Gurū Tegh Bahādur while travelling to the east in 1666 passed through Etāwāh. He is believed to have stayed at the Udāsī Āshram inside the town. The *āshram* is now known as Gurdwārā Pūrabī Tolā, also referred to locally as Baṛī Saṅgat. The Gurdwārā is controlled by Udāsī priests who in their religious practice and liturgy do not strictly observe the Sikh way of worship, although the Gurū Granth Sāhib is installed in the building and is visited by several Sahajdhārī Sikhs who come to bow before it in the morning and evening everyday.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923.
3. Raṅdhīr Singh, *Udāsī Sikhān dī Vithā*. Chandigarh, 1972

M.G.S.

EUROPEAN ADVENTURERS OF NORTHERN INDIA, 1785 to 1849, by C. Grey, first published in 1929 and reprinted by the Languages Department, Punjab, Patīālā, in 1970, contains biographical sketches of over one hundred Europeans who came to or served in the Punjab during Sikh times. The book, which is the result of "some six years of labour" in the archives of the Punjab Government as well as the consultation of a large number of contemporary memoirs and other works, supplements Compton's *European Adventurers* which the author found both out of date and incomplete. Broadly speaking,

these adventurers fall into two groups: well-known men like George Thomas and Avitabile and the lesser-known men "of whom no account has hitherto appeared." They could also be classified as combatants and non-combatants; the former category includes Generals like Ventura and Potter and the latter class includes medical men like Honigberger and Harlan, the antiquarian Masson and the engineer Bianchi. It also deals with certain aspects of the organization of the *Khālsā* army and the role of its European officers in introducing western methods of drill and discipline. Foremost amongst these officers were Allard, Ventura, Avitabile and Court. Jean Francois Allard is described as the "Suliman Bey of Ranjīt Singh," and Jean Baptiste Ventura the "baron of the Fauji-Khas." Both of them had fled France after the fall of Napoleon and passing through many an adventure in Persia arrived at Lahore in March 1822. Allard was assigned by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh to training the Sikh cavalry, while Ventura raised four infantry battalions of the Special Brigade in the European style. Claude Auguste Court is described as the "architect of Sikh artillery." He distinguished himself as an artillery commander and an ordnance officer. Paolo di Avitabile, a Neapolitan who drifted from Naples to Persia where he obtained a civil appointment as administrator of the Kurdish districts, came to Lahore in 1826, and secured a rank in the Sikh army through the good offices of Ventura. He also held civil appointments and proved to be a firm administrator. His rule of Wazirābād is described as just and vigorous, and his governorship of Peshāwar as a rule of "gallows and gibbets." Grey has also furnished accounts of some of the colourful personalities such as Josiah Harlan and Alexander Gardner, both Americans. He nicknames the former the Yankee Doodle, who proved untrue to his salt, and joined the Afghāns to fight against the Sikhs at Jamrūd after having served Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh

for seven years. He is drawn as a vainglorious and ambitious person who once thought of occupying the *masnad* of Kābul and under the pretence of studying alchemy counterfeited Nānakshāhī rupees. Grey describes Alexander Gardner as a fake and his *Memoirs* fictitious.

B.J.H.

EVENTS AT THE COURT OF RANJIT SINGH, 1810-1817, edited by H.L.O. Garrett and G.L. Choprā, is a rendition in English of Persian newsletters comprising 193 loose sheets and forming only a small part of a large collection preserved in the Alienation Office, Pune. This material was brought to the notice of the editors by Dr Muhammad Nāzim, an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India. *Events at the Court of Ranjīt Singh* was first published in 1935 by the Punjab Government Records Office, Lahore, as their monograph No.17, and reprinted, in 1970, by the Languages Department, Punjab, Patialā.

The newsletters, entitled "Akhbār Deorhī Sardār Ranjīt Singh Bahādur" cover the period from 1 November 1810 to 8 August 1817, with a sprinkling of a few supplementary ones written up to 2 September 1817 from Shāhpur, Multān, Amritsar and Rāwalpīṇḍī. Additionally, there is one brief piece which bears the date 10 June 1822. The news-writer lived in Lahore and his informant was one *Khushāl* Singh whom the editors identify as Jamādār *Khushāl* Singh, the chief chamberlain or *deorhī* officer at the court of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. Probably written for the Peshavā's *daftar* which secured and recorded news from several different Indian courts, this set of newsletters from the Sikh court at Lahore is an important source of information on the early period of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's career and provides intimate glimpses into his civil, military and judicial administration. What comes out strikingly from these papers is the efficient intelligence service the Lahore Darbār had established.

The Darbār sent out special messengers to Kashmīr, Kābul, Sindh, Ludhiānā, and the cis-Sutlej, British-protected principalities of Paṭiālā, Nābhā, Jīnd, Kaithal and Kalsiā. These messengers, called *javāris* or pairs, brought daily reports from newswriters stationed in those places.

The newsletters relate to a period when Multān had not yet been conquered, nor had been Kashmīr and Peshāwar. The newsletter dated 19 September 1813 reports that Sardār Fateh Khān Wazīr had left Kābul with sufficient troops intent on proceeding towards Multān. It also mentions that he was hatching, through correspondence, a conspiracy with Nawāb Muzaffar Khān of Multān. News was received that Hazrat Muhmūd Shāh, marching from Jalālābād, was expected to enter Peshāwar. Ranjīt Singh forestalled the move and was able to stem the Afghān advance. These reports however do not contain any account of the impending Sikh-Afghān struggle for supremacy in the north which culminated in the battle of Haidarū in 1813 in which the Sikhs routed the Afghāns.

Ranjīt Singh's own designs to expand the limits of his kingdom unfold tellingly. Muzaffar Khān, Nawāb of Multān, was liable to an annual tribute of Rs 80,000. Plans were set in motion for the conquest of Multān. Likewise, for that of Kashmīr. No account is forthcoming of the successive Sikh invasions of Multān in 1810, 1816, and 1817. Similarly, these papers tell little about the joint Sikh-Afghān campaign against Kashmīr in 1812

which aborted or about Ranjīt Singh's even more disastrous expedition of 1814. There are, nevertheless, some interesting sidelights. A newsletter, for instance, relates that Phūlā Singh Akālī was levying contributions — 1,000 rupees and a horse — on the Akālīs of the Darbār Sāhib at Amritsar. The Koh-i-Nūr diamond wrested from Shāh Shujā' ul-Mulk was evaluated by the jewellers who reported: "It was found in weight equal to three hundred and a few more "Surakhs" and in value it was declared priceless as no other similar jewel existed anywhere else." References occur to the Mahārājā's administration of justice. A *daroghā-i-adālat* or judge, charged with harshness, was warned to administer justice in accordance with the principles of religion and equity. Rāmā Nand Sāhū of Amritsar held charge of justice within his area for an annual payment of "rupees thirteen lakhs" but he was under warning to administer it with mercy and honesty.

Muslims enjoyed full freedom of worship. The newsletter of 9 January 1811 relates how they were exhorted by beat of drum to offer Eid-day prayers at the Royal Mosque, Lahore. Lawlessness and dacoity were not tolerated. Those in charge of police stations were warned that failure to apprehend culprits within a reasonable time would discredit them. On Eid-day, men were posted in the streets and bylanes of Lahore to watch for anyone misbehaving or intimidating others. Totally, this Persian intelligence record is of much historical and sociological value.

B.J.H.

F

FANE, SIR HENRY (1778-1840), commander-in-chief of the British Indian army, who visited the Punjab in 1837 on the occasion of the marriage of Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh, Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's grandson. Sir Henry Fane's visit to Ranjīt Singh was an event of considerable interest. He was highly impressed by the extraordinary discipline of the Mahārājā's troops and the splendour of his court. In his several meetings with the British commander-in-chief, Ranjīt Singh questioned him on the strength and composition of the British army, on the extent of Russian influence in Persia, and on the ability of the Shāh of Persia to give effective aid to the Russians. The Mahārājā paraded before Sir Henry his troops for a grand review and inspected the contingent of British lancers and horse artillery, which had accompanied the commander-in-chief to Lahore. The latter was invited to participate in the Holī festival at Lahore and was entertained by a mock battle of the *zenānā* corps of Amazons. He also saw the Sikh crown jewels including the celebrated Koh-i-Nūr which he described as a badly cut diamond plainly set in gold.

Sir Henry Fane made a detailed appraisal of the Sikhs' military power which, according to him, consisted of 60-70 regiments of infantry, 700 pieces of artillery and innumerable cavalry. His confidential report to Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, contained speculations on the ability of the British to destroy the military might of Ranjīt Singh. According to J.D. Cunningham, a young British officer prepared during Sir Henry's visit

a map of the Punjab which formed the groundwork of all maps used during the first Anglo-Sikh war. One significant event during the commander-in-chief's visit was the establishment by the Mahārājā of the Order of the Auspicious Star of the Punjab with which he decorated his British guest.

Sir Henry Fane died at sea on board the *Malabar* off St. Michael's in the Azores on 24 March 1840.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Hasrat, Bikramajit, *Life and Times of Ranjīt Singh*. Nabha, 1977
2. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol.I. Princeton, 1963
3. Buckland, C.E., *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. London, 1906

S.S.B.

FARĪDKOṬ ṬĪKĀ, the earliest full-scale exegesis or annotated version of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, was prepared under the patronage of the princely rulers of the state of FarīdkoṬ. Hence its popular name *FarīdkoṬ Vālā Ṭīkā* or, for short, *FarīdkoṬ Ṭīkā*. Its full title is *Ādi Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī Saṭīk*. *Saṭīk* literally means with *ṭīkā*, annotation or commentary.

The Gurū Granth Sāhib is an anthology of spiritual poetry of six of the Gurūs and a number of medieval saints as well as of some of the followers contemporary with the first five Gurūs. The language used is, by and large, Punjabi or Hindi, not difficult to understand. Yet, because of its poetic form

and philosophical content and the linguistic peculiarities bequeathed it by a long range of time and space it spanned, the Scriptural text transmitted to the laity required to be annotated and explained. In consequence arose a whole body of exegetical literature; also several schools of interpretation. The starting-point is that corpus itself. Successive Gurūs clarified, elaborated and expounded in their own verse the meaning of the compositions they had inherited. The Janam Sākhīs contain these interpretations clothed in much hagiographical detail. This is especially so in the case of writers attempting to provide a setting and background to the hymns they are expounding. One prominent example is the *pothī* by Bābā Miharbān. The writings of Bhāi Gurdās (d. 1636) are placed by some in the same category.

During the eighteenth century and up into the early part of the nineteenth, the task of interpreting and preaching the Holy Writ primarily rested with the Udāsī and Nirmalā schoolmen. In the worst days of persecution they were left unmolested. They remained in control of Sikh shrines and institutions; also during the time when the Sikhs had established their authority in the Punjab. All instruction was carried out orally. The only writings of this period were the *Rahitnāmās* which were, strictly speaking, rules of conduct rather than works of exegesis. The first Udāsī exegete of this period who left a written record of his scriptural studies was Ānandghana, who completed his *ṭīkā* of *Japu* in 1795, followed by exegesises of several other *bānīs*. Ānandghana was the first to separate historical account from interpretative comment. His interpretations are saturated with Upaniṣadic lore and are densely Vedantic rather than Sikh, and are apparently a conscious reincubation of Hindu ideology in Sikh thinking.

Nirmalā scholars generally echoed the Udāsī trend of interpreting Sikh scriptural texts in the inflated style prescribed by Hin-

du commentators on Upaniṣadic and Vedic texts. Bhāi Santokh Singh (1788-1843), the most prominent among the Nirmalās, did write his *Garabgañjanī Ṭīkā* (*ṭīkā* to humble the *garab*, i.e. pride, of Ānandghana) in criticism of Ānandghana's interpretations in his *Japu Ṭīkā*, but he too was writing from within the Hindu framework and represented a deep Brāhmanical influence. Besides *ṭīkā*s, annotation of scriptural writings continued to flourish throughout the nineteenth century in the form of *Prayāi* (glossaries) and *Koś* (dictionaries), two prominent illustrations being *Granth Guru Gīrārath Koś* (1895) and *Prayāi Ādi Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī De* (1898).

A new phase of exegetical writing began with the advent of Western learning. It was, in fact, a Westerner scholar, Ernest Trumpp who first took up an end-to-end English translation of the entire Gurū Granth Sāhib. But Trumpp's scorn for traditional interpretations of the faith and his overt antipathy towards it earned him the reproach of the entire Sikh people. Following the publication of Trumpp's work in 1877, unfinished though it remained, Rājā Bikram Singh, ruler of Farīdkoṭ (1842-98) and patron of the Amritsar *Khālsā Dīwān*, commissioned a full-scale commentary in Punjabi on Gurū Granth Sāhib. The first draft prepared by Giānī Badan Singh of Sekhvān was ready by 1883. It was then revised by a synod of Sikh scholars representing a wide variety of schools of thought current among the Sikhs, with Mahant Sumer Singh of Paṭnā Sāhib as chairman. Other members of the committee were Giānī Harbhajan Singh of Amritsar, Sant Singh of Kapūrthālā state, Jhaṇḍā Singh of Gurdwārā Nānakiāṇā Sāhib, near Saṅgrūr, Rāi Singh of Jaṅgī Rāṇā, Dhiān Singh of Sekhvān, Paṇḍit Hamīr Singh Saṅskritī, Paṇḍit Bālak Rām Udāsī Saṅskritī and Bābā Bakhtāvar Singh Giānī. The revision was completed during the time of Rājā Bikram Singh, but he did not live long enough to see publication of the work he had sponsored. The

printing started during the reign of his successor, Rājā Balbīr Singh (1869-1906). Three volumes came out during his time and the fourth and final one during the reign of his successor, Mahārājā Brijindar Singh (1896-1918). By this time the first edition had already run out. A large number of the sets had been presented free of cost to *gurdwārās* and to scholars. The rest were sold at a nominal price. Meanwhile, suggestions for further revisions and for the use of standard Punjabi instead of Braj in the exegesis had been pouring in from various Singh Sabhās and Khālsā Dīwāns. The Mahārājā ordered, in August 1918, the formation of a revision committee and, pending the revision, ordered the publication of a second edition to meet the immediate demand. However, his untimely death a few months later (22 December 1918) upset the entire plan. The proposed revision never took place, though a second edition did appear in 1924. Mahārājā Brijindar Singh's successor Rājā Harindar Singh was averse to the idea of a revision. He used to say that the *ṭikā* had been commissioned by his ancestors and it must remain in the same form and style in which they had left it. The original copy of the *ṭikā* is still preserved in the *toshākhānā* of the late Rājā. There have, however, been reprints of the original brought out by the Languages Department (Bhāshā Vibhāg) Punjab, the first one in the series appearing in 1970.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tāran Singh, *Gurbānī dān Viākhīā Praṇālīān*. Patiala, 1980
2. "Introduction" in *Farīdkoṭ Ṭikā*. Patiala, 1970

M.G.S.

FARĪD, SHAIKH (569-664 AH/AD 1173-1265), Sūfī mystic and teacher, who is also known to be the first recorded poet in the Punjabi language. His father Shaikh Jamāluddīn Sulaimān whose family related, according to

current tradition, to the rulers of Kābul by ties of blood, left his home in Central Asia during the period of Mongol incursions in the course of the twelfth century. Seeking safety and some place to settle in, he came into the Punjab where already under Ghaznavid rule several Muslim religious centres had developed and sizeable Muslim populations had grown, particularly in the areas now included in West Punjab (Pakistan).

To Shaikh Jamāluddīn Sulaimān was born in 569 AH/AD 1173 in the month of Ramadān a son, the future Shaikh Farīd. The newly-born child is said to have been named after the Sūfī poet Farīduddīn Attār, author of several works on Sūfī philosophy. The child became famous by the first part of his name Farīd, which is Arabic for 'Unique'. He also acquired the appellation of Shakargañj or Gañj-i-Shakar (Treasury of Sugar) or Pīr-i-Shakarbār.

The place of his birth, close to Multān, was called Koṭhevāl. His father having died while he was still a child, his mother Qarsūm Bībī, an extremely pious lady, brought him up. He grew up to be a great saint, combining with holiness learning in all the sciences comprehended at that time under Islamic religious studies, such as canon law, jurisprudence and mystical philosophy.

About the appellation of *Shakargañj* popularly given him, it is related that in order to induce the child to say his prayers regularly, his mother used to place under his prayer-mat a small packet of *shakar* or country sugar which the child would get as a reward. Once, it is said, she forgot to provide the incentive. Such was the piety of the child and such the divine favour that a packet of *shakar* nevertheless appeared in the usual place. On discovery, this was attributed to a miracle, and hence the appellation *Shakargañj*. Another explanation given is that while undergoing in his youth extremely hard penance, he in a fainting state once looked around for something to break a three days' continuous fast.

Not finding anything to assuage his hunger, he thrust a few stone pebbles into his mouth. By divine intervention, the stones turned into lumps of sugar. But this name may in reality be traceable to the blessing which he is recorded to have received from his spiritual preceptor, Khwājā Qutubuddīn Bakh̄tiyār Kākī, who praised the sweetness of his disposition and of his word, and remarked: "Thou shalt be sweet like sugar."

Shaikh Farīd is one of the founding-fathers of the famous Chishtī Sūfī order in India, which began its long course in the country towards the close of the twelfth century with the coming of the great saint Khwājā Mu'inuddīn Chishtī. Khwājā Mu'inuddīn came to India during the reign of Rāi Pithorā or Prithvirāj Chauhān, the last Rājput king of Delhi, whose kingdom stretched to Ajmer and beyond. Shaikh Farīd became the disciple of Khwājā Qutubuddīn Bakh̄tiyār Kākī, himself a disciple of Khwājā Mu'inuddīn Chishtī. He first met his future master at Multān and became deeply devoted to him. When the Khwājā was leaving Multān to resume his onward journey to Delhi, he adjured him to follow him to the city after completing his studies at Multān. Farīd continued his Sūfī practices under the guidance of the master he had adopted. This involved, in accordance with the tradition of the Chistī order, rigorous penance and constant prayer, to subdue the flesh and acquire spiritual illumination. Included in this discipline was *chillā-i-makūs*, constant prayer with head hung downwards for forty days. Shaikh Farīd set up a centre of devotion at Hānsī, in present-day Haryāṇā, later shifting to Ajodhan, now Pāk Paṭṭan in Sāhīwāl district of Punjab (Pakistan). This was then a wild and arid area, with few of the comforts of life, and here he came in obedience to Khwājā Qutubuddīn's command: "Go thou and set up settlement in some wasteland." Ajodhan is close to the River Sutlej on its western side, on the banks of one of its tributary streams.

The stream was served by a ferry called *paṭtan*. Later, in honour of Shaikh Farīd it came to be known as Pāk Paṭṭan (holy ferry). The place, now a fairly well-developed town, is till this day called by that name. It is recorded that Shaikh Farīd spent his entire life from his twenty-fourth year on at Ajodhan, where he made a reputation for himself by his pious and austere living and his many beneficent works. As related by his disciple, the famous Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Awliyā, who visited him at least three times at Ajodhan there was more often than not very little in his home to eat and the family and disciples would feel blessed if they could make a meal on *delā*, a wild sour-tasting berry growing on a leafless thorny bush. He maintained in the tradition of the Chishtī saints, a *khānaqāh* or hospice for itinerant Sūfis and others, along with a prayer-house where strangers would be provided food and shelter and spiritual instruction. Here Shaikh Farīd also received visits from travelling scholars, other Sūfis and dervishes and from large crowds seeking his blessing. Some miraculous stories are related of him which illustrate the great faith he inspired and the veneration in which the people held him.

That the Sufis brought the healing touch to the strife-torn religious scene in those times is evidenced by an incident which bears a deep symbolic character. Once someone brought a pair of scissors. Shaikh Farīd put it by and asked instead for a needle, saying: "I am come to join not to sever." Shaikh Farīd, whose influence spread far and wide, had, according to a report, twenty *khalīfās* or senior missionary-disciples to preach his message in different parts of the country. Out of these, three were considered to be the principal ones. At the head was the famous Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Awliyā of Delhi, followed by Shaikh Jamāluddīn of Hānsī and Shaikh 'Alāuddīn 'Alī Ahmad Sābir of Kaliyār, in Rājasthān.

The modern town of Farīdkoṭ, which is

situated close to Bathiṇḍā and would in Shaikh Farīd's time be on the road leading out from Delhi and Hānsī towards Multān, is traditionally associated with his name. Ajodhan would be distant about a hundred miles from this place. A credible story connects the name of this place, Farīdkoṭ (Fort of Farīd), with the forced labour that this saint had to undergo there in the time of the local chief named Mokal, then building his fort. By a miracle Shaikh Farīd's sainthood was revealed and, on the inhabitants showing him reverence, he blessed the place.

The Gurū Granth Sāhib contains the spiritual and devotional compositions of certain saints besides the Gurūs. Prominent among these are Kabīr, Ravidās, Nāmdev and Farīd. The poetry of Shaikh Farīd, as preserved in the Gurū Granth Sāhib is deeply sensitive to the feeling of pity, the subtle attractiveness of sin, inevitable death and the waste of human life owing to man's indifference to God and goodness. His language is of an extraordinary power and sensitivity. The tragic waste of man's brief span of life in frivolous pursuits moves him to tender expression of pity and reproach. Withal he is deeply human and man's situation moves him to deep compassion such as would be in a man with eyes who saw a blind man standing on the edge of a precipice, about to take the fatal step into nothingness. The voice of human suffering finds in him an expression heard seldom and only in the greatest poetry. His language is the authentic idiom of the countryside of southwestern Punjab, where he spent the major portion of his life. Yet by a miracle of poetic creation this language has become in his hands full of subtle appeal, evoking tender emotions and stimulating the imagination.

The main theme of Shaikh Farīd's *bāṇī* is what in the Indian critical terminology would be called *vairāgya*, that is dispassion towards the world and its false attractions. In Sūfī terminology this is called *taubā* or turning away. The *bāṇī* of Farīd in the Gurū Granth

Sāhib is slender in volume, but as poetry of spiritual experience it is creation of the highest order. It consists of four *śabdās* (hymns) and 112 *ślokas* (couplets). Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās and Gurū Arjan have continued the theme of some of Farīd's couplets. These continuations appear in the body of Farīd's *bāṇī*. Gurū Nānak has left a *śabda* in measure Sūhī as a corrective to Farīd's beautiful lyric in the same measure, which, however, appeared to view the future of the human soul in a rather pessimistic light.

Certain recent writers, led by M.A. Macauliffe, have raised doubts as to Shaikh Farīd Shakargañj's authorship of the *bāṇī*, mainly on the score of its language which they think is too modern for his day. While in the course of oral transmission it may have at places taken on the colouring of subsequent periods, it is the authentic idiom of Multānī-Punjabī which that dialect retains to this day. The language argument against Farīd's authorship cannot be sustained. The Gurūs would not have given this *bāṇī* the place of honour they did, were they not convinced that it was composed by Shaikh Farīd Shakargañj, the most revered Muslim Sūfī of the Punjab. The high level of poetry, the sheer genius which has created it would make the claim of a lesser man than Shaikh Farīd to authorship insupportable. History does not know of any other man as famous as Farīd, the name used in the verses included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1964
2. Gurdit Singh Giāni, *Itihās Sī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. (Bhagat Bāṇī Bhāg). Chandigarh, 1990
3. Sāhib Singh, *Bhagat Bāṇī Saṭik*. Amritsar, 1959-60
4. Vir Singh, Bhāī, *Shabad-Shalok Sheikh Farīd Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1909
5. Macauliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
6. Kohli, Surindar Singh, *A Critical Study of Adī Granth*. Delhi, 1951

FARRIS (d. 1842), a Frenchman, who joined the Sikh army in 1841 and was employed in the gunpowder factory. He died at Lahore within one year of his appointment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India*. Lahore, 1929

G.I.S.

FARRUKH-SĪYAR (1683-1719), Mughal emperor of India from 1713-19, was the second son of 'Azīm al-Shān, the third son of Bahādur Shāh. Born at Auraṅgābād in the Deccan on 11 September 1683, he in his tenth year accompanied his father to Āgrā, and in 1697 to Bengāl, when that province was added to his charge. In 1707, when 'Azīm al-Shān was summoned to the court by Auraṅzīb, Farrukh-Sīyar was nominated his father's deputy there, which post he held until his recall by 'Azīm al-Shān in 1711. When Bahādur Shāh died at Lahore on 27 February 1712, Farrukh-Sīyar was at Paṭnā, having tarried there since the previous rainy season. Following the defeat and death of his father in the contest at Lahore, Farrukh-Sīyar proclaimed himself king at Paṭnā on 6 March 1712. He marched on Delhi, defeating Jahāndār Shāh, who had succeeded Bahādur Shāh, on 10 January 1713, after a hard-fought battle at Sāmūgarh near Āgrā.

After his accession to the throne of Delhi, Farrukh-Sīyar launched the sternest proceedings against Sikhs who had under Bandā Siṅgh Bahādur risen in the Punjab. He deputed his best military generals against them. 'Abd us-Samad Khān was appointed governor of Lahore and was entrusted with the task of quelling Sikh insurrection. According to *Ak̄hbār-i-Darbār-Mu'allā*, high-ranking military generals such as Bak̄hshī ul-Mulk Muhammad Khān Bahādur, Ghāzī ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur, Mahābat Khān Bahādur and Hamīd ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur moved against the Sikhs at the head of their forces. Chopped

heads of the victims were often sent to the emperor by the commanders to win his pleasure. Sikhs' main column under Bandā Siṅgh Bahādur was subjected to a most stringent siege at the village of Gurdās-Naṅgal, about 6 km from Gurdāspur. For eight long months, the garrison resisted the siege under gruesome conditions. The royal armies at last broke through and captured Bandā Siṅgh and his famishing companions on 7 December 1715. After being paraded in the streets of Lahore, they were taken to Delhi where they arrived on 27 February 1716. Besides 740 prisoners in heavy chains, the cavalcade to imperial capital comprised seven hundred cartloads of the heads of Sikhs with another 2,000 stuck upon pikes. By Farrukh-Sīyar's order, Bandā Siṅgh and some two dozen leading Sikhs were imprisoned in the Fort, while the remaining 694 were made over to the *kotwāl*, Sarbarāh Khān, to be executed in the Kotwālī Chabūtrā at the rate of a hundred a day. Then Bandā Siṅgh Bahādur and his remaining companions were taken to the tomb of Khwājā Qutb ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, near the Qutb Minār. There he was offered the choice between Islam and death. Upon his refusal to renounce his faith, his four-year son, Ajai Siṅgh, was hacked to pieces before his eyes. Bandā Siṅgh himself was subjected to the harshest torments. His eyes were pulled out and hands and feet chopped off. His flesh was torn with red-hot pincers and finally his body was cut up limb by limb. This happened on 9 June 1716.

According to George Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, an edict was issued by Farrukh-Sīyar after the execution of Bandā Siṅgh directing that "every Sicque falling into the hands of his officers should, on a refusal of embracing the Mahometan faith, be put to the sword. A valuable reward was also given by the emperor for the head of every Sicque; and such was the keen spirit that animated the persecution, such the success of the exertions, that the name of a Sicque

no longer existed in the Mughul dominion. Those who still adhered to the tenets of Nanock, either fled into the mountains at the head of the Punjab, or cut off their hair, and exteriorly renounced the profession of their religion."

Farrukh-Siyar was deposed and blinded by his own men with needles pressed into his eyes on 28 February 1819 and choked to death on the night between 27 and 28 April.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhagat Singh, ed., *Akhhār-i-Darbār-Mu'allā*. Patiala, 1984
2. Irvine, W., *Later Mughals*. London, 1922
3. Nijjar, B.S., *Punjab under the Later Mughals*. Jalandhar, 1972

B.S.

FATEH CHAND MAINĪ, RĀJĀ, a ranked citizen of Paṭṇā in Bihār, who served Gurū Tegh Bahādur with dedication during his visit in 1665. Fateh Chand and his wife were devout Sikhs and received the Gurū and his family with great honour. They put them up in their newly built house, themselves continuing to live in the old one. After the departure of the Gurū's family for the Punjab, the couple converted their house into a *dharamsālā* for the *saṅgat* or devotees to assemble in holy congregation. The place came to be known as Mainī Saṅgat. On the site now stands Gurdwārā Bāl Līlā Mainī Saṅgat. This is a new building, but the porch of the old one has been kept intact. On the entrance wooden door are carved the Mūl Mantra and the date "Sambat 1725 Assū vadī 10" corresponding to 28 August 1668.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Panth Prakāsh* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
2. Trilochan Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Prophet and Martyr*. Delhi, 1967
3. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1982

P.S.P.

FATEHGARH SĀHIB, GURDWĀRĀ, 5 km north of Sirhind (30°-37'N, 76°-23'E), marks the site of the execution of the two younger sons of Gurū Gobind Singh at the behest of Wazīr Khān of Kuñjpurā, the *faujdar* of Sirhind. As Gurū Gobind Singh evacuated Anandpur on the night of 5-6 December 1705, he was closely pursued by the host. In front ran the Sarsā swollen with rain water. Under cover of a quick rearguard action fought on the banks of the stream, he succeeded in crossing it, but the members of his family got scattered in the tumult. Gurū Gobind Singh's old mother, Mātā Gujarī, and her two grandsons, Zorāwar Singh and Fateh Singh, aged 9 and 7 years respectively, had nowhere to go until their cook, named Gaṅgū, offered to take them to his own village Kherī. They accompanied him to his house. But he proved deceitful and betrayed them to Jānī Khān and Mānī Khān of Moriṇḍā. The latter at once despatched them to Sirhind where they were consigned to the Cold Tower (Ṭhaṇḍā Burj) of the Fort. On 9 December 1705, Zorāwar Singh and Fateh Singh were produced before Wazīr Khān, who had just returned from the battle of Chamkaur. Wazīr Khān tried to lure them to embrace Islam with promises of riches and honours, but they spurned the offer. He threatened them with death as an alternative to Islam, but they remained firm. A death sentence was eventually awarded. Nawāb Sher Muhammad Khān of Mālerkotlā protested that it would be improper to harm the innocent children. Wazīr Khān, however, ordered them to be bricked up alive in a wall, if they still refused conversion. They were kept in the Cold Tower in that severe winter for another two days. On 11 December, they, under the orders of Wazīr Khān began to be paved with bricks standing on the ground. However, as the masonry reached above chest height, it crumbled. The next day, 12 December 1705, the Sāhibzādās were once again offered the choice of conversion or death.

They chose the latter and fearlessly faced the executioner's sword. The cruelty of their murder and their fearlessness of death which they preferred to giving up their faith finds a touching narration in "Gañj-i-Shahīdān" an Urdu poem by a Muslim poet, Allahyār Khān Jogī, who used to recite it from Sikh platforms during the second and third decades of the twentieth century. The aged Mātā Gujarī who had all along been confined in the Cold Tower, only a little distance away, breathed her last as the news reached her ears.

The dead bodies were kept for the night at a spot now called Bimāngarh, just outside the fort wall, and were cremated the following day by Seth Ṭoḍar Mall, a wealthy merchant of Sirhind.

Sirhind suffered the full fury of Sikh ire when Bandā Singh Bahādur marched upon it with his daring host. Wazīr Khān was killed and the city was occupied on 14 May 1710. Dīwān Suchchānand, who had explicitly championed the penalty laid upon the captives by the *faujdar*, was captured and tortured to death. The town, including the Fort, was razed to the ground. A memorial was raised marking the spot where the Sāhibzādās were martyred and named Fatehgarh.

Sirhind, however, soon fell back into the hands of the Mughals and was later conquered by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī who appointed Zain Khān *faujdar* in 1761. As Zain Khān was finally defeated and killed in battle on 14 January 1764 by the Dal Khālsā and as the Sikhs occupied the country around Sirhind, no Sikh Sardār was willing to keep the accursed town. It was consequently conferred upon Bhāi Buḍḍhā Singh, a pious and humble Sikh. He later sold it to Bābā Ālā Singh, founder of the Paṭiālā dynasty. To honour the memory of the young martyrs, a *gurdwārā* was constructed on the site of the old memorial and named Fatehgarh Sāhib. Maharājā Karam Singh (1798-1845) of Paṭiālā had the *gurdwārā* rebuilt. He also gave Sirhind

Nizāmat (district) the name of Fatehgarh Sāhib. Other shrines were, in course of time, established around the central Gurdwārā. For over a century the management of the shrines at Fatehgarh Sāhib remained in the hands of local priests. In 1906, a committee consisting of custodians of the different shrines was formed. In 1944, Paṭiālā government constituted an Interim Gurdwārā Board and an Improvement Committee for Gurdwārās Fatehgarh Sāhib and Joti Sarūp. After the formation of the Paṭiālā and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) in July 1948, the Interim Board was amalgamated with the Dharam Arth (Religious Endowments) Board. Upon the unification of PEPSU and East Punjab into a single state of the Punjab, the *gurdwārās* in PEPSU passed under the control of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Renovation and development originally planned by the Improvement Committee of 1944 were taken in hand in 1955-56.

The architectural design of the present building is Indo-Muslim, with its flat-roofed pyramidal construction over a square base, a ribbed lotus dome on top, mosaic floor and a richly patterned ceiling, radiating and cusped arches, and projecting windows. It stands on an extensive mound and commands the landscape for miles around. The three-storeyed edifice on a raised platform has a *divān* hall on the ground floor, with a basement below and a central pavilion and dome on top. The basement called Bhorā Sāhib contains the old brick enclosure believed to be the exact site of the execution of the Sāhibzādās. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated here with holy relics, hilt of a sword and a dagger and a rust-eaten fragment of a double-edged weapon. The *divān* hall has a marble floor and an artistically patterned ceiling with the Gurū Granth Sāhib seated in the centre in a gilded *pālakī*, portable canopied seat, on a marble platform. The inverted lotus at the apex of the dome above and

the pinnacle are covered with gold-plated sheets and have an umbrella-shaped gold finial. So are the domes of the four kiosks one at each corner of the roof. The three-storeyed gateway is topped by decorative canopied pavilions and a clock-tower.

GURDWARĀ BIMĀNGARH is a small, simple hut of baked bricks, 100 metres east of the main Gurdwarā. It marks the place where dead bodies of the three martyrs were kept for the night, and their hearses prepared prior to cremation. It is managed by the Nihāᅅg Sīᅅghs.

GURDWARĀ SĀHIB JOTĪ SARŪP, about 1.5 km southeast of Gurdwarā Fatehgarh Sāhib indicates the site where the mortal remains of the mother and two younger sons of Gurū Gobind Sīᅅgh were cremated.

After the deaths of Zorāwar Sīᅅgh and Fateh Sīᅅgh and of Mātā Gujarī, Seth ᅒoᅅar Mall, a wealthy and influential citizen of Sirhind, made arrangements to perform the last rites. But no one would give him a patch of land in the locality to be used as cremation ground until one Chaudharī Attā agreed to sell him a plot. His stipulation was that ᅒoᅅar Mall could take only as much space as he could cover with gold *mohars*. The Seth produced the coins and bought the piece of land he needed. He cremated the three corpses and a Sikh, Jodh Sīᅅgh living in Attevalī village, buried the ashes.

At the time of the conquest of Sirhind by Bandā Sīᅅgh Bahādur in 1710 or later by the Dal Khālsā in 1764, no memorial was raised at this place, so that when Mahārājā Karam Sīᅅgh of Paᅅiālā got Gurdwarā Fatehgarh Sāhib rebuilt, he had to search for and determine the exact spot of cremation. The urn containing the ashes was at last discovered and he got a *gurdwarā* built over it in 1843 and named it Jotī Sarūp. A century later, in 1944, Mahārājā Yādavinder Sīᅅgh set up a committee for the improvement of Fatehgarh

Sāhib and Jotī Sarūp. Consequently two upper storeys and a dome were added to the building in 1955. Earlier, when a Jodhpur prince, Himmat Sīᅅgh, married Princess Shailendra Kaur of Paᅅiālā in 1951, the Mahārājā of Jodhpur donated money for the construction of a separate shrine dedicated to the sacred memory of Mātā Gujarī. This *samādh*, a small square canopied platform built in white marble, stands in the south-western corner of the circumambulatory verandah on the ground floor. During the annual Sabhā festival, the most dramatic event is a mass procession on 13 Poh taken out from Gurdwarā Fatehgarh Sāhib and ending at Gurdwarā Jotī Sarūp. At the latter place, *Kīrtan Sohilā* and *Anandu Sāhib* are recited followed by supplication in memory of the martyrs. With this the programme officially comes to an end.

GURDWARĀ MĀTĀ GUJARĪ is close to the main Gurdwarā Fatehgarh Sāhib. Both are, in fact, situated on the same mound of ruins of the old Fort of Sirhind. ᅒhaᅅᅅā Burj used to be a high tower built at a bend of the rampart of the Fort. Owing to its exposure to wind currents from all directions and to a water current from below it was a pleasant resort for the *faujdār* to spend his hot summer afternoons. In winter, however, it was intolerably cold. When Mātā Gujarī and her grandsons were brought to Sirhind as captives in the cold season (8 December 1705), they were detained in this Tower.

When Bandā Sīᅅgh Bahādur sacked Sirhind in 1710, the Cold Tower escaped destruction. But in the turbulent times that followed, the water channel running below it was blocked and disappeared, and the top-most portion of the tower fell down. After the establishment of Sikh rule in 1764, it became a revered place of pilgrimage, but its renovation had to wait until the Improvement Committee for Gurdwarās Fatehgarh Sāhib and Jotī Sarūp was constituted in 1944.

Actual work on the implementation of plans prepared by the Committee, however, commenced only in 1955-56. Since then except for a portion of the original Fort wall, the place has been changed into an entirely new building, modest but elegant in design, a noble memorial to the illustrious Mātā, Mother. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in the room on the ground floor. A narrow winding staircase leads up to the first floor, a bare room with a low platform in the centre and a lotus dome above. There was a tradition, now discredited, that Mātā Gujarī, on hearing of the execution of her grandchildren, jumped down from the tower over the Fort wall. There is a small room near the foot of the stairs which was believed to be the exact spot where she fell dead. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is installed in this room as well. This shrine was further renovated in recent decades. The top room has been converted into a domed pavilion and the dome is covered with gilded copper plates.

SHAHĪD GAÑJ (I) is a low square platform with a flagpost, in the northern part of the inner compound of the main Gurdwārā. It marks the site of the cremation of Sikhs who laid down their lives at the time of Bandā Singh's conquest of Sirhind in 1710. This shrine, too, is attended by the Nihāᅅg Singh.

SHAHĪD GAÑJ (II) is a small *gurdwārā*, 300 metres south of the main shrine. In the days of fierce persecution which overtook the Sikhs after Bandā Singh Bahādur, decapitation of their heads was a favourite sport. It is said that once the Dal Khālsā captured 40 cart-loads of such heads being carried from Lahore for presentation to the Emperor at Delhi. These heads were cremated on the site now occupied by Gurdwārā Shahīd Gañj (II). According to another tradition, this Shahīdgañj is a memorial to Jathedār Mallā Singh who fell here fighting against Zain Khān in 1764. The present building was raised

in 1955-56.

SHAHĪD GAÑJ BĀBĀ SUKKHĀ SINGH, half a kilometre north of the main Gurdwārā, is a memorial to a Sikh commander, Sukkhā Singh, who fell a martyr here in the battle against Zain Khān in 1764.

THĀRĀ SĀHIB PĀTSHĀHĪ CHHEVĪN, a simple platform inside a low brick-wall enclosure, is dedicated to Gurū Hargobind who, according to local tradition, stayed here awhile during his travels through these parts.

Gurdwārā Fatehgarh Sāhib, with affiliated shrines, is administered directly by the Shiromaᅅī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. In addition to the daily programme of morning and evening services and *kīrtan*, largely attended assemblies are held on the first of each Bikramī month. The notable event of the year is a fair, popularly known as Sabhā, held on 11, 12 and 13 of Poh, which fall during the last week of December, to commemorate the martyrdom of Gurū Gobind Singh's sons, Zorāwar Singh and Fateh Singh, and Mātā Gujarī.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saᅅgrahī* Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar 1923
3. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Chār Sāhibzāde*. Patiala, 1988
M.G.S.

FATEH KAUR (d. 1773), popularly known as Māi Fatto, was the wife of Bābā Ālā Singh, founder of the Paᅅiālā family. She was the eldest daughter of Chaudharī Khānā, a *zamīndār* of Kāleke, in present-day Saᅅgrūr district of the Punjab. It is said that at her birth her parents, disappointed at having a female child, put her in an earthen vessel and buried her alive. A holy man, Dyāl Dās, in the line of Bhāi Bhagatū, happening to pass along and, seeing the mother in tears, enquired the cause of her grief. On Dyāl

Dās's advice, the child was dug out from underneath the earth unhurt. As she grew up, she came to be known by the name of Fatto. She was married to Ālā Singh in 1707 and bore him three sons, Sardūl Singh, Bhūmīā Singh and Lāl Singh, all of whom died in the lifetime of their father, and a daughter, Pardhān Kaur.

Fateh Kaur was a devoted housewife. She helped her husband in matters of state as well. It was she who at the time of plunder of Barnālā took the initiative and appointed a deputation to negotiate peace with Ahmad Shāh Durrānī who was on his way to Kābul after the battle of Pānīpat (1761). She was able to secure peace on payment of a tribute. It was also owing to her influence that Bābā Ālā Singh had the support of the descendants of Bhāi Bhagatū, one of the most revered Sikh families of the cis-Sutlej territory. Bhāi Gurbakhsh Singh of this family, who founded the state of Kaithal, helped Bābā Ālā Singh in his conquest of a large number of territories, including Buḍhlāḍhā and Ṭohānā. Fateh Kaur lovingly served the Dal Khālsā and kept an open Gurū kā Laṅgar for them. After the death of Bābā Ālā Singh, Fateh Kaur installed her grandson, Amar Singh, on the throne of Paṭiālā. Himmat Singh, half-brother of Amar Singh, raised a revolt against him, but Fateh Kaur intervened and brought about a compromise between the two.

Fateh Kaur, who is counted among the builders of Paṭiālā state, died in 1773 at Paṭiālā and was cremated near Bābā Ālā Singh's *samādh*, in the area known as Shāhī Samādhān, the royal cemetery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, *Rajas of the Punjab*. Lahore, 1870
2. Ganda Singh, *The Patiala and East Panjab States Union*. Patiala, 1951
3. Kirpal Singh, *Life of Maharaja Ala Singh and His Times*. Amritsar, 1954

S.S.B.

FATEH KHĀN (d. 1818), son of Pāindā Khān, the Bārakzāi chief, who overthrew Shāh Zamān, the king of Afghanistan (1793-1800), and placed his half-brother Shāh Mahmūd on the throne of Afghanistan, himself becoming prime minister. Shāh Mahmūd was dethroned in 1803 and was succeeded by Shāh Shujā'. Fateh Khān expelled Shāh Shujā' in 1809 and restored Shāh Mahmūd to sovereignty. Shāh Shujā' fell into the hands of 'Atā Muhammad Khān, the governor of Kashmīr. As Kashmīr was the richest province of the kingdom of Afghanistan, Fateh Khān turned his attention towards 'Atā Muhammad Khān. He concluded a treaty with Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh for a joint expedition to Kashmīr which was undertaken in 1812. 'Atā Muhammad was defeated and replaced by Fateh Khān's real brother, Muhammad 'Azīm Khān, but Fateh Khān did not fulfil the terms of the treaty, and the Sikh general, Dīwān Mohkam Chand, seized Shāh Shujā' who was brought to Lahore. Raṅjīt Singh took Attock in June 1813. Fateh Khān and his brother, Dost Muhammad Khān, made an attempt to regain the fort, but were defeated by Dīwān Mohkam Chand. Recovery of Attock remained the dream of Fateh Khān till his death in 1818.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Udmāt-ut-Tiwārikh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*. Oxford, 1905
3. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990

H.R.G.

FATEH KHĀN TIWĀNĀ (d. 1848) was the son of Khudā Yār Khān, a *jāgīrdār* in the neighbourhood of Ḍerā Ismā'il Khān. The Sikh general, Harī Singh Nalvā appointed him to take charge of Miṭṭhā Tiwānā, country in the upper regions of the Sindh Sāgar Doāb. On being implicated in the assassination of Rājā Dhiān Singh in September 1843,

Fateh Khān fled to Ḍerā Ismā'il Khān and raised the standard of revolt. When in 1844 Dīwān Lakkhī Mall was sent from Lahore to punish him, Fateh Khān took shelter in the fort of Ṭonk, but was forced to flee. He remained in hiding in the trans-Indus territory. Later, he was implicated in the murder of Kaṅvar Pashaurā Siṅgh. After the first Anglo-Sikh war, Fateh Khān Ṭiwāṇā became the governor of Bannū. In November 1848, Herbert Edwardes sent him to suppress Sikh disturbances. A Sikh force brought him to bay in the fort of Dalīpgarh where he was killed in action.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Udmāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Princeton, 1966
3. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990

H.R.G.

FATEHNĀMAH, or Nāmah-i-Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, a letter (*nāmah* in Persian) that Gurū Gobind Siṅgh (1666-1708) is believed to have addressed to Emperor Auraṅzīb prior to his better-known *Zafarnāmah* included in the *Dasam Granth*. The first reference to the existence of *Fatehnāmah* dates to 1922 when Bābū Jagan Nāth Dās published in the *Nāgarī Prachārīnī Patrikā*, Sāvan 1979 / July-August 1922, a letter supposed to have been sent by Chhatrapati Shivājī to Mirzā Rājā Jai Siṅgh. In his introduction, Bābū Jagan Nāth Dās had mentioned that he had copied around 1890 two letters from manuscripts in the possession of Bābā Sumer Siṅgh, *mahant* of Takht Srī Harimandar Sāhib at Paṭnā from 1882 to 1902 — one, Shivājī's which he was publishing in the *Patrikā* and the other, Gurū Gobind Siṅgh's which, he added, he had lost and of which he could not procure another copy owing to the death of the owner of the original document. According to Bābū Jagan Nāth

Dās, the letter, which he declared was not the same as the *Zafarnāmah* or any portion of it, contained more than 100 couplets. He reproduced some of the couplets from memory which he sent to Sardār Umrāo Siṅgh Majīṭhīā (1870-1954), who arranged them in order and sent a copy each to the Khālsā College, Amritsar, and to Bhāi Vir Siṅgh (1872-1957). The latter published it with a Punjabi translation in the *Khālsā Samāchār* of 16 July 1942 in an essay entitled *Uchch dā Pīr*. Sirdār Kapūr Siṅgh reproduced it two years later with an introduction and translation in Urdu in the *Ajūl*, a weekly then published from Lahore. He gave it the title *Fatehnāmah*. Dr Gaṇḍā Siṅgh included the Persian text, with an introduction in Urdu, in his *M'ākhiz-i-Twārīkh-i-Sikkhān*, vol. 1, 1949, under the title "Nāmah-i-Gurū Gobind Singh."

The incomplete letter *Fatehnāmah* has twenty-three and a half couplets, the twenty-first one having only one line. Its theme, language, style and metre are the same as those of the *Zafarnāmah*, though its tone is severer. Like the latter, it too chastises Auraṅzīb for his tyranny, deceitful policy and perjury. The fourteenth couplet refers to the killing of two of the Gurū's four sons which shows that this letter was written sometime after the battle of Chamkaur in which his two elder sons fell fighting and before the news of the martyrdom of the two younger ones at Sirhind had reached him at Lammā Jaṭṭpurā. As history records, the *Zafarnāmah* was written and despatched to Auraṅzīb through Bhāi Dayā Siṅgh and Bhāi Dharam Siṅgh only a few days later.

J.S.S.

FATEHNĀMAH, by Bhāi Dyāl Siṅgh, is a versified account of the victory (*fateh*, in Persian) of the Sikhs in the battle fought on Sunday, 22 Baisākh 1854 BK/30 April 1797, against Shāh Zamān's forces led by one of his generals Ahmad Khān, also called

Shahāñchī Khān, in which the latter got killed and his forces fled the field. Nothing is known about the poet who, judging from his diction, belonged to the western parts of the Punjab. The poet showers special praise on the Sikh warrior, Sāhib Siñgh Bhañgī, chief of Gujrāt, which indicates that he may have been a relation of his or a protege. Although there is no internal evidence to date the work, it seems from the details of the battle to be a near-contemporary work. The poem comprises 15 *paurīs* or stanzas followed by two *savaiyyās*, with two *dohīrās* at the end. The opening stanza is by way of invocation to the Almighty “who at His will controls everything and by whose aid victory is achieved.” The poem briefly touches upon Shāh Zamān’s capture of Lahore and the adjoining areas of the Punjab and the Sikhs’ dispersal towards the hills. However, the Sikhs reassembled as the Afghān king returned to Kābul to quell a revolt there. Shahāñchī Khān, whom Zamān Shāh had left behind to deal with the Sikhs, marched towards Gujrāt and camped on the bank of the River Chenāb. A fierce battle took place in which Sikhs were at a disadvantage at one stage but, inspired by Sāhib Siñgh and “helped by the divine powers of Gurū Gobind Siñgh” (11), they re-entered the field with redoubled zeal and won the battle. The poet attributes the Afghāns’ defeat to their obliviousness of God (15).

D.S.

FATEHNĀMAH GURŪ Khālsā Jī Kā, by Ganesh Dās, an employee of the Sikh Darbār, and published as edited by Sitā Rām Kohli, contains accounts, in Punjabi verse, of three of the major battles of Sikh times. The first of these was fought at Multān in 1818 between Mahārājā Rañjīt Siñgh’s forces and the army of the local Afghān ruler Muzaffar Khān. The second, the first battle of Peshāwar, also known as the battle of Nausherā, was fought in 1823 between Sikhs

and Muhammad ‘Azīm Khān, who after the death of his brother Fateh Khān, had acquired power in Afghanistan and wished to re-establish Afghān supremacy over Peshāwar. The third, the second battle of Peshāwar, was waged at Saidū, a few kilometres south of Akorā, in 1826 between the Sikhs and Sayyid Ahmad’s host. The Sayyid who hailed from Rāe Bareli, in present-day Uttar Pradesh, had declared *jihād* against the Sikhs. Ganesh Dās’s description of these engagements is embellished with conventional poetic devices, yet its historical core remains unimpaired. In fact, the details of the battles he has given correspond with those recorded in contemporary chronicles such as *Twārīkh-i-Mahārājā Rañjīt Siñgh*, *Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*, *Zafar Nāmā-i-Rañjīt Siñgh* and *Jañg-i-Multān*. Ganesh Dās has great admiration for Mahārājā Rañjīt Siñgh as well as for the Khālsā. His appraisal of the role of the Mahārājā in the Sikh body politic is highly perceptive. For him Rañjīt Siñgh was the leader of the Khālsā commonwealth rather than a Mahārājā or sovereign, and he addresses him as Siñgh Sāhib (exalted member of the Khālsā). Ganesh Dās attributes victories won in these battles to the Khālsā as a whole and not to Rañjīt Siñgh. Hence the title of his work: *Fatehnāmāh Gurū Khālsā Jī Kā*, i.e. account of the victories of the Gurū Khālsā.

G.R.S.

FATEH SHĀH (d. 1716) was the ruler of the Himalayan state of Srīnagar (Garhvāl) from 1684 to 1716. He had strained relations with Rājā Medinī Prakāsh of Sirmūr. When Gurū Gobind Siñgh made Pāoñṭā his headquarters in April 1685 at the invitation of the latter, he brought about reconciliation between Fateh Shāh and the Sirmūr chief. According to Sikh chroniclers, Gurū Gobind Siñgh sent presents through his *dīwān*, Nand Chand, to Rājā Fateh Shāh on the occasion of the marriage of his daugh-

ter to Ajmer Chand, son of Rājā Bhīm Chand of Kahlūr. Bhīm Chand, who resented the cordiality which existed between Gurū Gobind Singh and Fateh Shāh, urged the Srīnagar ruler not to accept the presents sent by the Gurū. He also urged him to join hands with him in waging war upon the Gurū. Fateh Shāh obliged him by joining the attacking host against the Gurū in the battle of Bhaṅgāñī fought on 18 September 1688, 10 km northeast of Pāoṅṭā. For the Gurū it was a mystery why he should have done so: in the *Bachitra Nāṭak* he said that Rājā Fateh Shāh "raged and fought with me purposelessly." Rājā Fateh Shāh's later years were occupied in contest with the rulers of Kumāoñ. He died in 1716.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sukhā Singh, *Gurbilās Dasvīñ Pātshāhī*. Lahore, 1912
2. Hutchinson, J. and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*. Lahore, 1933
3. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1986
K.S.T.

FATEH SINGH (d. 1716), an army commander under Bandā Singh Bahādur, who was appointed administrator of Samāñā after the town was occupied by the Sikhs in 1709. Fateh Singh participated in several of Bandā Singh's battles against the Mughal rulers. In the battle of Sirhind fought at the nearby village of Chappar Chīrī, Fateh Singh killed Nawāb Wazīr Khān, the *faujdar* of Sirhind. He was taken prisoner at Lohgarh in December 1710 and, after several years in jail, was executed in Delhi in June 1716 along with Bandā Singh and his other companions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Panth Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1970
2. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914
3. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*. Amritsar, 1935

G.S.D.

FATEH SINGH (d. 1875), son of Nidhān Singh Hāṭhū, was a soldier in the Sikh army and was attached to his father's contingent wherein he remained until 1827 when he was placed in the Ghorcharhā Kalāñ regiment. In 1834, he accompanied Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh to Peshāwar and, in 1840, he was sent, under Arjan Singh Raṅghar Naṅglīā, to Maṅḍī and Kullū where a rebellion had broken out. After the death of Rājā Hīrā Singh in December 1844, Fateh Singh was ordered to Rājaurī and Puṅchh to put down an insurrection there. During the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46), Fateh Singh remained in Lahore with General Gulāb Singh Pahūviñḍīā assigned to protecting the minor Mahārājā Duleep Singh. Soon after the war, he was appointed commandant of the Sūraj Mukhī corps. In 1847, he accompanied Lieut. Herbert Edwardes to Bannū, and served throughout the Multān campaign of 1848. After the annexation of the Punjab, he joined the police.

Fateh Singh died in 1875.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of the First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1955

S.S.B.

FATEH SINGH AHLÜVÄLĪĀ (d. 1836), son of Bhāg Singh, and a grand-nephew of Jassā Singh Ahlūvālīā, leader of the Ahlūvālīā *misl* and of the Dal Khālsā, who in 1758 proclaimed the sovereignty of the Sikhs in the Punjab. Fateh Singh succeeded to the Ahlūvālīā chiefship in 1801. He was the chosen companion of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, with whom he in 1802 exchanged turbans in a permanent bond of brotherhood. Fateh Singh took part in almost all the early campaigns of Ranjīt Singh — Kasūr (1802-03), Mālvā (1806-08), Kāṅgrā (1809), Multān (1818), Kashmīr (1819) and Mankerā

(1821). He fought in the battle of Haidrū (1813) and held command in the Bhimbar, Rājaurī and Bahāwalpur expeditions. In 1806, Fateh Singh acted as the plenipotentiary of Ranjīt Singh and signed the first Anglo-Sikh treaty with Lord Lake at the time when the Marāṭhā chief, Jasvant Rāo Holkar, had sought shelter in the Punjab.

Close association with the ruler of Lahore brought Fateh Singh ample rewards. The Mahārājā had bestowed upon him the districts of Dākhā, Koṭ, Jagrāon, Talvaṇḍī, Naraingarh and Rāipur after his Mālvā campaigns. He possessed extensive territories on both sides of the Sutlej yielding an annual revenue of 1,76,000 rupees in 1808; in 1836, his territories were estimated to be worth 16,00,000 rupees annually.

The cordiality between the two chiefs was strained by Fateh Singh's direct communications with the British over the question of Bhirog and Koṭlā chiefships, the construction by him of a strong citadel at Īsrū and his constant pleas for British protection. Feeling unsafe at Lahore, Fateh Singh fled across the river in 1825 to his cis-Sutlej territory and sought British protection. Ranjīt Singh promptly seized his trans-Sutlej possessions, but showed willingness to forgive him if he returned to Lahore.

The rift between the AHLŪVĀLĪĀ chief and Mahārājā of Lahore was, however, soon repaired. Fateh Singh returned to Lahore in 1827, and the Mahārājā received him with honour restoring to him all his possessions. Later in his life, Fateh Singh lived at Kapūrthālā where he died in October 1836.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lal, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990
3. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
4. Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh: Maharajah of the Punjab 1780-1839*. Bombay, 1962

S.S.B.

FATEH SINGH CHHĀCHHĪ (d. 1814), son of Ṭahal Singh Chhāchhī, a Kohli Khatri belonging to Gujrānwālā district in the Punjab, served under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. He fought in the campaigns launched by the Mahārājā for the conquest of Piṇḍ Dādan Khān, Piṇḍī Gheb and Jhaṅg and obtained considerable addition to his estates at Bharatpur, Sāhivāl and Kuṅjāh. He died fighting during the expedition against Kashmīr in 1814.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lal, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

FATEH SINGH KĀLIĀNVĀLĀ (d. 1807), military commander and *jāgīrdār* under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, was the son of Jassā Singh and grandson of Jaimal Singh. Jaimal Singh was a Sandhū Jaṭṭ and the first in the line to embrace the Sikh faith. He was a resident of Kālā village in Amritsar district. In the troops of the Sukkarchakkiā chiefs, Chaṭṭhat Singh and Mahān Singh, he had fought against the Chaṭṭhās inhabiting the northern part of Gujrānwālā district. In one of the skirmishes with the Chaṭṭhās he lost both of his sons, Jai Singh and Jassā Singh. Fateh Singh entered the service of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh in 1797, and rapidly rose in the favour of his master. He was a brave and skilful soldier and took part in almost every campaign undertaken by the Mahārājā during his early career. He fought against Ghulām Muhammad Khān Chaṭṭhā and against Jodh Singh of Wazirābād. He was with the Mahārājā at the time of the capture of the city of Lahore in 1799. He participated in the Kasūr (1801) and Jhaṅg (1806) campaigns. Fateh Singh conquered Chiniot from Jassā Singh Bhaṅgī and, when Jhaṅg was taken in 1806 from Ahmad Khān Siāl, the district was leased to him. When towards the close of 1806, Qutb ud-Dīn Khān

of Kasūr raised the banner of revolt, Fateh Singh Kālīānvālā was sent against him. In 1807, Ranjīt Singh, after a visit to Paṭiālā, besieged the fort of Naraingarh held by Sardār Kishan Singh. Fateh Singh, who was in immediate command, assaulted the fort, but was repulsed and mortally wounded. He died on 25 October 1807.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-1889.
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963
4. Sinha, N.K., *Ranjit Singh*. Calcutta, 1933
5. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990

J.R.G.

FATEH SINGH MĀN (d. 1845), son of Shām Singh Mān, soldier, diplomat and commander in Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's army. He entered the service of the Mahārājā as a trooper, and took part in several campaigns, including those of Multān (1818) and Kashmīr (1819). He rose to be a *kumedān*. In 1811, he had a *jāgīr* worth one lakh of rupees and maintained a contingent of 300 horsemen. He served mostly in the northwest frontier region, across the Indus. After Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's death, he became an active partisan of Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh and Wazīr Dhiān Singh. In 1839, he served under Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh in the Sikh army sent to Peshāwār to assist Colonel Claude Wade in Shāhzādā Taimūr's expedition to Kābul.

In the courtly intrigue following the death of Mahārājā Khaṛak Singh and Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh, Fateh Singh Mān aligned himself with the faction supporting Rāṇī Chand Kaur against Sher Singh. The faction comprised Sandhānvālīā Sardārs, the Jammū brothers, and the Bhāīs. However, the accession of Sher Singh to the throne

of Ranjīt Singh on 20 January 1841 broke up the faction supporting Chand Kaur. Fateh Singh submitted to Mahārājā Sher Singh and saved his *jāgīrs* and command. He continued thereafter to serve in the Sikh army, retaining his influence at the court.

The army *pañchāyats* deputed Fateh Singh to Jammū to negotiate with Rājā Gulāb Singh the surrender of Hīrā Singh's treasure which the Ḍogṛa chief had carted away to his capital. Gulāb Singh paid Rs 4,00,000 as earnest money, and promised to surrender the treasure at an early date. The Lahore deputation left Jammū but was waylaid outside the town by Gulāb Singh's troops and Fateh Singh Mān was killed on 28 February 1845.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990
4. Smyth, G. Carmichael, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*. Patiala, 1970

B.J.H.

FATEH SINGH, SĀHIBZĀDĀ (1699-1705), the youngest of Gurū Gobind Singh's four sons, was born to Mātā Jītojī at Anandpur on 25 February 1699. After the death of his mother, on 5 December 1700, he was brought up under the care of his grandmother, Mātā Gujarī, with whom he remained till the last. On 12 December 1705, he was martyred at Sirhind along with his elder brother, Zorāwar Singh.

See ZORĀWAR SINGH, SĀHIBZĀDĀ

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Saināpatī, Kavi, *Srī Gur Sobhā*. Patiala, 1967
2. Chhibbar, Kesar Singh, *Baṅsāvalīnāmā Dasān Pātshāhīān Kā*. Chandigarh, 1972
3. Sukhā Singh, Bhāī, *Gurbilās Dasvīn Pātshāhī*. Lahore, 1912
4. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Chār Sāhibzāde*. Patiala, 1967

5. Trilochan Singh, *Life-sketch of Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1968

S.S.A.

FATEH SINGH, SANT (1911-1972), who enjoyed wide religious esteem among the Sikhs (*sant*, lit. a holy man) and who during the latter part of his career became a dominant political figure, was born, on 27 October 1911, the son of Bhāi Channaṅ Singh, a resident of Baḍiālā in present-day Baḥiṇḍā district of the Punjab. He had no formal schooling and started learning to read Punjabi only at the age of 15. In view of his interest in religious texts, his father apprenticed him to a well-known scholar, Sant Īshar Singh, of Sekhā, a village near Barnālā. In company with Sant Channaṅ Singh, another holy man, he migrated to Gaṅgānagar district of the then princely state of Bikāner in Rājasthān, where a large number of Sikh peasants had settled down in the newly established canal colony. Having established himself at Buḍḍhā Jauhar, a little-known place which he made famous, Fateh Singh moved from village to village preaching the Sikh faith through *kīrtan* and discourse and administration of *amrit* or the vows of the *Khālsā*. He simultaneously worked for the promotion of education among the masses and was instrumental in the construction of, besides a number of *gurdwārās*, several schools and colleges, an orphanage and a centre for imparting training in *kīrtan*. In this task he was assisted by Sant Channaṅ Singh who, though senior in age, always acknowledged him as his elder, and their partnership and their respect for each other lasted till the very end. His pious way of living earned Fateh Singh the title of *Sant*.

Sant Fateh Singh made his debut in politics when he joined the Punjabi Sūbā agitation (1955-56), a campaign launched by the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal under the leadership of Master Tārā Singh for the creation of a new state comprising Punjabi-speaking areas

carved out of the then-existing Punjab. His rise in the Akālī hierarchy was very rapid. As the Punjabi Sūbā agitation entered its second phase, Fateh Singh unfolded at a specially convened conference at Amritsar (12 October 1958) the plan of action to be pursued by the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal of which he had by that time become the senior vice-president. On 15 March 1959 he led a massive march of Sikhs in the Indian capital, New Delhi. As the Punjabi Sūbā movement gathered momentum in May 1960, the responsibility of directing its course fell to Sant Fateh Singh. He displayed rare qualities of leadership and restraint in running in a most orderly manner the seven-month-long agitation in which, according to one estimate, 57129 Akālī volunteers courted arrest.

In a final bid for the attainment of a Punjabi-speaking state, Sant Fateh Singh put his own life at stake and started on 18 December 1960 a fast-unto-death. Before submitting himself to the ordeal he offered prayers at the Akāl Takḥt and at the Harimandar, and addressed a mammoth gathering of the Sikhs adjuring them to remain calm and peaceful in any eventuality.

There was universal applause for the purity of Sant Fateh Singh's motive and no one questioned the sincerity of his resolution. Yet everybody wished that the worst might somehow be averted. There was intense activity in government and political circles. Indian leaders of diverse opinion tried to intervene and persuade Sant Fateh Singh to abandon the fast. The Prime Minister of India, Jawāharlāl Nehrū, issued several conciliatory public statements, but Sant Fateh Singh judged them as falling short of his stipulation. At last the one issued on 8 January 1961 was pronounced by Master Tārā Singh and the Working Committee of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal to be satisfactory and they as well as Pañj Piāre or the Five Elect, speaking for the entire *Khālsā* Panth, asked him to end his fast. On the morning of 9 January 1961, Fateh

Singh took his first sip of nourishment in twenty-two days—a glass of juice from the hands of Bhāi Chet Singh, one of the Golden Temple priests.

Political negotiations ensued between the Government of India and the Akālī Dal. Sant Fateh Singh had three meetings with Prime Minister Nehru — on 8 February, 1 March and 12 May 1961, but with no positive result. His personal political authority had however been firmly established among the Sikhs. In July 1962, he directly challenged Master Tārā Singh, forming his own Akālī Dal which on 2 October 1962 wrested control of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee from the hands of the latter. In the Gurdwārā elections on 17 January 1965, Sant Fateh Singh annexed 90 of the elected seats, conceding only 45 to Master Tārā Singh. To force the issue of Punjabi Sūbā, he proclaimed from the Akāl Takht on 16 August 1965 that he would restart his fast from 10 September 1965 and that, if he survived the fast for 15 days with his demand still not conceded, he would commit self-immolation by burning himself alive on the 16th day. But as hostilities between India and Pakistan broke out in September 1965, he not only postponed the fast but also issued an appeal to all his countrymen, particularly Sikhs, to rally behind the government. The war ended on 22 September 1965 and on 23 September, the Home Minister of India announced in Parliament the setting up of a Cabinet Committee consisting of Indirā Gāndhī, Y.B. Chavān and Mahāvīr Tyāgī to pursue further the question of the formation of a Punjabi-speaking state. He also requested the Speaker of the Lok Sabhā and the Chairman of the Rājya Sabhā to form for the same purpose a Parliamentary Consultative Committee. Matters moved fast thereafter. The report of the Parliamentary Committee, headed by Speaker Hukam Singh, was made public on 18 January 1966, recommending the reorganization of the existing state of Punjab on lin-

guistic basis. Mrs Indirā Gāndhī who had, after the sudden death of Lāl Bahādur Shāstrī, taken over as Prime Minister, finally conceded the demand on 23 April 1966. On 3 September, the Punjab Reorganization Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabhā and on 1 November 1966 Punjabi-speaking state became a reality. A lifelong bachelor, Sant Fateh Singh greeted the event with the words: “A handsome baby has been born into my household.”

The demarcation of the boundaries of the new Punjab basically on the recommendations of a commission appointed by the Government of India, however, started a new polemic. Sant Fateh Singh protested that Chaṇḍīgarh, city built as capital for the Punjab after Partition, and some Punjabi-speaking areas had been left out of the new state. On 5 December 1966 he announced that to have this injustice undone he would sit afasting on 17 December 1966 and commit self-immolation on 27 December 1966 if he survived till that day and his demands remained unfulfilled. The demands were: (i) inclusion of Chaṇḍīgarh and the Punjabi-speaking areas assigned to Himāchal Pradesh and to the newly created state of Haryāṇā in the Punjab; (ii) severance of common links (governor, high court, etc.) between Punjab and Haryāṇā; and (iii) restoration of the control of Bhākhṛā and other multipurpose projects to the Punjab. Sant Fateh Singh began his fast on the appointed day (17 December). Simultaneously, moves were initiated by government and influential political leaders to have him terminate the fast and thus avert the threatened tragedy. At last, Hukam Singh, the Lok Sabhā Speaker, and Giānī Gurmukh Singh Musāfir, Chief Minister of the Punjab, communicated to him assurances on behalf of the Prime Minister Indirā Gāndhī and persuaded him to break his fast. Sant Fateh Singh ended the fast on 27 December 1966.

Sant Fateh Singh thereafter became a controversial figure and his influence began to decline. He started another fast-unto-death on 26 January 1970, with self-immolation to follow on 1 February 1970 if Chaṇḍigarh was not merged with Punjab by then. On 29 January, the Union Government announced that "the capital project area of Chaṇḍigarh should as a whole go to Punjab," but this was hedged round by stipulations such as the transfer of Fāzilkā *tahsīl* from Punjab to Haryāṇā. The All-Parties Action Committee and the Akālī Dal High Command at their separate meetings on 30 January 1970 passed resolutions welcoming the decision regarding Chaṇḍigarh, but opposing that on Fāzilkā. These resolutions were conveyed to Sant Fateh Singh, who was persuaded to end (30 January 1970) the fast he was going through. On 25 March 1972, he announced his retirement from active politics.

Sant Fateh Singh died at Amritsar on 30 October 1972.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ghai, Charan Das, *God's Man: A Biography of Sant Fateh Singh*. Ludhiana, 1969
2. Sarhadi, Ajit Singh, *Punjabi Suba*. Delhi, 1970
3. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
4. Budhirājā, Arjan Singh, *Do Mulākātān*. Amritsar, n.d.
5. Ashok, Shamsher Singh, *Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Prabandhak Committee dā Pañjāh Sālā Itihās*. Amritsar, 1982
6. Dilgeer, Harjinder Singh, *Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal*. Chandigarh, 1980

J.K.

FATŪHĀT NĀMAH-I-SAMADĪ, an unpublished Persian manuscript preserved in the British Library, London, under No. Or. 1870, is an account of the victories of 'Abd us-Samad Khān. Nawāb Saif ud-Daulah 'Abd us-Samad Khān Bahādur Diler Jaṅg was appointed governor of the Punjab by the Mughal Emperor Farrukh-Siyar on 22 February 1713, with the specific object of suppressing the

Sikhs who had risen under Bandā Singh commissioned by Gurū Gobind Singh himself, shortly before his death, to chastise the tyrannical rulers of Punjab and Sirhind. 'Abd us-Samad Khān immediately marched out and besieged Bandā Singh in his stronghold of Lohgarh Fort, in the Śivālik foothills. The latter stood his ground for six months and then escaped into the hills in the beginning of October 1713. After destroying the Fort of Lohgarh, the Nawāb turned his attention to the suppression of the recalcitrant Kharal, Gondal, Bhaṭṭī and Rāñjhā tribes of the *bār* area [modern Faisalābād and Sheikhūpurā districts of Pakistan. He had hardly started his campaign, when Bandā Singh reappeared in the plains and captured Paṭhānkoṭ and Gurdāspur. As he was operating around Baṭālā, north of Amritsar, 'Abd us-Samad Khān, with a 25,000 - strong force sent from Delhi and Sirhind to reinforce him, set out against him. 'Abd us-Samad's son, Zakariyā Khān, then *faujdar* of Jammū, advanced from the north. Their combined troops moved swiftly. Bandā Singh, unable to retire to the Fort of Gurdāspur, which he had lately strengthened and provisioned, took up position in a *havelī*, or walled house, with a large compound at Gurdās-Naṅgal, a village six kilometre west of Gurdāspur. The imperial army invested the house, blocking all possible routes of escape and cutting off all supplies of food and fodder. The siege continued for eight months, from April to early December 1715. Reduced to desperate straits, Bandā Singh was captured on 7 December 1715. The book also describes 'Abd us-Samad Khān's campaigns against 'Isā Khān Mañjh, a minor chief to the south of the River Sutlej, and Husain Khān Keshgī of Kasūr, and his part in the court intrigues at Delhi leading to the downfall of the king-making Sayyid brothers.

The author of *Fatūhāt Nāmah-i-Samadī*, Ghulām Muhiy ud-Dīn, who had taken part in the siege of Gurdās-Naṅgal, gives an eye-

witness account of several such happenings covering the period 1713-22. The work, according to the chronogram given in the preface, is dated AH 1135/AD 1722-23. What makes the manuscript especially relevant to Sikh history is the space devoted in it to the last phase of Bandā Siṅgh's struggle against the Mughals. Excluding the 14-page preface, the first 117 pages of the 175-page document deal with the Sikhs. The author is no admirer, not even sympathizer, of the Sikhs. He is clearly hostile as is evident from his pejorative phraseology and invective. Yet the overall picture of Sikhs' character and of their political and social ideas and practices that emerges from his narrative is far from discreditable.

Ghulām Mohīy ud-Dīn has not divided his narrative into chapters, but has given separate headings to the events narrated. The introduction, consisting of 29 pages, from 14 to 42, furnishes a background to the rise of the Sikhs under Bandā Siṅgh Bahādur, highlighting the circumstances leading to the estrangement between the Sikhs and the Mughals during the time of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. Further, some of the information provided by the author regarding the early victories of the Sikhs under Bandā Siṅgh over the Mughal officials is at once new and pertinent. "They expelled Wazīr Khān's garrisons from *thānās* everywhere," writes the author, "and brought the entire countryside right up to the cities and towns of Sirhind under their control." Elated with the victory attained, they erected a *khambā*, or wooden tower, on the other side of the plain of Thānesar touching the north western boundary of the Delhi empire. "The implication of their claim [by setting up a *khambā*]," he explains, "was that if the Emperor of Hindustān with all his victorious armies and conquering hordes, chose to direct his attention to this part of the land, this tower should, like a cloud of dust, serve to remind him that he

had to cry a halt to his march and that his jurisdiction ended there." The implication is clear that Bandā Siṅgh's was not merely a predatory campaign, as some historians have tried to depict it; he clearly aimed at establishing a sovereign Sikh State. Another point the author makes is that while upper-class urban Hindu population was by and large loyal and faithful to the Mughal government, the low-caste Hindus, whom he terms as *khas-o-khāshāk-i-hanūd-i-jahanamī wajūd*, i.e. the dregs of the society of Hindus condemned to hell, volunteered to become Sikhs. Hindus even from distant Iran, Turan, Kābul, Qandahār and Multān embraced the faith in large numbers. These people after joining the ranks of the "Nānak-prastān" or worshippers of Nānak, became so powerful that the author considers them a terrible calamity and exclaims: "*Tāqat-i-insānī ba āfat-i-āsmānī kujā hampanjā shawad?* (How could human power contend with calamity from the heavens?) In a poem inserted in the prose narrative, he praises the Sikhs for their mastery over the arts of archery and swordsmanship. At another point, he applauds their skill in manufacturing guns from hollowed trunks of trees. Moral values the Sikhs uphold are scarcely slurred by the contumelious epithets used for them by the author. To quote an instance, "They [Sikhs] are dirty, wretched, unclean and verily devils incarnate, a calamity on earth descending from the heavens, *but they never take a woman except for a mother.*"

Gb.S.

FAZALDĀD KHĀN CHIB (d. 1864), son of Rājā Umar Khān Chib, was recipient of a pension of rupees four thousand from Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh which was originally granted to his elder brother Amīr Khān as compensation for the confiscated territory of his father. Fazaldād Khān was taken into service by Prince Kharak Siṅgh to whom the

area of Khārī Karīālī, the territory which had belonged to Fazaldād Khān's ancestors, was given in *jāgīr*. Ten years later some *sovārs* or horsemen were also allowed him. Fazaldād Khān accompanied Sher Singh Aṭārīvālā to Multān in 1848, but did not join the rebellion. He died in 1864.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

G.S.N.

FERINGHEE is an adaptation of the Indo-Persian term *frāngī* or *firiṅgī* used to denote a person of European origin. It is derived from Frank, "a member of a group of ancient Germanic peoples dwelling in the regions of the Rhine, one division of whom, the Salians, conquered Gaul [modern France so named after them] about AD 500." Turks were the first Asian people to come in contact with Franks whom they called *frāngī*, a name applied to all Europeans.

Europeans who came to India following the arrival in 1498 at Calicut of Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese explorer, were also called Feringhees. Niccolao Manucci, a Venetian adventurer who came to India about the middle of the seventeenth century and remained here for over half a century, records that Feringhee was a term of contempt and was used by the Indians for Europeans whom they despised. "The Hindus," he says in his *Storia do Mogor*, "call all Europeans... in India by the name of *Farangis*, a designation so low, so disgraceful in their tongue, that there is nothing in ours which could reproduce it." The first Sikh writer, poet in this instance, in whose works the word is found is Bhāi Gurdās (d. 1636), but there it carries no derogatory implication. He, describing the infinite variety and diversity of peoples and creeds in the world, lists Feringhees along with Sunnīs,

Christians, Jews, Shīahs, infidels, Armenians, Romans, Sayyids, Turkomāns, Mughals, Paṭhāns, Negroes, black-clad monks and recluses. It was only after the establishment of Sikh rule under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh (1780-1839) that the common people came in actual touch with the Feringhees. They included Europeans employed by the Mahārājā (at salaries and perquisites much higher than those given to the sons of the soil), Christian missionaries with religious conversion as their ultimate aim, and officers and diplomats of the British East India Company putting on airs as rulers of a great empire. The Sikhs generally regarded them with distrust and dislike and considered them as intruders. The pro-British behaviour of most of them after the Mahārājā's death confirmed the people in their belief that the Feringhees were time-servers and enemies of the Khālsā. The antipathy continued until the British withdrawal from India in 1947, after which the word virtually fell into disuse.

B.J.H.

FITZROY, JOHN, an Englishman in the employ of the East Indian Company. In 1835, he came to Lahore and entered the service of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. He did not stay long and took his dismissal the following year.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India*. Lahore, 1929

G.I.S.

FIVE EVILS or *pañcadokh* or *pañj vikār* as they are referred to in Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, are, according to Sikhism, the five major weaknesses of the human personality at variance with its spiritual essence. The common evils far exceed in number, but a group of five of them came to be identified because of the obstruction they are believed to cause in man's pursuit of

the moral and spiritual path. The group of five evils comprises *kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *moha*, and *ahaṅkāra* (*kām*, *karodh*, *lobh*, *moh* and *haṅkāra*, in Punjabi); translated into English these words mean lust, wrath, greed, attachment and egoity, respectively. The word 'evil' here may be understood to represent the connotation of Punjabi *pāp* (sin), *dokh* (defect), or *kilbikh* (defilement).

The number five (*pañj*, *pañca*) is traditional and has been used in a variety of contexts. One comes across repeated references to pentads in philosophy, religion, ethics, mythology and history of India. The god Śiva has five faces, hence his name *Pañcānana*; the Buddha analysed human personality into five aggregates (*pañca-skandha*) and laid down five moral precepts (*pañcasīla*); the Upaniṣads speak of the five fires (*pañcāgni*) and five sheaths or wrappers investing the self (*pañcakosha*); Jainism has its five vows (*pañcapratas*), and the Yoga system its five abstinctions (*yamas*) and five observations (*niyamas*); five are the organs of sense, five the organs of action, five the objects of sense, five the gross and subtle elements (*pañca mahābhūta* or *pañca tattva*). There are also the traditions of five *makāras* of Tantric Yoga, five *kakārs* of later Sikhism and of the first five members of the *Khālsā* community and so on. The list of pentads (*pañcaka*) can be lengthened. However, theologically, no special significance attaches to the number five in the group of evils except that these five human failures are believed to constitute strong hindrances to spiritual progress.

The early Vedic literature bears no reference to the concept of 'five evils'; the terms *moha*, *kāma*, *krodha* and *aham* do occur in the Vedic texts, but they are not enumerated as a series of evils. Moreover, these words do not seem to have any significant relation to ethical and soteriological ideas in the Vedic age. It was the ascetic sages of non-Vedic tradition, the *munis* and *śramaṇas* who propounded the philosophy of renunciation and

the methods of sense-control. The impact of their ideas and practices was felt by the Upaniṣadic teachers. Thus the Upaniṣads, though they do not condemn *kāma* or desire, are aware of the evils like *rāga* or passion, *avidyā* or nescience, *moha* or delusion, and *ahaṅkāra* or egoity. These evils are mentioned and condemned in some of the post-Buddhistic Upaniṣads such as the *Praśna*, *Śvelaśvatara*, *Aitareya*, *Īśa* and *Muṇḍaka*. The last-named text refers to 'the sages whose defilements have been destroyed' (*kṣṇadoṣaḥ*), although it does not enumerate the 'defilements'.

Long before these later Upaniṣads, however, leaders of *śramaṇic* philosophers had expounded soteriological techniques in which eradication of all evils and imperfections was considered *sine qua non* for ultimate release. It is in the teachings of Kapilamuni, Pārśvanātha, Śākyamuni and Mahāvira that one finds a detailed discussion of the nature and function of *kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *moha* and *ahaṅkāra* and many other kindred vices.

The old Pāli texts contain three lists of evils and factors which obstruct meditation and moral perfection. The list of five 'hindrances' (*nivaraṇas*) consists of sensuous desire, ill will, sloth and torpor, restlessness and sceptical doubt. These hindrances blind man's mental vision and make concentration difficult. The list of ten 'fettors' (*saṅyojanas*), which bind beings to *saṅsāra*, comprises the following: belief in a permanent individuality, sceptical doubt, belief in the efficacy of mere moral observances and rituals, sensual passion, ill will, desire for existence in the material world, desire for existence in the immaterial world, conceit, restlessness and nescience.

The first two in the list of five hindrances, viz. sensuous desire (*kāmacchanda*) and ill will or malice are the same as the first two in the list of five evils mentioned in the Sikh canon. Likewise, belief in a permanent indi-

viduality (*satkāyadr̥ṣṭi*), sensual passion (*kāma-rāga*), ill will (*māna*) and nescience (*avidyā*), included in the Buddhist list of ten fetters, are comparable to egoity, lust, wrath, pride and delusion or attachment of Sikh enumeration.

The third Buddhist list of ten 'defilements' (Pāli *kilesa*, Punjabi *kalesh* and Skt. *kleśa*), includes the following: greed (*lobha*), hatred (*doṣa*), delusion (*moha*), conceit (*māna*), false views, sceptical doubt, sloth, distraction, shamelessness and recklessness. In this list, again, the first four defilements are nearly identical with those included in the list of 'five evils' minus lust (*kāma*). This last evil is mentioned separately and repeatedly in the Buddhist scriptures in Pāli as well as in Sanskrit. Similarly wrath (*krodha*) is mentioned separately as a powerful enemy of holy life. Early Buddhist sources describe the triad of *lobha*, *doṣa* (*dveṣa*), and *moha* as the three roots of evil (*akuśala-mūla*). One of the standard Buddhist words for evil is *kleśa* which may be translated as 'defilement' or 'depravity'. A list of six defilements is found in some Buddhist Sanskrit sources and includes passion (*rāga*), ill will (*pratigha*), conceit (*māna*), nescience (*avidyā*), false view (*kudr̥ṣṭi*), and sceptical doubt (*vichikitsā*).

The Jaina sources also contain details concerning evils and defilements. All the five evils of the Sikh list are found repeatedly mentioned in the sacred literature of Jainism. The *Āvaśyakasūtra* has a list of eighteen sins which includes among others wrath (*krodha*), conceit, delusion (*māyā*), greed, and ill will. The standard Jaina term for evil is 'dirt' or 'passion' (*kaṣāya*). The *Daśavaikālikasūtra* states that four *kaṣāyas*, viz. wrath, conceit, delusion and greed, cause rebirth. The *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra* mentions *moha*, *tr̥ṣṇā* (synonym of *kāma*) and *lobha* as the sources of sorrow.

The *Yogasūtra* (II. 3) has a list of five defilements or hindrances called *pañca-kleśah*. These are nescience (*avidyā*), egoity (*asmitā*),

passion (*rāga*), ill will (*dveṣa*) and the will to live (*abhiniveśa*). It should be pointed out here that *avidyā* equals *moha*; *asmitā* is identical with *ahaṅkāra*; *rāga* is similar to *kāma*; *dveṣa* is not different from *krodha*; and *abhiniveśa* belongs to the category of *lobha* understood as continuous desire for existence in *saṁsār*.

The *Bhagavad-gītā* mentions all the five evils although they are not enumerated as forming a pentad. The text mentions *kāma* as desire or wish and at one point it is identified with *krodha*. Besides *kāma* and *krodha*, the *Bhagavad-gītā* mentions passion (*rāga*), ill will, attachment, delusion, egoity, greed, conceit and nescience (*ajñāna*), and employs terms such as *pāpa*, *doṣa* and *kalmaṣa* for impurities or defilements. In one verse hypocrisy, arrogance, conceit, wrath, harsh speech and nescience are described as demoniac qualities. Medieval Buddhist, Jainist, and Brāhmaṇical authors of religious and philosophical works continued to discuss the meaning, nature and methods of eradicating the five and more evils. The Tāntric adepts (*siddhas*) recommended rather radical techniques of combating the evil psychological forces, especially through the method of 'conquering passions through passions'. Reference may be made here to Tulasidāsa who, in a series of quadriparti verses (*chaupāis*) in his *Rāmācharitamānasa*, acknowledges the universality of *kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *moha*, *māna* and *tr̥ṣṇā* which afflict not only men but also the gods.

There is no philosophical or theological explication of the five evils, collectively or individually, in Sikh Scripture, but man is repeatedly warned against them. They have been called diseases or maladies which afflict human beings with disastrous effects. The evil pentad is however mentioned at numerous places in the Holy Book. In at least five instances the list consists of the following: *kām*, *krodh*, *lobh*, *moh* and *abhimān* or *ahaṅkāra*. At one place instead of *moh* and *abhimān* we have *mad* and *nindā*. Here the word *mad* may

be interpreted in the sense of 'intoxication born of egoity'. The word *nindā* means slander. In two of the seven instances cited here the members of the evil pentad are called 'five thieves' (*pañch-chor*). In a hymn by Kabir the list has *trishnā* (craving), *kām*, *krodh*, *mad* and *matsar* as the five evils. The word *trishnā* (Skt. *trṣṇā*) means craving or desire, while the word *matsar* means jealousy. Often the five evils are referred to as 'the five' (*pañch*) or 'all the five' (*sāre pañch*). At places the five organs of sense (*jñānendriyas*) are also often referred to as 'the five'.

One, two, three or four of the five cardinal evils are repeatedly mentioned almost throughout the body of the Sikh canon. The triad *kām*, *krodh* and *lobh* finds as frequent a mention as the triad *kām*, *krodh* and *ahaṅkār* or *moh*, *lobh* and *ahaṅkār*. Among the five evils the one that is condemned more than the others is *ahaṅkār*. When only two of the five are mentioned, the pair consists either of *kām* and *krodh*, or of *moh* and *gumān*, or of *lobh* and *moh*; when a group of four out of the five evils is cited, it usually consists of the first four, *kām*, *krodh*, *lobh* and *moh*. Since the Sikh canon is a composite text containing the religious poetry not only of the Gurūs but also of several saints and Sūfis from various regions, synonyms, occasionally from different languages, occur. Thus *lobh* is also called *lālach*; *mān* is called *garab* (Skt. *garva*) and *gumān*; *moh* is also called *bharam* (Skt. *bhrama*).

A word of most frequent occurrence is *haumai*. It is perhaps derived from *aham*, 'I' or egoity, the essential element of ego; *haṅkār*, *ahaṅkār* are its semantic cognates. The word *mān* is employed in a double sense; sometimes it is clearly used in the sense of 'honour' or 'respect'. In most cases, however, it is synonymous with *abhimān*.

Although it is permissible to identify *haumai* with *ahaṅkār*, the fact that *haumai* is not included in the evil pentad and yet comes in for the strongest censure in the Scripture

would lead to the conclusion that it is regarded as a major evil in addition to those forming the pentad. It may be added that *haumai* or egoity, self-centredness, the personality system, the belief in one's individual existence, is the basis of all the other evils. From this standpoint, *ahaṅkār* may be reckoned as an offshoot of *haumai*. The assertion or affirmation of 'I' runs counter to the affirmation of 'Thou'; the consciousness of 'self-existence' or 'one's own existence' (*sva-bhāva* or *ātma-bhāva*) is diametrically opposed to the consciousness of God's existence. In a system in which the sole reality of God (*ik onkār*) is the first principle, there can be no room for the reality of an 'individual existence' or 'one's own existence' apart from or along with the existence of God. To say that God alone is the reality means that there is no other reality that belongs to someone else, and that there is no someone else who can claim an independent reality of his own. The truth is that there is no truth in *haumai*.

Nevertheless, this unreal reality, this false truth—*haumai*—apparently exists. It is unreal and false from the standpoint of God who is the only absolute Reality; it is real and true from the standpoint of the fettered creatures coursing in *saṁsār*. These creatures have assumed a reality of their own; every fettered being is seemingly convinced of its own existence; this conviction flourishes in its ignorance of God's reality. There can be no such thing as co-existence of God and not-God; Reality and falsity cannot co-exist as cannot light and darkness. Therefore, where there is awareness of God's reality there is absence of one's own reality, and vice versa; where there is awareness of one's own existence or *haumai*, there is absence of the awareness of God's existence. The Scripture says: "*Haumai jāi tā kant samāi* — God is realized only when one eradicates egoity" (GG, 750); literally, '(one) merges into (one's) Lord only when (her/his) egoity has disappeared'.

The five evils, lust, wrath, greed, attach-

ment and egoity, flourish on the soil of the belief in one's individualized existence. By destroying the doctrine of one's own existence or the belief in one's individual reality, the sages (*sant, sādḥ*) cancel in one stroke, as it were, the entire catalogue of evils. Desire, anger, avarice, infatuation, egoism, passion, jealousy, hypocrisy, pride, deception, falsehood, violence, doubt, and nescience and other forms of depravity listed in the Gurū Granth Sāhib do not affect him who has overcome his own self and found his essence in God's reality. Liberation (*mukti, mohh*) means the extinction of all the evils headed by *haumai*.

The Sikh canon also points to the way of extinguishing evils of all kinds. It is acknowledged that the five evils afflict all beings in *saṅsār* and that it is difficult to control them. Yet the possibility of conquering them is not ruled out in the theological framework of Sikhism; the moral training of a Sikh is in fact directed towards controlling the senses and eradicating the evils. The seeker of liberation has first to liberate himself of the yoke of the pentad. No headway can be made towards God-realization without discarding the cardinal evils. Kabīr says, "He alone cherishes the Lord's feet who is rid of desire, wrath, greed and attachment — *kāmu krodhu lobhu mohu bibarjī haripadu chīnai soi* (CG, 1123).

Loving devotion (*bhagatī, bhakti*) to God is, according to Sikhism, the way to ultimate release. One can love God only when one has annihilated self-love; this means that the devotee must be humble and surrender himself fully unto God. The Gurūs stress the necessity of taking refuge in God. To this end, one must first renounce pride (*mān*). Constant awareness of God (*simran*) is the panacea for all ills. He who enshrines the Lord's lotus feet in his heart destroys sins of many existences. Devotion to God eradicates the evils in an instant and purifies the body (CG, 245). The destruction of

evils may be viewed both as a cause and consequence of the practice of *nām simran*. Awareness of God's presence comes only when lust, wrath, avarice, attachment and egoity have departed from the devotee; when the devotee lives in constant awareness of God, the evils touch him not. Such a person is unaffected by pleasure and pain, for he has freed himself from evils such as *lobh, moh* and *abhimān*. Gurū Tegh Bahādur describes such a sage as one liberated while still alive and calls him an image of God on earth (CG, 1426-27).

Another way of overcoming *haumai* and other evils is to keep the company of the saints (*sant, sādḥ*) who radiate virtuous qualities. One kills lust, wrath, greed and other depravities of the evil age (*kali-kales*) by taking refuge in the *saṅgat*, the holy fellowship. It is by discarding the most powerful of evils, egoity, that one can get admission to this sacred society. Egoity ceases as one takes to the company of the holy (CG, 271). A third method of overcoming the evils is to submit oneself to the instruction of the spiritual preceptor (*gurū*). He who would overcome the five evils must follow his teaching. The wisdom obtained from the preceptor is like a swift sword (*khayagu karārā*) which cuts through confusion, infatuation, avarice and egoity (CG, 1087). One celebrates God's virtues through the favour of the sage (*sant prasādi*) and destroys lust, anger and insanity born of egoism (*unmād*). In Gurū Nānak's *Sidh Gostī* it is stated that without the preceptor one's efforts bear no fruit. The importance of living up to the instruction of the holy preceptor can be judged from the concept of the 'Gurū-oriented person' (*gurmukh*) so central to the Sikh moral system. A *gurmukh* is one who has turned his face towards the Gurū, that is to say, a person who by practising what the Gurū teaches has freed himself from the depravities and lives in the Divine presence. He achieves this position by conquering the evils under the

guidance of the Gurū and ever remains in tune with the Supreme Reality.

See AHANĀKĀR, KĀM, KRODH, LOBH and MOH

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jodh Singh, Bhāi, *Gurmati Nirṇaya*. Lahore, 1932
2. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944
3. Nirbhaj Singh, *Philosophy of Sikhism*. Delhi, 1990
4. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990
5. Teja Singh, *Essays in Sikhism*. Lahore, 1941
6. Wazir Singh, *Philosophy of Sikh Religion*. Delhi, 1981
7. Avatar Singh, *Ethics of the Sikhs*. Patiala, 1970

L.M.J.

FIVE KHANDS or Pañj Khaṇḍ, *lit.* realms (*pañj* = five, *khaṇḍ* = region or realm), signifies in the Sikh tradition the five stages of spiritual progress leading man to the Ultimate Truth. The supporting text is a fragment from Gurū Nānak's *Japu*, stanzas 34 to 37. The Five Realms enumerated therein are *dharam khaṇḍ*, the realm of righteous action (*paurī* 34), *gīan khaṇḍ*, the realm of knowledge (*paurī* 35), *saram khaṇḍ*, the realm of spiritual endeavour (*paurī* 36), *karam khaṇḍ*, the realm of grace, and *sach khaṇḍ* the realm of Truth (*paurī* 37). The concept of the spiritual journey running into several stages is found in other religious traditions as well. The number of stages and the nomenclature may vary, but the broad features of the journey remain the same. The seven *muqāmāt* of the Sūfīs, the eight *aṅgas* of Pātāñjal yoga, the five *koṣas* of Vedānta and *dash bhūmīs* of Buddhism run on parallel lines though they are embedded each in a different cultural milieu.

The *Pañj Khaṇḍ* in the *Japu* delineate the different stages of spiritual ascent tracing the evolution of human consciousness on different planes involving man's thought, emotions and action. Though Gurū Nānak does not explicitly deal with these transformations and only touches upon the core

characteristics of each stage (*khaṇḍ*), yet the emphasis on one aspect does not exclude the others. In each stage, the status or position of the individual is set forth in a social setting. The seeker is not conceived of as a recluse or ascetic: social obligations and moral qualities form an essential core of the spiritual path. The empirical mind is first emancipated from the grip of desire and purified by a rigorous moral discipline. When it learns to stand still, it is brought to the Divine Portal which it can enter only with the divine grace. There it finds itself face to face with the Truth Eternal, i.e. God.

The delineation of the Pañj Khaṇḍ is preceded by two introductory remarks in the two preceding stanzas. First, there is the term *pavaṛiān*, i.e. rungs of a ladder, denoting stages of the mystical ascent. Gurū Nānak relates this ascent to the constant remembrance of His Name. Then occurs another insight which implies that all the endeavours that the spiritual aspirant makes and all the means that he employs during these endeavours have their ultimate source in divine grace without which he may not even feel the initial impulse towards spiritual life.

The first stage is the *dharam khaṇḍ*. "The earth exists for *dharma* to be practised." The word *dharam* has been employed in the sense of duty. Duty is usually performed either out of a sense of social responsibility or through moral awareness. Gurū Nānak links this sense of duty to man's consciousness of divine justice. This is the stage in which a sense of inquisitiveness is aroused in the mind of the devotee who is now no longer a casual on-looker of the world around but can perceive the divine purpose behind the creation of this planet of ours, the earth, which is set in the cosmic cradle of time and space and is sustained by the vital elements. Man has been placed in this world to respond to the Creator's purpose. In His court, he will be judged according to his moral response.

The next is *gīan khaṇḍ*. "In the realm of

knowledge, knowledge is ignited, i.e. illumination dawns." The seeker here becomes aware of the universe and the mystery of existence. Through the creation, he gains knowledge of the Creator from whom it emanates. Knowledge here is not merely intellectual or sensual; it is intuitive awareness, a spiritual consciousness which expands the vision of the seeker. His sense of wonder is born not merely of his awareness of the many forms of life or the ordered movement of numerous celestial spheres, but of his perception of God who is the sole force behind all. In front of this limitless variety of cosmic life, he feels humble. This simultaneous experience of expansion of vision and of the sense of humility leads to *vismaya* or *vismād* (wonder).

Saram Khand is the sphere of spiritual endeavour. Here man strives against the last remnants of his ego which still afflict him in spite of his experiencing strong emotions of humility in the *giān khand*. If the sense of awe and wonder is not accompanied or followed by discipline, the experience might become a mere emotion, something remembered with nostalgia but having no permanent worth. To become worthy of receiving the divine grace, one must chisel one's *surati* (consciousness) which is a unifying thread for all human faculties. This chiselling of intellect and wisdom would erase even the subtlest layers of ego from one's mind.

Karam Khand (the realm of grace) is the sphere where reigns the Divine grace. The process of liberation with grace initiated is now brought to completion. All sense of dualism ends. The devotee is one with the Lord and with those who have attained this state of bliss. One reaches here only after achieving a heroic victory over the evils. Yet he is not a passive devotee, but a man of awakened courage and great deeds.

The final stage of spiritual ascent, i.e. *sach khand* (the realm of the Truth), defies description. "Hard as steel is the story of this

state to narrate." Described as the abode of the Nirāṅkār, the Formless One, *sach khand* is not a geographical spot, but the final state of the evolution of human consciousness. One can only experience it, but not describe it, for here words cease to have any meaning and no analogies can help in describing the Unique. Here in the Divine Court, the perfect ones rejoice in His presence. It is from here that His Will (*hukam*) goes out to the universe, and the liberated, grace-filled souls perform it joyously and effortlessly. The devotee becomes one with Him and realizes Him as a unifying force working through all objects of His creation. This way he attains to the non-spatial *sach khand* and to the Dweller therein, the Nirāṅkār, who is nowhere outside his own heart.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Srī Gurū Cranth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1964
2. Jodh Singh, Bhāi, *Japujī Saḥib*. Amritsar, 1950
3. Rām Singh, *Japjī dā Vishā te Rūp*. Ludhiana, 1969
4. Sohan Singh, *The Seeker's Path*. Calcutta, 1959
5. McLeod, W.H., *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*. London, 1968
6. Talib, Gurbachan Singh, *Japuji: The Immortal Prayer Chant*. Delhi, 1977

Rm.S.

FIVE SYMBOLS, a set of five distinctive features or elements of personal appearance or apparel that set off Sikhs from the followers of any other religious faith. Any study of religious symbols involves a dual task: first, to explain the meaning of symbols not only in terms of their original connotations but also on the basis of contemporary categories of understanding; secondly, to discriminate between genuine symbolism and any *post hoc* interpretations which later times may have imposed on things originally having little symbolic relevance.

A symbol is generally defined as something that stands for, represents or denotes something else, especially a material object

representing or taken to represent something immaterial or abstract, as being an idea, quality or condition. Words, phrases and sentences, for instance, represent various beings, ideas, qualities or conditions. Like any other religion, Sikhism also incorporates in its thought and practice a variety of symbols. Most of the philosophical terms such as *māyā*, *kāl*, *mukti*, *anhad nād*, are used in Sikhism in common with other religions of Indian origin; but there are others especially modified or coined by the Gurūs precisely to mark their new connotations. Of the modified verbal symbols the most significant is Gurū Nānak's *Ik Oaṅkār*. Ultimate Reality was the mystic monosyllable *Om*, which appeared first in the Upaniṣads as the object of profound religious meditation. In later times *Om* came to represent the Hindu triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. By Gurū Nānak's time the more popular use of the term which equated the three mythical gods with their Creator, the Supreme One, had gained ground. Gurū Nānak modified the term by prefixing the figure "1" to Oṅkār to stress the unicity of the Ultimate Reality. This made Sikhism a strictly monotheistic creed. Examples of symbolic terms originally coined or introduced by the Gurūs are *nām*, the manifest equivalent of the Transcendent One; *hukam* standing for Divine Will or Divine Law; *nadar* meaning Divine grace; *Akāl*, the Timeless One, i.e. God; *Sarb Loh*, lit. all-steel, representing the All-Powerful God. Another original term in Sikhism is *Vāhigurū* (lit. Hail! the Enlightener who dispels Darkness) for God. As the figures of *Om* and *swāstika* symbolize Hinduism, the crescent and the numerals 786 denote Islam, and the cross signifies Christianity, there are symbols which define and individuate Sikhism. There are symbols peculiar to the Sikhs and their use gives them their identity and marks them off as a distinct people. For example, their *mūl mantra*, in abbreviated form, the statement of their fundamental creed is used as a preamble to their religious

writings. It is set down at the top of their private correspondence as well. It is also superimposed as a crest on their flag. Another form of the crest is a composite figure of *khaṇḍā* (double-edged sword), a *chakra* (steel quoit) and two swords joined close together at the bottom symbolizing strength and sovereignty of the *Khālsā*. The Sikh flag, reverently called *nishān sāhib* (*sāhib*, added as an honorific) comprising a high-flying pennant, yellow, saffron or dark blue in colour, with a *khaṇḍā* atop its flagpost, is commonly seen in the compound of a *gurdwārā* or Sikh place of worship. The flag, the crest and the war cry *Sat Sṛī Akāl* (True is the Exalted Timeless One) have served the *Khālsā* to maintain its high morale and *esprit de corps* through the ups and downs of its history. A pennant is defined as an emblem of victory but the form of salutation current among the *Khālsā*—*Vāhigurū jī kī khālsā*, *Vāhigurū jī kī fateh* — constantly reminds them that lest a triumph fill them with vanity, victory is always from God. Another popular and distinctive form of salutation is *Sat Sṛī Akāl*.

Forms of salutation help to recognize the Sikhs as individuals and also as a community formed around the religion called Sikhism. But the most prominent distinguishing marks of the Sikhs, especially of the members of the *Khālsā* brotherhood, are what are commonly called the *pañj kakārs*, from each of the five articles beginning with the letter "k". The initiation ceremony called *amrit sañchār*, repeating the original ceremony that canonized the order of the *Khālsā* on the Baisākhī day of AD 1699, is itself symbolic of imparting a new immortal life to the initiates. During the ceremony every initiate into the order is enjoined upon to adopt and never to part from his person five symbolic physical objects — *kes* (unshorn hair), *kañghā* (a comb), *kirpān* (sword), *kaṛā* (a steel bracelet) and *kachchhā* or *kachchhīrā* (a pair of specially designed shorts) — all names beginning with the phoneme 'k' and

hence collectively called *pañj kakār* (*pañj* = five; *kakār* = symbols). The numeral *pañj* (five) itself has a symbolic significance in Sikh usage. Physical bodies, it is believed, are made of *five* elements; there are *five khand̄s* (regions or stages) in the ascent to the point of realization of the highest spiritual truth; the traditional village council, *pañchāyat*, consists of *five* members in the popular belief that where five *pañches* have assembled together (for the sake of administering justice), there God Himself is present; it is *pañj piāre* (the Five Elect) who prepared and administered *amrit* (the holy initiatory water) to novitiates; *five bāñīs* (scriptural texts) are recited as *amrit* is being prepared; the Sikhs own *five takhts* as the seats of the highest religious authority and legislation; and traditionally for the daily religious devotions a regimen of *five bāñīs* is laid down. Bhāi Gurdās (d. 1636), records: As one Sikh is sufficient to announce his identity, two of them make up the holy congregation. Among five of them God himself is present (*iku sikhu dui sād̄h saṅgu pañjīn̄ paramesaru*), *Vārāñ*, XIII.19.

The five k's may be regarded as parts of the uniform of the *Khālsā* which is defined as Akāl kī Fauj, God's own army, created to fulfil the divinely ordained mission of Gurū Gobind Singh, viz. *dharam chalāvan, sant ubāran dust̄ sabhan ko mūl upāran* — to uphold *dharmā*, protect the saintly and uproot the wicked (*Bachitra Nāṭak*, 6). There is nothing esoteric or mystic about the five k's. They were simply chosen to serve as aids to the preservation of the corporate life of the Panth. It, however, seems to be essential for a social symbol to contain something of the nature of an archetypal kernel so that it may appeal rationally as well as emotively to the collective consciousness of the community and thereby acquire wide acceptance and emotional sway over the minds of men.

Kes or the unshorn hair imprint on the individual the investiture of the spiritual man

exemplified by *rishis* or sages of yore, and even of God Himself (whose epithet *kesava* means one who carries long tresses, although, it must be remembered, the God of Sikhism is Formless and is occasionally personalized only for the sake of explanation of the attributes by which He is remembered). They also signify manliness, virility, courage and dignity, and therefore signify qualities both of a *sant* (saint) and a *sipāhī* (soldier) and a life both of *bhakti* (spiritual devotion) and *shakti*, i.e. strength of conviction, of courage, and of fortitude.

The vow to leave the hair untrimmed also signifies a disavowal of the cultic path of renunciation and asceticism marked among the practitioners by closely cropped hair or by keeping them matted.

Long-winded explanations on scientific grounds of the advantages of full-grown hair sometimes advanced are really unnecessary. It is enough to say that the Sikhs keep their hair untrimmed and uncut first because it is one of their religious vows and secondly because it is a clear mark of identification. Gurū Nānak said, "if you see a Sikh of the Gurū, bow low and fall at his feet" (GG. 763). *Rahitnāmās* enjoin upon every Sikh to entertain and assist others. A Sikh will be the easiest to know from his long hair.

Kaṅghā (the comb required to keep the hair tidy) symbolizes cleanliness. As a vestural symbol, it appears to repudiate the practice of Tantric yogis, who keep their hair matted (*jaṭā*) as their outward denominational symbol.

Kirpān (the sword) signifies valour. It seems to represent what has been called "the sword of God in heavenly regions" (*Isaiah*, XXXIV, 5). For Gurū Gobind Singh the sword was the emblem of Divine Energy for the destruction of the evil and protection of the good. Also called *bhagautī* (*bhagvatī* or the goddess Durgā, slayer of the demons) which in the Sikh vocabulary stands for the sword as well as for the Almighty. It is invoked at the very beginning of *ardās*, supplicatory

prayer of the Sikhs.

The word *kirpān* seems to have been compounded from *kirpā* (*kṛpā* or compassion) and *ān* (honour, dignity). Hence as a symbolic weapon it shall only be wielded in compassion (to protect the oppressed) and for upholding righteousness and human dignity. It stands, therefore, for the heroic affirmation of honour and valour for the vindication of ethical principles.

Karā (the steel bangle) was adopted as a pragmatic accessory to *kirpān*. A set of strong steel bangles used to be worn by warriors as protective armour over the arm that wielded the sword. But besides the symbolism of self-defence that its pragmatic value seems to indicate, it has a deeper symbolic significance. As a circle it signifies perfection, without beginning, without end. Traditionally, a circle also represents *dharma*, the Supreme Law, and Divine justice. It also symbolizes restraint and control. The *karā*, therefore, symbolizes for the Sikhs a just and lawful life of self-discipline (*rahit*) and self-control (*sañjam*).

Kachchh or *Kachhahirā* (pair of shorts) is a sartorial symbol signifying manly control. It contradicts the puritanical vows of chastity and celibacy (of *sannyāsa*). At the pragmatic level, its sartorial design makes for greater agility and easy movements, thereby ensuring ready preparedness, *tayyār bar tayyār*, (readiness beyond ordinary readiness).

Of these five symbols, primacy unquestionably belongs to *kes*. It is the Sikhs' *kes* which rescued them from a critical situation. Unwarily, they had succumbed to a process of backsliding. The decline had in fact set in during the days of Sikh power. The stern religious discipline which had sustained the Sikhs through a period of difficulty and privation gave way to a life of luxury and plenty. They lost what, following Ibn Khaldūn, may be described as their "desert qualities." A second — and even more sinister — debilitating factor was the

Brāhmanical ritual and practice which had gained ascendancy as an adjunct of regal pomp and ceremony. These now took a firmer hold over the Sikh mind. In this way, Sikh faith became garbled beyond recognition. The teachings of the Gurūs which had supplied Sikhism its potent principle of re-creation and consolidation were obscured by the rising tide of conservatism. It was fast losing its characteristic vigour and its votaries were relapsing into beliefs and customs which the founding Gurūs had clearly rejected. Absorption into ceremonial Hinduism indicated the course inevitably set for the Sikhs. This was the critical challenge they faced in the years following the British occupation of the Punjab.

Such had been the dereliction of the faith that several British observers prognosticated dismally for it. Some thought it was already dead; others felt it was irretrievably due for extinction. The following excerpt from the Punjab Administration Report for 1851-52 — a bare two years after the annexation of the Punjab — will illustrate:

The Sikh faith and ecclesiastical polity is rapidly going where the Sikh political ascendancy has already gone. Of the two elements in the old Khalsa, namely, the followers of Nanuck, the first prophet, and the followers of Guru Govind Singh, the second great religious leader, the former will hold their ground, and the latter will lose it. The Sikhs of Nanuck, a comparatively small body of peaceful habits and old family, will perhaps cling to the faith of their fathers; but the Sikhs of Govind [Singh] who are of more recent origin, who are more specially styled the Singhs or "lions" and who embraced the faith as being the religion of warfare and conquest, no longer regard the Khalsa now that the prestige has departed from it. These men joined in thousands, and they now desert in equal

numbers. They rejoin the ranks of Hinduism whence they originally came, and they bring up their children as Hindus. The sacred tank at Umritsar is less thronged than formerly, and the attendance at the annual festivals is diminishing yearly. The initiatory ceremony for adult persons is now rarely performed.

It was the late nineteenth century renaissance, the Singh Sabhā movement, which halted this relapse into Hinduism by, besides preaching Sikh religious doctrine, laying stress on the initiatory rite of Khaṇḍe dī Pāhul and meticulous observation of the mandatory *pañj kakār*, the Five Symbols.

Along with *kes*, the turban became a crucial symbol, too. Sikhs cherish the greatest respect for it. They must not cut or shingle their hair and they must keep their heads covered with turbans. It may be observed how lovingly, painstakingly, proudly and colourfully they adorn their heads with neatly-tied crown-like turbans. As Sikh history testifies, depilatory apostasy is the greatest sin among them. It is for this reason that they introduced into their regular petitionary prayer, they call *ardās*, words to this effect: Lord preserve our faith until our last breath and until the last hair on our bodies.

These symbols, being the gift of the Gurū, also possess a sacramental status. They are held dear as keepsakes of the Tenth Gurū who had completely identified himself with his *Khālsā*. A keepsake essentially symbolizes a relationship of love. These symbols, therefore, also signify the Sikhs' love for their Gurū as also his for them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sher Singh, ed., *Thoughts on Symbols in Sikhism*. Lahore, 1927
2. Kapur Singh, *Parāśarapraśna*. Amritsar, 1989
3. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990
4. Avtar Singh, *Ethics of the Sikhs*. Patiala, 1970
5. Cole, W.Owen, and Piara Singh Sambhi, *The Sikhs:*

Their Religious Beliefs and Practices. Delhi, 1978

6. *Sikh Rahit Maryādā*. Amritsar, 1975

7. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Rahitnāme*. Patiala, 1974

J.S.N.

FIVE YEARS IN INDIA, by Henry Edward Fane, aide-de-camp to his uncle, General Sir Henry Fane, commander-in-chief of the army of the East India Company during late 1830's, is "a narrative of [the author's] travels in the Presidency of Bengal, a visit to the court of Runjeet Singh, a residence in the Himalayan mountains, an account of the late expedition to Cabul and Afghanistan, voyage down the Indus, and journey overland to England." Fane had kept an immaculate journal of his travels from the time his regiment got orders to move to Ceylon in June/July 1835, till he arrived at Falmouth, England, in April 1840. His actual stay in India was of three and a half years, from August 1836, when he arrived at Calcutta, to the end of 1839, when he commenced his journey homeward. The travelogue was published in two volumes, under one cover, by Henry Colburn, London, in 1842. It was reprinted by the Languages Department, Punjab, in 1970 in two separate volumes of 16 chapters each.

Soon after his arrival at Calcutta, Fane accompanied Sir Henry on the latter's inspection tour of Company's military establishments spread over the Gangetic plain. Travelling by river and road transport through cantonments such as Patnā, Kānpur, Āgrā and Aligarh, the General was in the country around Meerut when, in February 1837, he received a letter from Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh inviting him to attend the marriage of his grandson, Nau Nihāl Singh. The commander-in-chief accepted the invitation. Henry Edward Fane, who accompanied him to the Sikh capital of Lahore, provides in his book a graphic description of the visit which lasted from 3 March to 1 April 1837. He describes the

lavish festivities which took place at Amritsar from where the wedding party started and at Atārī where the nuptial ceremonies were held. He was deeply impressed by the Mahārājā's personality and character. As he records: "Runjeet, among his subjects, has the character generally of a kind and generous master, and one of the best princes that has ever reigned in India. As evidence of his being a really good and amiable man may be cited his kindness to children... and the fact of his never having, since he conquered the country, put a man to death for even the most heinous crimes..." Yet Fane was not above the white man's pride and prejudice. For him Raṅjīt Siṅgh's army, though trained by European officers, was no match for the Company's troops in discipline and perfection of drill movements, and when he witnessed a review of the Sikh troops again in December 1838, at the time of the meeting between Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh and Lord Auckland at Fīrozpur, he attributed their better performance on the occasion to "the extraordinary effect that our expedition to Lahore, in 1837, has had upon Runjeet's troops."

From among the cis-Sutlej Sikh chieftains, the author was most impressed by the ruler of Paṭiālā (Mahārājā Karam Siṅgh) whom he describes as "the largest man I almost ever saw, standing, I should think, six feet seven or eight, with bone and sinew in proportion.... He has the character of a good prince, father and son, characters rarely to be met with among the higher princes and chiefs of India." His disparaging remarks were reserved for the last of the Great Mughals, Emperor Bahādur Shāh II, actually a pensioner of the East India Company: "I did not like the General so lowering himself as to stand in the presence of a dirty, miserable old dog like this man, after having been seated in the durbar of Runjeet Singh."

The second volume contains an account

of Fane's travels with the Afghanistan expedition, undertaken to reinstal Shāh Shujā' on the throne of Kābul with a view to checkmating Russian designs, and his return journey to England. He describes his journey from Fīrozpur down the Sutlej and the Indus to Rohrī, and then the march through the Bolān pass into Afghanistan and entry into Kābul, occupying Qandahār and Ghazni on the way. At Kābul, Fane joined Colonel Wade, the political agent at Ludhiānā, intending to travel with him through the Punjab on his way to Bombay. But he changed his plans at Attock where he found another companion with whom he set out by boat down the river Indus, shifted to a bigger vessel at Karāchī, and reached Bombay on 11 December 1839. From there he embarked for England on 1 January 1840, reaching his home country on 13 April 1840.

S.K.B.

FORD, MATTHEW WILLIAM (d. 1841), an Englishman who started his career in 1804 as an ensign in a West India regiment. He successively served with the 7th Foot, the 70th Foot, the 1st Royal Scots and the 22nd Light Dragoons. In 1823, he was appointed paymaster to the 16th Foot. While stationed at Karnāl in 1837, he embezzled large sums of money and deserted the British troops. He came to Lahore towards the end of the year and joined the Sikh army as a battalion commander on Rs 800 per month, later commuted for a *jāgīr* of three villages near Rāwalpiṇḍī. Ford's battalion belonged to Avitabile's brigade. At the time of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh's funeral procession, Ford commanded the regiment that lined up the streets of Lahore.

After the Mahārājā's death, European employees of the court became suspect especially in the eyes of the Sikh troops. In March 1841, Ford was at Hazārā when he was attacked by his own men and seriously injured.

He escaped to Peshāwar where he died of the injuries a month later.

Lahore, 1929

G.I.S.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India*. Lahore, 1929

G.I.S.

FOULKES, R. (d. 1841), an Englishman, who joined Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's cavalry in February 1836. He remained attached to General Ventura as aide-de-camp, and accompanied him on his expedition to Maṇḍī in 1840. On the conclusion of the campaign, he was left in charge of the Sikh troops stationed at Maṇḍī. However, his troops mutined in March 1841, and assassinated him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India*.

FRANCIS, a French adventurer, who arrived at Lahore in 1833 and joined Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's army. But he had no military training, and was discharged from the service soon afterwards.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India*. Lahore, 1929

G.I.S.

FUKINAUL, THOMAS, a Frenchman, who during 1822-23 was in Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's service, employed in the gunpowder factory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India*. Lahore, 1929

G.I.S.

G

GADĪĀL, a village in Ropar district of the Punjab about 18 km east of Garhshaṅkar, is sacred to Gurū Gobind Singh, who arrived here in 1700 from Kherā Kalmoṭ and stayed awhile under a fig tree. A memorial in the form of a small platform built around the fig tree with a 5-metre-high Nishān Sāhib marks the spot.

Gn.S.

GĀGĀ, village 2 km west of Lahirā (29°56'N, 75°48'E), in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, was visited by Gurū Tegh Bahādur during his travels in these parts. According to *Sākhī Pothī*, the Gurū arrived here for a night's stay. As the Sikhs went out to collect grass for the horses, the landowners chased them away. The Gurū immediately struck camp and proceeded to Gurne Kalān. Landowners, overcome by remorse when they learnt who the visitor was, followed the Gurū to make expiation for their misdemeanour. Receiving his pardon, the repentant villagers returned to Gāgā and established a *mañjī sāhib* at the place where the Gurū had halted. A *gurdwārā* was raised by one Jawāhar Singh in 1848. Sevā Singh, a minister in Nābhā state, reconstructed it in 1876. The building was renovated again in 1975. Gurdwārā Gurū Sar Pātshāhī IX, as it is now called, is a square hall, with a domed sanctum in the middle of it. A portion of the older building, a pavilion with a cubicle at either side, still stands forming the southern side of the hall, with the *sarovar* to the north of the hall. The Gurdwārā, provided with 108 acres of land, is

administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Special *divāns* are held on the tenth of the light half of every lunar month and on important Sikh anniversaries. Dussehrā, in October, is a festival which is celebrated with great fervour.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
2. Tārā Singh, *Sī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
3. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Sī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

GAGGOBŪĀ, village 27 km southwest of Amritsar (31°38'N, 74°52'E) along the Amritsar-Khemkaran road, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), who came here once following the chase. Gurdwārā Mañjī Sāhib Chhevīn Pātshāhī, constructed at the site of the old shrine, marks the spot where Gurū Hargobind had halted. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

Gaggobūā was also the native place of Bābā Bīr Singh, a nineteenth-century saint, whose memory is perpetuated through two *gurdwārās*, both managed by his descendants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Sī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Sī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

Gn.S.

GAHAL (locally pronounced Gailh), village

on the right bank of the Baṭhiṇḍā branch of Sirhind Canal, 30 km north of Barnālā (30°-22'N, 75°-32'E) in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Har Rāi (1630-61), who once made a brief halt here during his travels in the Mālvā country. Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Har Rāi Sāhib Pātshāhī VII, situated in a spacious compound in the northeastern part of the village, comprises a square sanctum, with a domed room above it and a hall in front. The Gurdwārā is endowed with landed property and is administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee.

During the Vaḍḍā Ghallūghārā or the Great Holocaust of 5 February 1762, the badly mauled, yet unvanquished, Sikh column is said to have passed through Gahal on its way to Barnālā. A memorial shrine in honour of the Ghallūghārā martyrs has been raised in the Gurdwārā compound. Sant Channaṅ Siṅgh, president of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, laid, on 22 February 1967, the cornerstone of the building which was completed in May 1971.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Siṅgh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Siṅgh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

GAHIR GAMBHĪRĪE MAT KE SVĀMĪ BISHAN DĀS YATI JĪ KĀ JĪVAN CHARITRA, by Bhagvān Dās, is a biographical portrayal (*jīvan charitra*) of Svāmī Bishan Dās, founder of the Gahir Gambhīrīe sect. The author who was a disciple of Bishan Dās compiled this account during 1886-1902 at Phillaur, near Ludhiānā. The manuscript, still unpublished, is preserved at the Khālsā College at Amritsar under catalogue No. 1334, and contains 648 folios, each measuring 32x24 cms and containing 24 lines. The narrative is in simple Braj verse; for the devotional hymns some of the poetic forms and musical mea-

asures from the Gurū Granth Sāhib have been used. The volume, covering only six years, 1953 Bk/AD 1896 to 1958 Bk/AD 1902, of the life of Bishan Dās (1863-1935), is marked number II which suggests the existence of a previous volume but which still remains undiscovered. Although Bishan Dās studied under an Udāsī teacher, he had not adopted the sectarian garb as his portrait included in the work reveals. He in fact struck out his own path. He commonly addressed God as Gahir Gambhīr, the solemn and serene, and maintained that this was the best way to describe the Supreme Being. To elaborate the point, he quoted verses from the Gurū Granth Sāhib pronouncing these attributes of the Divine, as most apt. From the term Gahir Gambhīr, his followers and devotees came to be known as Gahir Gambhīrīe. Bishan Dās revered the Gurū Granth Sāhib and held continuous readings of it at his *ḍerā* called Kīrtan Mandir. He travelled extensively throughout the Punjab and beyond preaching the Sikh tenets: as the manuscript concludes he was preaching in Lyallpur (now in Pakistan). He preached against the use of intoxicants, denounced slander and *bhekk* or pretence, and rejected caste divisions. He gave women a place equal with menfolk. The names of several of his women disciples occur in his *Jīvan Charitra*. He was, however, opposed to the Siṅgh Sabhā movement which, he asserted, was abolishing the old order introducing "innovations".

S.S.Am.

GAJAN, BHĀI, an Uppal Khatri, named among Gurū Nānak's Sikhs in Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 14.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Siṅgh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Siṅgh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

GAJJĀ SĪNGH, MAHANT (c. 1850-1914), maestro of Sikh classical devotional music, was born in a Jat Sikh family of Vāndar, a village in Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab. He had a sensitive ear for music from his early childhood. His father, a pious Sikh himself, apprenticed him for religious instruction to the *mahant* or custodian of Gurūsar (Mehrāj), a historical shrine about 25 km northeast of Bathiṇḍā (30°-14'N, 74°-59'E). The *mahant* was impressed by the rapid progress Gajjā Singh made in learning the scriptural and other texts and by his ability to sing the sacred hymns in the folk tunes he had picked up in his native village. He arranged, through the *mahant* of Gurdwārā Ber Sāhib, Sultānpur Lodhī, to send young Gajjā Singh to learn classical music under Mīr Rahmat 'Alī, the eminent court musician of Kapūrthalā state. One of his co-pupils was Mahbūb 'Alī alias Bhāi Būbā, a direct descendant of Bhāi Phirandā of Bharoāṇā, to whom Gurū Nānak had, just before setting out on his travels, sent Bhāi Mardānā to procure a *rabāb*, i.e. rebeck. Bhāi Būbā and his father, Bhāi Amīr Bakḥsh Rabābī, were widely respected among Sikhs as much for their honoured lineage as for their status in the *rabābī* school of Sikh music. Association with them encouraged Gajjā Singh to master, besides classical music, the traditional Sikh *kīrtan*. After finishing studies with Mīr Rahmat 'Alī, Bhāi Būbā went to Bahāwalpur state as chief court musician, and Bhāi Gajjā Singh returned to Gurūsar where, after the death of his patron, he succeeded him as *mahant*. An *akhārā* or seat of the Nirmalā sect, to which the *mahants* of Gurūsar belonged, had been established at Paṭiālā in 1861. Mahant Gajjā Singh visited there regularly, especially during the rainy season, and his performance both as a vocalist and instrumentalist attracted wide notice. His virtuosity in playing on the *tāūs*, a bow instrument with frets like a *sitār*, had become proverbial. He had a style of his own and, copying his master Mīr Rahmat 'Alī's

vīṇā, *sur-bahār* and *sitār*, he was able to produce the effect of *jhālā* or *jhankār*, i.e. trilling, on his *tāūs*. Bhāi Kāhn Singh of Nābhā, scholar and encyclopaedist, who had attended some of his performances, wrote in his *Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahān Kosh*: "Bhāi Gajjā Singh has been a peerless paṇḍit of music. Those who have listened to his *alāp* or melody on the *tāūs* can never forget him."

Mahant Gajjā Singh continued to enjoy the patronage of ruling princes of Paṭiālā. Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh (1891-1938) in fact served a period of apprenticeship with him learning classical music. At the Delhi Darbār of 1911, Gajjā Singh gave a memorable performance representing the Paṭiālā Gharānā of music. He was rewarded with the grant of a free railway pass for life to travel anywhere in India for the propagation of his art. Encouraged by Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh, he took up the project of recording the original *rīts*, i.e. forms or modes of the *rāgas* as set by Gurū Arjan and preserved orally by Sikh musicians. The work had been undertaken during the time of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh by the Nirmalā Mahant of Ḍerā Bābā Mishrā Singh in Amritsar, but it had remained incomplete. However, the then priest of Ḍerā Bābā Mishrā Singh, Mahant Kapūr Singh, was invited to Paṭiālā. Two other helpers appointed were Mahant Melā Singh and Bābā Diāl Singh Kairoṅ. Already in 1910, Bhāi Būbā had, at Mahant Gajjā Singh's persuasion, joined the Paṭiālā court. Rām Krishan Singh, a junior *mahant* at the historical Gurdwārā Motībāgh, was co-opted as adviser on Sanskrit musical terminology, and Bhāi Durgā Singh, the best-known calligraphist of Paṭiālā at the time, was engaged as the scribe. Mahant Gajjā Singh, as the head of the team, started work on the thirty-one *rāgas* of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, with an introductory part covering two of the three initial compositions, *Rahrāsi* and *Kīrtan Sohilā*, which form part of the daily devotions of the Sikhs. He had also taken up the five

chauhīs, i.e. daily choruses or hymn-singing sessions, and some of the *Vārs* in different musical measures when death intervened. Mahant Gajjā Singh died on 12 June 1914, and the work was left unfinished.

Mg.S.

GAJPAT SINGH, RĀJĀ (1738-1789), founder of the Sikh state of Jīnd, was born on 15 April 1738, the second son of Sukhchain Singh (d. 1751), who was the younger brother of Gurdit Singh, an ancestor of the ruling family of Nābhā. In 1755, at the age of seventeen, Gajpat Singh seized a large tract of country including Jīnd and Safidon. In 1764, he joined the Khālsā Dal under Jassā Singh Ahlūvālīā and took part in the conquest of Sirhind. He then overran Pānīpat and Karnāl. In 1766, he made Jīnd his capital. Unlike other Sikh chiefs, he continued to acknowledge the Mughal authority in Delhi and paid revenue to the Emperor. He obtained the title of Rājā under a royal *farmān* or decree from Emperor Shāh Ālam II in February 1772. Gajpat Singh was constantly at war with the Nābhā chief, and seized his territories Amloh, Bhādson and Saṅgrūr in 1774. Rājā Amar Singh of Paṭiālā and other Sikh chiefs compelled him to return the first two to Nābhā, but Gajpat Singh retained Saṅgrūr which eventually became the capital of the Jīnd state. In 1774, Rājā Gajpat Singh's daughter, Rāj Kaur, was married to Mahān Singh of the Sukkarchakkīā *misl*. Rāj Kaur became the mother of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh.

Rājā Gajpat Singh was a strong ally of Rājā Amar Singh of Paṭiālā. He accompanied the Paṭiālā chief on many of his expeditions, joining him in his incursions upon Siālbā and Meerut. He also assisted Amar Singh's successor, Rājā Sāhib Singh, to restore order in his territories. In 1789, while engaged in an expedition against refractory villages near Ambālā, Gajpat Singh fell ill and was carried to Safidon where he died on 11 November 1789.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, *The Rajas of the Punjab*. Delhi, 1977

S.S.B.

GALAUURĀ, BHĀĪ, a resident of village Chikā in the present Kaithal district of Haryānā, became a devotee of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. The Gurū appointed him his *masand*, representative in Hisār and Hānsī, in which capacity he spread the teachings of the Gurūs in that region.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

GALOTĪĀN KHURD, village in Daskā *tahsil* of Siālkoṭ district in Pakistan, claimed a historical Sikh shrine commemorating the visit in 1659-60 of Gurū Har Rāi, Nānak VII. Earlier Gurū Hargobind, his predecessor, had also passed through Galoṭīān on his way back from Kashmīr in 1620. The Gurdwārā, a two-storeyed domed sanctum within a spacious marble-floored hall, was affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar. An old banyan tree under which the Gurūs are said to have sojourned during their visits still stood in the Gurdwārā compound in 1947 when the shrine had to be abandoned in the wake of the wholesale evacuation of Sikhs from the newly formed State of Pakistan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

GANDĀ SINGH (d. 1845), of Butālā, in Gujranwālā district of undivided Punjab, was a soldier in the Sikh army. Early in his career, he was assigned by Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh to Prince Sher Singh's troops. Gaṇḍā

Singh's father, Dharam Singh, had also served in the army and taken part in several battles including those of Multān, Kashmīr and Peshāwar. Gaṅḍā Singh remained the favourite of Prince Sher Singh who granted him a *jāgīr* worth 3,000 rupees from his own estates. He fought in the Prince's Yūsafzai and Kullū campaigns and held both civil and military appointments under him when he was the Nāzim of Kashmīr. He afterwards served at Naushehrā and Bannū. When Sher Singh ascended the throne, he conferred upon Gaṅḍā Singh several *jāgīrs* around Butālā, and appointed him to the command of the Orderly *Ḍerā*. He was with the Mahārājā when the latter was assassinated in September 1843, and was severely wounded in the endeavour to save his life.

Gaṅḍā Singh was killed in December 1845 in the battle of Ferozeshāh in which his son, Kirpāl Singh, was wounded.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Udmāt-ut-Tiwārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

GAṄḌĀ SĪNGH (1900-1987), celebrated Punjab historian who by his sustained and pioneer work in the field of historical research initiated new trends in Sikh historiography and who by his critically important work became a vital and pervasive influence in historical learning in northern India, was born on 15 November 1900, the son of Javālā Singh of Hariāṇā, an old town close to the city of Hoshiārpur in the Punjab. He began his education in the village mosque, later translating himself to the primary school. He passed the middle standard examination from D.A.-V. (Dayānand Anglo-Vernacular) Middle School, Hoshiārpur, and his matriculation from Government High School in the same town. He joined the Forman Christian College at Lahore, but soon left it to

enlist in the army (1919). He served at the Supply and Transport Corps Base Depot, Rāwalpīṇḍī, and at the divisional office at Peshāwar before he was attached to the Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force, Basrā, in 1920 and later to the British Royal Army Pay Corps, also at Basrā, in 1921. There he had his thigh torn by a bullet shot and he was hospitalized. After recovery he was repatriated to India, but had been mistakenly reported dead to his family. This led to a dramatic situation. When he suddenly appeared at the door of his home in the village late one evening, he was taken to be a spirit and was refused admittance. As he was recognized the following morning at the doorstep of his house, the family's horror turned into jubilation.

Gaṅḍā Singh did not stay at home for long. He went back to Mesopotamia (now Iraq) and then to Iran, there to join the Anglo-Persian Oil Company at Abādān as accounts officer. At Abādān, he came under the influence of the British scholar, Sir Arnold Wilson, who besides his official duties as general manager of the company was working on his *Bibliography of Persia*. Young Gaṅḍā Singh now aspired to prepare a bibliography of his native Punjab. On his return to Punjab towards the end of 1930, he first worked on the editorial board of the *Phulwāri*, a Punjabi monthly published from Lahore. One long-lasting friendship he picked up there was with Bhagat Lakshman Singh, a Sikh reformer and educationist. He however missed meeting with Karam Singh, the historian, then very enthusiastic in promoting the cause of Sikh history. Karam Singh died before Gaṅḍā Singh could meet him.

In October 1931 began Dr Gaṅḍā Singh's long and fruitful career as a researcher and historian. The *Khālsā* College at Amritsar placed him in charge of its newly-created Sikh History Research Department, which position he kept till 1949.

During this period he travelled extensively, rummaging various public libraries, archives and private collections throughout India in quest of materials on Sikh history, enriching the library of his department and also brought out several books and tracts based on these.

In 1949, he came to Paṭiālā where he was appointed Director of Archives and Curator of Museum under the Government of PEPSU (Paṭiālā and East Punjab States Union). In 1950, he received the additional charge of

from November 1957 to December 1962. He held membership of Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Indian Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, and Bhārat Itihās Saṁshodhak Maṇḍal, Poonā. He presided over the medieval section of Punjab History Conference session of the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, held at Shillong in 1974 as well as over its 13th session held at Paṇajī (Goā) in 1975. In 1974, he was elected as President of the

Hukamnāme (Punjabi), 1967; *Sardār Jassā Singh Āhlūwālā* (Punjabi), 1969; *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence* (English), 1977; *Deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh* (English), 1978; and *Seditious Literature of the Panjab* (English), 1987.

Dr Gaṇḍā Sīng's magnificent work was widely acknowledged and lauded in his lifetime, and he received honours from a number of professional institutions and associations. The Punjab Government invested him with the Award for Literature on 31 March 1963 and the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, paid its tribute on 28 March 1964. On 19 December 1964, Muslim University, 'Aligarh, conferred on him the degree of D. Litt. *honoris causa*. Sikh Educational Conference honoured him during its 52nd annual session held at Kānpur on 25-27 October 1974, and Punjabi University, Paṭiālā, at the annual session of the Punjab History Conference held during November 1976. The University also brought out during the same year an anthology, *Essays in Honour of Dr Ganda Singh*, lovingly edited by his old pupil Professor Harbaṅs Sīng. The University also awarded him the degree of Doctor of Literature at its 15th convocation held on 25 February 1978. The Indian History Congress during its Silver Jubilee session held at Paṇājī (Goā) on 5-7 November 1987 honoured him as one of the five distinguished historians of India. The Government of India honoured him with the award of Padma Bhūshan in 1983.

In the course of his long career as a researcher and scholar, Dr Gaṇḍā Sīng had acquired a vast personal collection of rare books, maps, documents and manuscripts which occupied several rooms of his modest residence on the Lower Mall at Paṭiālā. This precious treasure is now the property of Punjabi University, Paṭiālā, to which institution he donated the entire collection.

Dr Gaṇḍā Sīng died at Paṭiālā on 27 December 1987.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Harbaṅs Singh and N.G. Barrier, ed., *Punjab Past and Present: Essays in Honour of Dr Ganda Singh*. Patiala, 1976
 2. Verma, Devinder Kumar, and Jasmer Singh, *A Bibliography of Dr Ganda Singh*. Rajpura, 1989
- M.G.S.

GAṆḌĀ SĪNGH MASHARIQĪ (1857-1909), Urdu poet, scholar and religious guide in the line of family preceptors to the chiefs of Ropar in the Punjab. His grandfather, Bhāi Bāgh Sīng (1757-1822), and his father, Bhāi Bishan Sīng (1809-90), had served the Ropar family as priests and counsellors. When the British East India Company confiscated the princely state in 1846 for its sympathy with the Sikhs during the Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46), and placed Rājā Bhūp Sīng, of Ropar, under detention in Sahāranpur, Bhāi Bishan Sīng accompanied his master to Sahāranpur. He returned to Ropar after the death of Rājā Bhūp Sīng (1851) and settled down to a life of worship and strict religious discipline in his former residence, then famous as Granthī Bāgh. Here Gaṇḍā Sīng Mashariqī was born on 2 August 1857. He passed his middle standard examination from Bhāi Bishan Sīng Rāj Granthī Middle School, Ropar. As he grew up he taught in the same school for some time and then joined service in the accounts branch of the Military Works Department of Government of India, where he rose to be an accounts officer. Gaṇḍā Sīng gave evidence of his poetic genius when he was still very young. As was customary in those days, he adopted a pen-name for himself—which in his case was Mashariqī—lit. eastern. The young poet was deeply influenced by the uprising of the Nāmdhārī movement, the tremors of which were then being felt in the Punjab and beyond. From the merely romantic, his poetry took a distinctly patriotic tone. He apprenticed himself to the famous Urdu poet Dāgh Dehlavī. He also wrote verse in Persian

which generally had a Sūfī touch. His poems usually appeared in *Paisā Akhbār* and *Akhhār-i-Ām*, both published from Lahore. His fame as a poet travelled to Delhi, Uttar Pradesh (then United Province) and beyond. Mashariqī also wrote Gurū Nānak Dev's biography (*Janamsākhī*) in Urdu which he called *Vigyan Kosh* and which was published by Āftāb Press, Lahore, in 1883. He also wrote an annotated translation of *Japujī* in Urdu. Published in 1892, it is the oldest work in this genre in Urdu.

Gaṇḍā Sīngḥ Mashariqī died at Ropar on 2 April 1909. His Urdu and Persian poems were collected and arranged by his son, Sūbedār Naraīn Sīngḥ (1885-1968). These have been published by his grandson, Kulwant Sīngḥ, in the form of a book entitled *Dīwān-i-Mashariqī*. The first 28 pages of the *Dīwān* contain eulogies of the Lord, Manifest and Unmanifest. Then follows praise of Gurū Nānak and Gurū Gobind Sīngḥ. Thereafter begins the text comprising 264 ghazals of all shades, amorous, gnostic, didactic and patriotic. The third part of the *Dīwān* comprises miscellaneous verse, epigrams and *mathnavīs*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kulwant Singh, *Late Sardar Ganda Singh Mashariqī*. Chandigarh, n.d.

P.S.

GAṄḌHŪĀN, a village 20 km southwest of Sunām (30°-7'N, 75°-48'E) in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine dedicated to the memory of Gurū Tegh Bahādūr who visited it in the course of his travels in these parts. According to local tradition, a resident of the village, Bhāī Muglū, was a devotee of Gurū Hargobind and had shown his prowess in the battle of Mehrāj (1634). The Gurū, pleased at his devotion and valour, had invited him to ask for a boon. Bhāī Muglū said that his only wish was that he should be favoured with a glimpse of

the Gurū before he breathed his last. It is said that Gurū Hargobind, after a moment's reflection, told him that this would not be possible, for Bhāī Muglū might outlive him. Yet he added that he might still see the Gurū before he died. Years rolled on, and Bhāī Muglū, old and feeble, awaited death. Gurū Tegh Bahādūr, so the tradition continues, was at that moment amid a group of disciples at Bhīkhī, some 20 km to the west of Gaṇḍhūān. It is said that he suddenly went into meditation, and then ordered his horse to be made ready. Riding through Dhaleo and Kaṇakvāl, he reached the house of Bhāī Muglū, who lay gasping for breath. Bhāī Muglū was overwhelmed with joy and joining his palms in reverence and, shedding tears of thankfulness, he passed away in perfect peace. Gurū Tegh Bahādūr had the rites of cremation performed before returning to Bhīkhī.

A shrine was established by the devotees marking the site east of the village where Gurū Tegh Bahādūr had stood watching the cremation of his disciple. The present Mañjī Sāhib, a two-storeyed octagonal structure with a dome above, was constructed in 1937. An assembly hall, a row of rooms for officiants and pilgrims and the Gurū kā Laṅgar were added later. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated both in the Mañjī Sāhib and in the hall.

The Gurdwārā owns 44 acres of land and is administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. The most important annual event is the martyrdom anniversary of Gurū Tegh Bahādūr.

M.G.S.

GANESHĀ SĪNGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1888), assistant chief secretary of the Khālsā Dīwān, initially called Sīngḥ Sabhā General, which was established in 1880 to co-ordinate the activities of the Sīngḥ Sabhās at Lahore and Amritsar, was employed in the Amritsar

municipal committee as a *sarishtādār* or clerk. When the *Khālsā* Dīwān was reorganized in 1883, Bhāī Ganeshā Siṅgh was named one of the two chief secretaries, the second being the better known Bhāī Gurmukh Siṅgh. With the split in the *Khālsā* Dīwān in 1885, whereas Bhāī Gurmukh Siṅgh left to establish a separate body at Lahore, Bhāī Ganeshā Siṅgh continued as chief secretary of the Amritsar Dīwān. The constitution, adopted by this Dīwān at its Divālī session of 1887, provided for two houses — Mahān Khaṇḍ, the upper section comprising Sikh aristocracy, and Samān Khaṇḍ, the lower section, representing the common people. Bhāī Ganeshā Siṅgh was nominated secretary of the Samān Khaṇḍ as well as of the executive committee appointed to carry out official business subject to “confirmation of its proceedings by the Mahān Khaṇḍ as and when it met.” Bhāī Ganeshā Siṅgh, however, soon resigned, probably for health reasons. He died at Gujrañwālā on 11 March 1888 after a long illness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jagjit Siṅgh, *Siṅgh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974

M.G.S.

GAṄGĀ, BHĀĪ, a Sahigal Khatri of Āgrā, was a soldier in the Mughal army. He once called on Gurū Arjan. The Gurū, as says Bhāī Manī Siṅgh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, told him that it ill became him to serve the oppressive Mughal regime. When Gaṅgā pleaded the need to make a living, Gurū Arjan said, “Remain with the young Hargobind, and you will receive not only worldly success, but spiritual enlightenment as well.” Bhāī Gaṅgā served Gurū Hargobind and fought valiantly his battles against the Mughals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Siṅgh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955

2. Santokh Siṅgh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

GAṄGĀ, MĀTĀ (d. 1621), consort of Gurū Arjan (1563-1606), Nānak V, was the daughter of Bhāī Krishan Chand of the village of Mau, 10 km west of Phillaur in the Punjab. The nuptial ceremonies took place at her village on 19 June 1589. She was the mother of Gurū Hargobind born to her at Vaḍālī, near Amritsar, on 19 June 1595. She died at Bakālā (now Bābā Bakālā) on 14 May 1621. Her dead body was immersed in the River Beās in deference to her wish that her body be consigned to water, as had been her husband's, and not burnt. However, a symbolic cremation was also carried out and a *samādh* built at Bakālā, which has since been replaced by a shrine named Gurdwārā Mātā Gaṅgā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevin*. Patiala, 1970

2. Satibir Siṅgh, *Paratakhu Hari*. Jalandhar, 1982

M.G.S.

GAṄGĀ RĀM, an affluent Brāhmaṇ merchant of Baṭhiṇḍā (30°-14'N, 74°-59'E) now a district town in Mālṡā region of the Punjab, accepted Sikh faith at the hands of Gurū Arjan. He, according to Bhāī Santokh Siṅgh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, once crossed the Sutlej with a large stock of *bājarā*, a variety of millets. Learning that a vast body of men was at work digging a large tank at Gurū Chakk (present-day Amritsar), he proceeded in that direction hoping to sell his merchandise profitably. At Amritsar, he saw large number of Sikhs engaged in voluntary *sevā*, digging and shovelling and carrying basketfuls of earth on their heads, and, although they had had little to eat owing to Gurū kā Langar or community kitchen having run short of rations, their pace had not slackened. Gaṅgā Rām was deeply affected by the Sikhs' zeal

and devotion. He turned over his entire stock of grain to the *laṅgar*, and himself joined the devotees in the holy *sevā*. He declined to accept money for the grain he had brought and, instead, humbly supplicated the Gurū to be admitted as a disciple. He stayed on in Amritsar and returned to his village Baṭhiṇḍā only after the completion of the sacred pool. He devoted his remaining years to meditation and to preaching message of Gurū Nānak. His descendant, Bhāī Mūl Chand, became famous for his piety and spiritual powers. Mūl Chand's shrine at Sunām (30°-7'N, 75°-48'E), in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, is still visited by devotees of diverse faiths. Gaṅgā Rām's direct descendants officiate as priests there.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Satibir Singh, *Paratakhu Hari*. Jalandhar, 1982

T.S.

GAṄGĀ RĀM was one of the five sons of Bhāī Sādhū and Bībī Vīro, the daughter of Gurū Hargobind, who formed part of Gurū Gobind Singh's retinue at Pāoṅṭā, in present-day Himāchal Pradesh, when he was attacked by a combined force of some of the hill chiefs headed by Rājā Fatch Shāh of Gaṛhvāl. Gaṅgā Rām, along with his brothers, fought in the battle that took place at Bhaṅgāṅī, not far from Pāoṅṭā, on 18 September 1688. He survived the action in which two of the brothers, Saṅgrām Shāh and Jit Mall, were killed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1966

M.G.S.

GAṄGĀ RĀM, DĪWĀN (1775-1826) was a Kashmīrī Brāhmaṇ whose father, Kishan Dās, was a government employee. During the oppressive days of the governors of Kashmīr,

Kishan Dās migrated to Delhi, and later settled in the village of Rāmpur, near Banāras, where Gaṅgā Rām was born about the year 1775. Gaṅgā Rām received a good education and, at the age of 20, entered the service of Mahārājā Daulat Rāo Scindia of Gwālīor, serving under his French officers, Louis Bourquin and General Perron. He was entrusted with duties in the political and military departments. When in September 1803, Lord Lake defeated Daulat Rāo Scindia, Gaṅgā Rām returned to Delhi where he lived from 1803-13. In 1809, he was employed by the East India Company to serve under Colonel David Ochterlony, then engaged in the settlement of British relations with the cis-Sutlej states.

In 1813, Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh invited him to Lahore and gave him appointment as the head of military accounts and keeper of the privy seal. In 1821, Gaṅgā Rām was given charge of the civil administration of Gujrāt. Two years later he was recalled to Lahore to reorganize the department of *āBkārī* or excise.

Gaṅgā Rām died at Lahore in 1826.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Kohli, Sitā Rām, ed., *Zafarnāmah-i-Raṅjīt Singh*. Lahore, 1928

H.R.G.

GAṄGŪ, BHĀĪ, was, according to Bhāī Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, a devout Sikh of the time of Gurū Aṅgad. He attained spiritual merit through *sevā* or humble service and *simran*, absorption in the remembrance of the Divine Being.

Gn.S.

GAṄGŪ, BHĀĪ, a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Amar Dās. He lived at the village of Ḍallā in present-day Kapūrthalā district of the Punjab and received spiritual instruction

at the hands of Gurū Amar Dās (*Vārān*, XI.16).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar 1927-33

B.S.D.

GAṄGŪ, BHĀĪ, a Sahigal Khatrī, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. He received instruction at the hands of the Gurū himself and learnt to repeat always the Name, Vāhigurū.

See UDDĀ, BHĀĪ, *Vārān*, XI. 19

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

GAṄGŪSHĀHĪS, a Sikh missionary order which owed its origin to Gaṅgū Shāh. Gaṅgū Shāh, also known as Gaṅgā Dās, was born in a Basī Khatrī family of Gaṛhshaṅkar, in Hoshiārpur district of the Punjab, and was a disciple of Gurū Amar Dās, the third Gurū or prophet preceptor of the Sikh faith. He was sent to the Śivālik hills to preach the word of Gurū Nānak and given charge of a seat in the Sirmūr region. He and his successors built a considerable following which emerged over the years as a distinct order. They raised their own shrines at places like Daṇ, near Kharāṛ, in Ropar district, built by Gaṅgū Shāh, and Khaṭkar Kalān near Baṅgā, in Jalandhar district, built by Jawāhar Singh, his great-grandson. These are venerated to this day by the members of the sect and others.

The Gaṅgūshāhīs were excommunicated by the *Khālsā* when Kharāṅk Singh, the incumbent of their *gaddī* at the time of Gurū Gobind Singh's death, called the Sikh con-

gregations 'widowed' with the implicit meaning of himself being left to lead the Sikhs, and to buttress his claim, he is said to have performed some miracles. He also opposed *khaṇḍe dī pāhul*, initiation by the sword, as introduced by Gurū Gobind Singh, and recommended instead *charan pāhul*.

The Gaṅgūshāhīs, a small community numerically, live in the Śivālik hill territory, mainly in the areas of Jauhaṛsar, Piñjaur, Ḍagshāi and Nāhan. They have their *ḍerās* or centres which the followers visit to receive benediction. They do not strictly observe the Sikh custom or code of conduct.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Crooke, W., *The Tribes and Castes of the North Western India*. Delhi, 1974
2. Ibbetson, Denzil, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*. Patiala, 1970

B.S.N.

GAṆĀJ NĀMAH (Treasure Book), by Bhāī Nand Lāl Goyā, is a panegyric in Persian, partly verse and partly prose, in honour of the Ten Gurūs. Bhāī Nand Lāl was a revered Sikh of the time of Gurū Gobind Singh and a distinguished poet. The *GaṆĀJ Nāmah* renders homage to the Gurūs whom the poet recalls in terms of deep personal devotion and veneration. The opening eleven couplets are an invocation to the Gurū who raises men to the level of gods (3), to whom all gods and goddesses are slaves (4), and without whom there is only darkness in the world (5). This is followed by ten sections, each devoted to one of the ten Gurūs of the Sikhs. Each section has two sub-sections — a paragraph or two in prose followed by a series of couplets. The number of couplets in different sections varies from four on Gurū Amar Dās to fifty-six on Gurū Gobind Singh. Each section has at its head the formula, *vāhigurū jō sat/vāhigurū jī hāzar nāzar hai* (God is true and He is omnipresent). The book contains

no biographical details and celebrates only the spiritual eminence of the Gurūs. The poet calls Gurū Nānak the supreme dervish whom all gods and goddesses praise. Gurū Nānak was sent by God Himself into this world so as to show mankind the way to Him. All his successors were one with him in spirit embodying the same message. The book concludes with the poet's humble supplication to Gurū Gobind Singh that his life may be dedicated to the Gurū that he may forever remain attached to his feet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Caṇḍā Singh, ed., *Bhāi Nand Lāl Granthāvalī*. Malacca, 1968

D.S.

GARAB GAÑJANĪ TĪKĀ, by Bhāi Santokh Singh, is an exegesis in the Nirmalā tradition of Gurū Nānak's *Japu*. The commentator, a celebrated poet and chronicler and author of the monumental *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, completed the work, his only one in prose, in 1886 Bk/AD 1829. Whereas all his poetic works are written in Braj, this one is in Sadhūkarī. Santokh Singh undertook the writing of this commentary at the behest of his patron Ude Singh (d. 1843), the ruler of Kaithal, who, dissatisfied with an earlier *ṭikā* by an Udāsī *sādhū*, Ānandghana, had wished a fresh one to be prepared. The original manuscript of *Garab Gañjanī Tīkā* is preserved in the Dr Balbīr Singh Sāhitya Kendra at Dehrā Dūn. It was first published in AD 1910 and again, with certain corrections and punctuations, in 1961. The latter edition comprises 184 printed pages.

The work opens with an invocation to God, followed by couplets eulogizing first the Ten Gurūs and then Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. The poet salutes his mentor Gīanī Sant Singh whom he had in his younger days heard expound this text. This also explains how he had come to launch on this *Tīkā*. He brings out the majestic sublimity of

the *Japu* and alludes to its general popularity. These explanations occupy all of the first four pages; the exegesis proper begins at page 5. Towards the end of the work, there are four couplets explaining the title of the work: *Garab Gañjanī Tīkā* is *ṭikā* or exegesis that dispels and eradicates (*gañjanī* = that which eradicates) arrogance (*garb*=pride). The exegesis is proffered in the form of a *goṣṭi*. The Sikh, herein called *mumokhī*, i.e. one who is a seeker of *mokh* or release, puts questions to the Gurū as to how he can attain liberation and the Gurū answers those questions. Since the author himself belonged to the Nirmalā tradition, Vedantic colouring in his explanations predominates. He believes that the Gurū's hymns can be expounded only on the basis of the exegesis already attempted of the Vedas. He regards Gurū Nānak as an incarnation of the God Almighty — the manifestation of Nirāṅkār, the Formless One. The language of the work is Sadhūkarī, overladen with Braj and Sanskrit vocabulary.

Gr.S.

GARDNER, ALEXANDER HAUGHTON CAMPBELL (1785-1877), son of a Scottish immigrant, was, according to an autobiographical account, born in North America in 1785. As a boy, he learnt Italian, Spanish, Latin and Greek, and proceeded in 1807 to Ireland to train for a maritime career. Returning to America, he set out on a journey to Astrakhan where his elder brother was in the Russian service. In 1817, he left Russia and after wandering for many years in Central Asia, drifted to Afghanistan where he took up service under Amīr Habībullah Khān. When in 1826, Amīr Dost Muhammad became master of Kābul, Gardner fled and reached Peshāwar in 1831 to be appointed commander of artillery by Sultān Muhammad Khān Bārakzaī, a tributary of the Sikh government. In 1832, he was summoned to Lahore where he became an artillery officer

in Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's army with the rank of colonel. Gardonā Sāhib, as he was popularly known in the Sikh army, served in several military campaigns until 1836 when Rājā Dhiān Singh took him over from the Mahārājā's service and placed him in full command of his own artillery. He successively served Hīrā Singh and Gulāb Singh.

Details of his experience as a traveller and soldier, as recorded in the *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner* (edited by Major Hugh Pearse, London, 1898), have been seriously challenged. C. Grey, author of *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785 to 1849*, for instance, describes him as a fake, who never occupied any position of consequence in the Sikh army, and as one who took his incidents, adventures and travels from the books of the period, and drawing upon his imagination, wove a fictitious narrative.

Gardner, however, claims to have first-hand knowledge of many of the tumultuous events which overtook the Punjab after the death of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. Hugh Pearse records that he was an eye-witness to the series of assassinations planned and executed by the Ḍogrā minister, Dhiān Singh. He, for instance, witnessed the murder of Chet Singh in the royal palace on 9 October 1839. He, likewise, narrates in his book how Mahārājā Kharak Singh was slowly poisoned to death; how Kañvar Nau Nihāl Singh was killed in November 1840; how Mahārānī Chand Kaur's head was crushed with stones in June 1842; how the Lahore Fort was stormed by Kañvar Sher Singh in January 1841 and how he, as Mahārājā, and his young son, Partāp Singh, were slain on the same day; how Dhiān Singh met his death followed by the killing of the Sandhānvālīā sardārs; how Suchet Singh was finished off by his nephew; how Hīrā Singh and his adviser, Paṇḍit Jallā, were punished by Sikh troops; and how Wazīr Jawāhar Singh was brought down from his elephant and done to death.

Gardner was dismissed from service along

with other European officers during the time of Paṇḍit Jallā's ascendancy, but he somehow lingered on at Lahore serving Mahārānī Jīnd Kaur. He did not take part in the first Anglo-Sikh war. On the formation of Council of Regency in December 1846, Rājā Tej Singh had him expelled from the Punjab. Gardner thereupon entered the service of Gulāb Singh who gave him command of Kashmīr artillery and a battalion of infantry.

Gardner died at Jammū on 22 January 1877 at the age of 92 and was buried at the military cemetery at Siālkoṭ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Pearse, Hugh, *Soldier and Traveller: Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*. Edinburgh, London, 1898
2. Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785-1849* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
3. Surī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Tawārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
G.I.S.

GARĠAJJ AKĀLĪ JATHĀ (*garġajj* = reverberatingly thunderous) was the name given a dynamic group (*jathā*) of Akālī reformers, especially active in Mājhā region of the Punjab. The Jathā came into being on 19 April 1921, splintering from the parent body Central Mājhā Khālsā Dīwān. Tejā Singh Bhuchchar, Jathedār of Srī Akāl Takht, then under detention, was elected in absentia its life president. Others associated with the Jathā were Bhāi Saran Singh, vice-president; Bhāi Nirañjan Singh, of Chakk No.46, secretary; Bhāi Kāhn Singh, also of Chakk No.46, assistant secretary; and Bhāi Tejā Singh, of Paḍhānā, treasurer. In the constitution of the Jathā approved on 6 June 1921, however, it was redesignated Garġajj Akālī Dīwān, although the name Jathā also continued to be used. In the *Memorandum on the Akālī Dal and the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, 1921-22*, prepared by the Criminal Investigation Department (Political) of the Punjab Government, it is referred to as "The Gargaj Akali Jatha." According to the Memo-

randum, it was "the oldest of all the Akali Jathas" which is evidently in reference to the parent body, the Central Mājhā Khālsā Diwān originally formed in 1904 as Khālsā Diwān, Mājhā. Of Gargajj Akālī Jathā, the C.I.D. Memorandum dated 22 February 1922 records:

Its headquarters are at Tarn Taran but it exercises control over no specified area. Its Jathedar is Teja Singh Bhuchar, one of the conditionally released gurdwara prisoners. The jatha has considerable influence in the Majha tract, though Teja Singh who is endeavouring to maintain a distinction between politics and religion, has lost most of his authority. Its membership is approximately 1,500.

Activities of the Gargajj Akālī Jathā were confined mainly to opposing the policies of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal. Its leader and spokesman, Tejā Singh Bhuchchar, under arrest since 15 March 1921, was released in September 1921 on assurance of good behaviour and on the intercession of Dayā Kishan Kaul, prime minister of the princely state of Paṭiālā. Kaul secured Bhuchchar's consent to preside over a factional Akālī conference proposed to be held at Paṭiālā on 12-13 December 1921 at which the Mahārājā of Paṭiālā was to be proclaimed the leader of the Sikh Panth. The plan, however, aborted owing to the Akālī agitation launched in Amritsar in November 1921 for the retrieval of the keys of the *toshākhānā* of the Golden Temple seized by government. Bhuchchar launched his own paper *Gargajj Akālī* printed in a press financed by Paṭiālā state. Gargajj Akālī Jathā supported Gurū kā Bāgh agitation but later renewed its opposition to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. It tried to obstruct *kār-sevā* of the Sarovar, the holy tank (17 June 1923), objecting to the use of gold basins and silver spades to be used by Pañj Piāre chosen to lead the *sevā*. The Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Commit-

tee declared Bhuchchar a *tankhāhīā*, i.e. laid him under penance for what were described as his rebellious activities. The Gargajj Akālī Jathā had also been opposed to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee decision about boycotting the 1929 Congress session at Lahore and advocated co-operation with the Congress. In 1936, it helped the Buddhā Dal to take forcible possession of Burj Bābā Phulā Singh. The Jathā which had already become insignificant politically and religiously died with the murder of its leader, Tejā Singh Bhuchchar, in 1939.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ashok, Shamsheer Singh, *Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee dā Pañjāh Sālā Itihās*. Amritsar, 1982
2. Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Movement*. Delhi, 1978
3. Pratāp Singh, Giāni, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975

M.G.S.

GARHĪĀ, BHĀĪ, a devout Sikh who received blessing from Gurū Hargobind. The Gurū sent him to preach in Kashmir on a special request from the *saṅgat* of that area. Bhāī Garhīā met on the way a Muslim divine, Shāh Daulā, near Gujrat, now in Pakistan, and engaged in a discourse with him. Shāh Daulā, was so impressed by his recital of the *Sukhmanī*, that he became a devotee of the Gurūs. In Kashmir, Bhāī Garhīā won wide esteem for his gentle and pious manner. Daily he expounded the sacred texts in the *saṅgat* and performed *kīrtan*. Whatever offerings he received went into the Gurū kā Langar. On being recalled from Kashmir by Gurū Hargobind, he settled down at Goindvāl. He accompanied Bābā Dvārkā Dās, a descendant of Gurū Amar Dās, to Bakālā to attend the accession ceremony for Gurū Tegh Bahādur on 11 August 1664. Bābā Dvārkā Dās returned to Goindvāl, but he continued to stay at Bakālā to serve the Gurū.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Panth Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1970

M.G.S.

GARHĪ NAZĪR, a village 3 km to the south-east of Samāṇā (30°-11'N, 76°-11'E), is the site of an historical Sikh shrine called Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Tegh Bahādur Pātshāhī 9. From Samāṇā, Gurū Tegh Bahādur, for whose arrest an imperial troop had been patrolling the countryside, was escorted by Muhammad Bakḥsh, a Muslim noble of liberal religious views, to the safety of his own house in Garhī Nazīr. The pursuing soldiers, following the scent, also arrived at Garhī and made enquiries, but Muhammad Bakḥsh denied the Gurū's presence in his house and sent them away.

A small shrine was later built in the village on the spot sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. Bhāi Ude Singh, the ruler of Kaithal (d. 1843), made an endowment of 20 acres of land for its maintenance, and Mahārājā Karam Singh of Paṭiālā (1798-1845) had a new building constructed. The present building, comprising an assembly hall, with a canopied marble throne for the Gurū Granth Sāhib and the Gurū kā Langar, was raised by the *sants* of Pehovā during the late 1970's. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar 1923

M.G.S.

GARĪAL, BHĀĪ, and Bhāi Mathurā Dās, two poor Sikhs of Agrā, earned their meagre living as porters carrying heavy loads. Yet they joyfully extended hospitality and assis-

tance to needy Sikhs. They had instructed the members of their families that, even if they were not present, any Sikh visiting their house must be well looked after. The news of their sincerity and devotion reached Gurū Arjan, who expressed a desire to see them. Bhāi Garīal and Bhāi Mathurā Dās visited Amritsar and received much praise and blessing from the Gurū (*Vārān*, XI. 27).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

GĀRŪ, BHĀĪ, a Vij Khatri, received the rites of initiation at the hands of Gurū Arjan. Once he, accompanied by Bhāi Hārū, also a Vij, and Bhāi Chatur Dās and Bhāi Mūlā, both Kapūr Khatri, waited upon the Gurū and raised a question. They said, "While the advice of all other holy men is for the seeker to keep wakeful nights in meditation, Gurū Nānak had in one of his *ślokas* suggested that all effort was futile, for the reward, if He pleases, would come even during sleep." Gurū Arjan, says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, explained to them the correct import of the *śloka*. The Gurū said, "Remember, it is not the learned, proud of their accomplishment, who are blessed with *giān* or true knowledge, but the simple illiterates who seek with humility and dedication. Yet the learned are generally considered awake and the illiterate aslumber."

Bhāi Gārū and his companions departed, enlightened in mind and humble in heart. They daily attended the holy *saṅgat* and recited *bāṇī* with complete faith.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955

2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

GĀTHĀ, title of Gurū Arjan's composition comprising twenty-four verses included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. In Sanskrit writings, *gāthā* stands for a religious verse of non-Vedic origin, a stanza or a song. In Prākṛit and Buddhist traditions, the term signifies a verse, a line of poetry, song, stanza or aphorism. The language of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts has also been referred to by some scholars as *gāthā*. According to Sikh commentators, *gāthā*, in the context of the verses of Gurū Arjan, denotes the language used in these verses which is a mixture of Sanskrit, Pālī and Prākṛit. Another name of this language-form is Sahaskritī.

The central theme of the *Gāthā* verses is the praise of God and the importance of devotion to Him. These verses are "a discourse on the Name of God which serves as an arrow to pierce 'the five enemies' and to efface pride" (6); a discourse, profound and inexhaustible, and one which if comprehended truly leads one to overcome worldly desires and to repeat God's Name in the company of the holy (10); and a paean which from the most ancient times the blessed saints have recited (18). These verses lament that the ignorant give themselves up to carnal pleasures. Remembrance of His Name alone will stand by man after his death (3); separation from Him brings only disease and sorrow (24). Liberation cannot be obtained without the company of the holy (2). The saint whose company is obtained only by good fortune washes away the evil of pride and ego from one's heart (16). Man is adjured to devote himself to God without which there is no rescue from the circuit of transmigration (20).

T.S.

GAUHAR SINGH (d. 1763), a Siddhū Jatt,

was founder of the famous village of Aṭārī in Amritsar district. Dhīrā, son of Jagmal, an ancestor of Gauhar Singh, was the first of the family to migrate to Mehrāj - Phūl area, in present-day Baṭhiṇḍā district, from Jaisalmer about the year 1580. About 1735 the family scattered; some of them settled in Jagraoṅ area, whereas Gauhar Singh and his brother Kaur Singh moved on to the interior of the Punjab with twenty-five horsemen. They reached Amritsar, took *pāhul* or the vows of the *Khālsā* and entered the service of Gurbakḥsh Singh Roṛānvālā of the Bhaṅgī *misl*. Gauhar Singh became a disciple of Bāvā Mūl Dās, an ascetic of great sanctity, and on the saint's direction settled at the site of present-day village of Aṭārī. There he built a big house on a mound which came to be called *aṭārī* — a tall house. From *aṭārī* the village as well as the family came to be known as Aṭārī. Gauhar Singh served under the Bhaṅgī *sardārs*, Gujjar Singh and Lahiṇā Singh, after the death of Gurbakḥsh Singh Roṛānvālā. He died in 1763. His son Nihāl Singh continued to hold the *jāgīr* under Sāhib Singh Bhaṅgī, son of Gujjar Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Punjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

GAURĀ, BHĀĪ, the elder son of Bhāi Bhagatū (d. 1652), a devout and leading Sikh since the time of Gurū Arjan, was a brave warrior who had carved out an extensive estate for himself around his native village Viñjhū, 14 km north of Baṭhiṇḍā (30°-14'N, 74°-59'E). Owing to a misunderstanding, Bhāi Bhagatū, while on his last visit to Kartārpur to see Gurū Har Rāi in 1651, had made a young peasant girl believe that he had vowed to make her his wife. The girl considered herself the wife of the old Bhāi, who had died soon

after the incident, and would not remarry. When Gaurā came to know this, he brought the girl to his house and ever treated her as his mother. The following year, when Gurū Har Rāi visiting *saṅgats* in the Mālvā region, came to Viñjhū, Gaurā served him devotedly and accompanied the Gurū's train through his own neighbourhood. One day, angered by an insulting remark made by Jassā, one of the Gurū's attendants, about his stepmother, Gaurā had the former assassinated. Gurū Har Rāi forbade Gaurā's presence in *saṅgat*. Gaurā was repentant and wanted to tender apology but the Gurū would not grant him an audience. He, with a few hundred of his men, therefore followed the Gurū's progress to Kīratpur, keeping a few kilometres behind him. A few months later as Gurū Har Rāi, on his way to Kartārpur, had just crossed the River Sutlej, his family and the baggage still on the other bank, a Mughal force attacked his rear. But Bhāi Gaurā, who as usual was following close behind, chased the attackers away and helped the Gurū's party safely cross the river. When Gurū Har Rāi came to know of this, he called Gaurā to his presence, pardoned his past crime and giving him his blessing sent him back to his home in the Mālvā, where he flourished as a virtual ruler of a vast tract. One of his descendants, Bhāi Desū Siṅgh, founded the autonomous state of Kaithal in 1767.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Siṅgh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

B.S.

GAURĪ KĪ VĀR, by Gurū Rām Dās, is one of his seven *vārs* in a total of twenty-two in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. As the title indicates, the *Vār* is cast in the Gaurī musical measure — a *rāga* commonly sung in the evening. In Sikh Scripture, Gaurī is the third of the thir-

ty-one *rāgas*. *Gaurī kī Vār* comprises thirty-three *paurīs* and sixty-eight *ślokas*. Except *paurīs* 15 and 20 which are preceded by three *ślokas* each, the rest have two *ślokas* prefixed to each. In the case of most of the other *vārs* included in the Holy Book, the *paurīs* which form the core of the text are from one pen, the *ślokas* which vary in authorship having been added by Gurū Arjan at the time of the compilation of the Holy Granth. *Gaurī kī Vār* is the only *Vār* which has five *paurīs* (27 to 31), all of the composition of Gurū Arjan. Of the sixty-eight *ślokas*, seven are by Gurū Amar Dās, fifty-three by Gurū Rām Dās and eight by Gurū Arjan. Whereas the *ślokas* vary in the number of verses from two to thirteen, *paurīs* consist of five verses each, except for four (11,12,31 and 32) which contain six to ten verses each.

The *Vār* has been moulded to a spiritual theme, the burden being the individual soul's yearning for ultimate union with the Supreme Soul. Whereas the former is limited and finite, the latter is infinite and unfathomable, omniscient and omnipresent. Equally deep emphasis is laid on God who is the sole creator and sustainer of the universe. The human body He has created is like a fort with several shops within it. This body is meant for righteous action. Men are divided into two categories, *gurmukhs* and *manmukhs*. The former imbibe godly qualities by following the instruction of the Gurū and repeating His Name with every breath of theirs. Thus they successfully swim across the ocean of life and win acceptance at His portal. On the other hand, the *manmukh*, the wayward one, takes to evil ways. His speech is insipid, and he takes delight in calumny and falsehood. He is greedy and lustful and is punished accordingly. To realize God, the seeker need not renounce the world and wander into the forests. They are saved who take refuge with the True Gurū. The Gurū helps the human soul reach its destination of final

beatitude. The Gurū is full of the nectar of the Name of the Lord. He is generous and envious of none. It is under his guidance that the disciple learns to keep company with the holy, imbibe virtues and cast away all deficiencies.

S.S.K.

GAURĪ KĪ VĀR by Gurū Arjan is one of the twenty-two *vārs* included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The *Vār* is a form of folk poetry cast in a spiritual mould in the Sikh holy corpus. It falls in the Gaurī musical measure from which it takes its title. As in the case of some of the *vārs* in the Holy Book, there is at the head of it a direction as to the tune in which it should most appropriately be sung. The tune indicated is that of the then popular folk-ballad recounting the chivalry of Mojdi (Muazz ud-Dīn) who fought against and defeated Kamāldī (Kamāl ud-Dīn), his uncle: they were Muslim Rājput chieftains of the Bār, or inter-riverine jungle country, in the erstwhile central Punjab. At the close of the *Vār* are appended the words *sudhu kīche* (please correct), indicating that the text as copied from the original pages was sought to be checked and inaccuracies, if any, corrected.

The *Vār* comprises twenty-one *pauṛīs* or stanzas, and forty-two *ślokas* or couplets, all composed by Gurū Arjan. This is unlike most of the other *vārs* in the Gurū Granth Sāhib which contain *ślokas* by the author of the *pauṛīs* as well as by other Gurūs which were added to the *pauṛīs* by Gurū Arjan at the time of the compilation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. *Pauṛīs* consist of five lines each which, though of unequal length, mutually rhyme, the last word of each line ending with a long *mātrā* to create in recitation an echoic, lingering rhythm.

Like other *vārs* in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, this *Vār* opens with the laudation of the Creator, expressing devotion as well as a sense of wonder, and then, with rapid transition, moves on to other aspects of ethical experi-

ence and to exhortation towards the spiritual life. Remembrance of God lovingly and whole-heartedly and praising the Name in holy association are set out as the means to elevating the seeker to the ideal plane where he comes in contact with the Supreme Lord and where he experiences the joy of becoming one with the Perfect Being. In such a state there is no psychic conflict and man abides in sublime bliss. *Pauṛīs* as well as *ślokas* bear up these themes.

The essential element of the metaphysical doctrine of Gurū Nānak reiterated by Gurū Arjan in this *Vār* is monotheism. The ultimate reality is the One Absolute, the Transcendent, Eternal and Omnipotent. He is supreme, ineffable and indescribable. So wondrous and exalted is He that human mind can neither define nor fathom Him. His Will is the sole cause of the creation of this universe which is sustained and nourished by Him. He is not separate from His creation, but permeates it. He is imperishable, infinite, unapproachable and unfathomable. He looks equally adorned amongst the high and the low, the big and the small. He is diffused through all the places and interspaces and is within the mortals.

Only God, the creator of this universe, is the Everlasting Reality. All else is subject to death, and so is man. Although the cosmos will last longer than the living creatures, it will not stay for ever. Neglecting the soul's yearning for union with the Ultimate and seeking material and physical satisfaction in self-indulgence is said to make man unbalanced. The *Vār* presents a very vivid picture of this sick mortal. Such a man does not perform his duty, but wanders waywardly. He is attracted towards vices such as lust, wrath, avarice and worldly love like a vulture attracted to carrion. He might seem happy outwardly, but within him lies anxiety. His insatiable hunger for worldly things leads him to pain and sorrow. Surrounded by calamities and with a mind full of doubt, he is

ever unhappy, ill at ease and discontented. Devoid of faith, he is continuously suffering agony like a thief writhing on the noose. The *Vār* impresses upon such an ignorant man the uselessness of worldly ostentation which is like the flash of lightning. The worldly grandeurs are evil friends who will not stand him in good stead. In fact, this world to which man is attached in preference to God is like an awesome ocean which he cannot cross without the help of a true guide. Man is made to realize that this beautiful body and the material gains after which he is so crazy shall not remain with him for ever. Man is advised not to succumb to the fascination of the visible and the exterior, but accumulate "the capital of the Lord's Name." There is no peace without *nām*. His name alone will help man's acceptance at His Court.

God is the supreme judge of human actions. He is the lover of saints and saviour of sinners. Since Lord's Name is the only intermediary between the human spirit and His Being, man is advised to "embark on the ship of the service of the True Lord" and cross the ocean of this world. To gain access to Him, the easier way is to take help of the saint Gurū and of the company of saints. Man is told that "evenly smooth shall be the path if the saint Gurū be the Uniter" and that the True Lord can be obtained by submitting to His Will and by associating with the holy. The saints show man the way to God and so he contemplates His Name, and it is the society of the saints which dispels all lust, wrath, avarice and love for worldly things from human mind and make it a worthy abode of God. However, this "becomes easy when the True Lord becomes pleased." This pleasure or grace of God is also the necessary condition before unity with God becomes a possibility. Grace without which there can be no spiritual achievement is the responsive love of God rewarding man for his true love towards Him.

Man should dispel all doubt and love

Him. He should read and understand Him. He should place hope in only the True Lord whom he should never forget. Man should grasp His feet, remember and praise Him, submit to His Will and seek his shelter. He should contract friendship with Him and ever long for Him with eagerness. Man can achieve perfection only in union with the Perfect One for which he will need the help of the True Gurū and the grace of the Lord. So he transcends to a state which is thus described: "The Name I hear, the Name I amass and with the Name I embrace Love. My home and wealth are all sanctified by singing the praise of God."

The spiritual insight as well as the doctrinal aspect has been presented in the *Vār* in language which is an easy variety of Mājhi Punjabi spoken in the central districts. Many *tatsam* words long used in this tradition and incidental to the theme have been used along with their *tadbhav* forms. Words of Lahindi or western Punjabi are also used — their use being more evident in *ślokas* than in *paurīs*. Different headings of two *ślokas*, i.e. 'salok ḍakhaṇā' on the first *śloka* preceding *paurī* 19, and 'salok dohā' on the first *śloka* before *paurī* 18, bear testimony to the use of western Punjabi and western Hindi, respectively, in these verses. Some words of Persian and Arabic, mostly in the *tadbhav* form have also been used.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kohli, Surindar Singh, *A Critical Study of Adi Granth*. Delhi, 1961

U.S.

GHADR MOVEMENT. *Ghadr*, commonly translated as "mutiny," was the name given to the newspaper edited and published for the Hindustānī Association of the Pacific Coast which was founded at Portland, United States of America, in 1912. The movement this Association gave rise to for revolutionary activity in India also came to be known

by the designation of Ghadr.

As land holdings were becoming uneconomical in the Punjab, the farmers started, by the turn of the century, going abroad to seek new pastures. East Asian countries where new opportunities were opening up offered attractive prospects. Farmers in considerable numbers started moving in that direction. Learning of still better prospects there they began trickling out to Canada and to the United States of America during the first decade of the twentieth century. They were mostly small farmers, ex-soldiers and artisans; as Sikhs they had no taboos against crossing the seas.

For the development of the Western Coast of North America, labour was required. The American and Canadian employers encouraged inflow of cheap and hardworking labour available from among the Chinese, Japanese and Indians (mostly Punjabis). By 1908, about 5,000 Indians had entered Canada. Almost 99% of the Indian immigrants were Punjabis, out of which 90% were Sikhs.

To help Indians in Chicago and New York, Americans established the Indo-American Society. Under its auspices was formed another forum — Indo-American National Association, which invited Indian students for study in the U.S.A. and rendered them financial help. The forum also started an "India House" where Indian students were provided with free lodging and board. Many students of middle classes joined Berkeley University, in San Francisco. They had to earn to pay for their expenses. Lālā Har Dayāl (Stanford University), Sant Tejā Singh (Harvard University) and Bhāi Parmānand decided to get more students belonging to poor families for study in the U.S.A. and Canada. Bhāi Javālā Singh, Bhāi Santokh Singh and Sant Vasākhā Singh also joined hands and agreed to render financial help to the students. Along with the students many Indian rebels also found their way into the

U.S.A. After some time, owing to financial difficulties, the Society disappeared but similar associations and India Houses sprang up in London and Paris.

The Indians who went to the United States and Canada came from the rural farming middle classes and labour, a large number among them being ex-servicemen. In the beginning, the Indians went to San Francisco and Stockton in California, Portland and Saint John in Oregon and Washington States, and to Vancouver and Victoria, in British Columbia, in Canada. Such persons as Amar Singh and Gopāl Singh who had gone to America in 1905, and Tārak Nāth Dās and Rām Nāth Purī, who followed them, started preaching against the British rule in India. They also started a paper called *Azādī kā Circular* in Urdu. This paper was distributed among the armed forces in India to rouse them against the British.

There was constant tension between the White and Asian labour. The latter was low-paid, had no facilities such as provided for the White labour. This created jealousies, and the White labour started harassing the Asian labour. They organized attacks on Asian habitations. The Whites even taunted the Indians with being slaves. The governments of China and Japan sent strong protests against the maltreatment of their nationals but there was no one to fight for Indians. The result was that the Canadian government started further harassment of the Indians already there, and also tried to stop further immigration of Indians, also termed as "turbaned tide" or the "ragheads". During 1908, the Canadian government tried to persuade Indians in Canada to shift to the British Honduras (Central America) and settle there. An Indian delegation visited Honduras and found the climatic conditions there unsuitable and the wages too low. Hence they refused to migrate to the British Honduras.

The Canadian Government further tight-

ened measures against the entry of Indians into Canada. It passed a legislation that newcomers would not be permitted to land on the Canadian soil "unless they came from the country of their birth or citizenship by a continuous journey, and on through tickets purchased before leaving the country of their birth or citizenship." They were also required to possess \$ 200 against the previously fixed sum of \$ 25. These terms hit the Indians the most as they neither possessed any ships of their own nor was there a direct service between India and Canada. The shipping companies were directed against issuing direct tickets to Indians. The British Government in India gave wide publicity to these new terms in order to discourage the people from going to Canada.

The Indians in Canada had created large properties, and, having lived there for three years, had obtained Canadian citizenship. Now they wanted to get their families to join them, but this was not permitted. Many Indians returned to India. Protests to the various authorities concerned made no difference. Indians became victims of racial discrimination, which, they had realized, was the outcome of their country being held in the shackles of slavery. It became a continuous struggle for Indians to enter Canada and to live an honourable life there. Even those who had gone to the United States, and wanted to return to Canada to dispose of their properties were not allowed to come to Canada.

In order to fight the unjust immigration laws, the Indians (mostly Sikhs) organized a *Khālsā Dīwān Society* in Vancouver in 1907 with branches in Victoria, Abbotsford, New Westminster, Fraser Hill, Duncan Coombs and Ocean Falls. Under its guidance, the Indians successfully thwarted the Canadian Government's attempt to send them to the British Honduras. The Sikhs built a *gurdwārā* at Vancouver which was inaugurated in January 1908, and later a few more at other

places. These *gurdwārās* became the rallying places for the Indians.

During 1909, only 6 Indians were allowed entry into Canada. The same year the Indian immigrants organized Hindustān Association under the presidentship of Bhāi Bhāg Singh Bhikkhviṇḍ. Its objects were: formation of a purely Indian (national) government in India; spread of national education; industrialization of India; provision of safeguards from loot by foreigners, and so on. The association started two papers — *Pardesī Khālsā* in Punjabi and *Svadesh Sevak* in Urdu. Pamphlets like *Khālsā* and *Māro Firāngī Ko* (Kill the Foreigner) were widely distributed. A Svadesh Sevak Home was opened on the lines of India House. These activities helped create national feeling among the Indians. On 15 December 1911, the Society was replaced by another organization called United India League.

These activities awakened the Indian immigrants. Persons like Bābā Sohan Singh Bhaknā, Harnām Singh Ṭuṇḍilāt, Ūdham Singh Kasel, Rakhā Rām, Īshar Singh Marhāṇā and others would collect on Sundays or on other holidays and ponder over the problem. St. John and Seattle (U.S.A.) became the centres of their activities. They protested against the maltreatment of their countrymen in the United States and Canada.

In 1911, the White labour resumed their attacks on Indians. By now, the Indians were politically awake. At many places they had organized themselves, procured arms and ammunition, and put up strong resistance. In 1912, at Portland, Hindustānī (or Hindī) Association of the Pacific Coast was formed with Bābā Sohan Singh Bhaknā as its president and G.D. Kumār as the general secretary. The Association started a weekly, *Hindustān*, in Urdu. As Mr Kumār fell ill and could not cope up with the work, Lālā Har Dayāl was asked to take his place. The association during May 1913, at a largely attended meeting, decided to open a Ghadr Āshram also known

as Yugāntar Āshram, and also to form a Ghadr party with its headquarters at San Francisco and its branches at various places in the United States and Canada. The aim of the party was explained thus: "Today, there begins in foreign lands... a war against the British rāj... What is our name? *Ghadr*. What is our work? *Ghadr*. Where will *Ghadr* break out? In India. The time will soon come when rifles and blood will take the place of pen and ink." In simple words, their aim was to get rid of the British rāj in India through an armed rebellion.

Each factory or a railway workers' party selected its own committee to work directly under the Ghadr party headquarters. Out of the members taken from these committees was formed an executive committee to run the party paper and control its press. The party decided to publish a weekly called *Ghadr*. Every member was to pay a minimum subscription of \$ 1 a month.

A three-member cell was formed out of the executive committee to deal with political and secret affairs. Under the rules adopted, no religious subject was to be discussed in the committee.

The officials selected were: Bābā Sohan Singh Bhaknā (president), Bhāi Kesar Singh Thāṭhgarh (vice-president), Lālā Har Dayāl (general secretary), Lālā Thākar Dās Dhūrī (joint secretary) and Paṇḍit Kānshī Rām (treasurer).

The first issue of the *Ghadr*, in Urdu, came out in November 1913 and that in Punjabi a few weeks later. The paper carried the words "Enemy of the British Government," under its masthead on the front page. The paper was distributed to politico-Indian centres in United States (Western Coast), Canada, Philippines, Fiji, Sumatra, Japan, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Hankow, Java, Singapore, Malaya, Siam, Burma, India and East Africa. Occasionally, the *Ghadr* published the following advertisement:

Wanted: Enthusiastic and heroic soldiers

for organizing Ghadr in Hindustān;

Renumeration	: Death
Reward	: Martyrdom
Pension	: Freedom
Field of work	: Hindustān

Later, Hindi, Gujarati, Pashto, Bengali and Nepali editions of the paper were also brought out. The paper brought about a new awakening among Indians. The British government tried to stop circulation of the paper, but failed in its efforts. Instead, the circulation of the paper increased and the party had to spend a great deal of money on it. Besides, a number of small pamphlets, many of them in Punjabi, such as *Firaṅgī dā Fareb*, *Shābāsh* (openly preaching the use of bombs for throwing the British out of India), *Ghadar dī Gūrj*, *Zulam! Zulam! Gore Shāhī Zulam*, *Tilak dī Rihāi*, *Navān Zamānā*, *Pañjābī Bharāvān de Nām Sunehā*, *Angān dī Govāhī* were issued. The *Hindustānī Sīpāhī* was published to instigate Indian soldiers against the British rule. "Bande Mātram" became the party slogan. The Ghadr party president, with some of his companions, often visited the Indian groups to exhort them to join the freedom movement.

The British thought that if Har Dayāl were sent out of America, the Ghadr movement would automatically die. Har Dayāl was arrested on the pretext of a speech delivered by him three years earlier. The party got him out on bail and managed to send him away to Switzerland. Thereafter he took no part in the Ghadr movement. Bābā Sohan Singh Bhaknā now decided to stay at the party headquarters, Bhāi Santokh Singh became the general secretary, and the editing of the party paper was taken over by Bhāi Harnām Singh of Koṭlā Naudh Singh. The party's plan was to invade Kashmīr from China; then go for the Punjab, followed by other provinces. The members started getting training in the use of weapons and making of bombs; several got training in flying aircraft also. One of them, Harnām Singh, had his

hand blown off while in the process of bomb-making, and he was thence onwards known as Ṭuṇḍīlāt, the armless knight (*ṭuṇḍā* = armless; *lāt* = lord or knight).

The party carried out considerable propaganda in Japan where Maulawī Barkat Ullāh was a professor in Tokyo University. Later, when the British had him removed from the appointment, he reached San Francisco. His presence attracted many Muslims to the party. The Maulawī and Bhāi Bhagwān Singh went together and addressed the gatherings one after the other. This had a healthy effect on the movement.

The Ghadr party did not restrict its activities to the Indians in the United States and Canada only, but covered also those living in Manila, Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Malaya, Siam and Japan. Bhāi Bhagwān Singh and Bhāi Santokh Singh worked among Indians in those countries. Many Indians were externed from these places for such activities. In these places also, *gurdwārās* became the centres of political activity of Indians. In Hong Kong, the British Government once placed the *gurdwārās* under police control to check these activities. The party also influenced soldiers of 25 and 26 Punjabis located in Hong Kong. Hirā Singh, a millionaire of Hong Kong, rendered much help to the Ghadr party.

The *Komagata Maru* incident added fuel to the fire. In San Francisco, the Ghadr gave the clarion call for mobilization as soon as the *Komagata Maru* was turned back. The First World War broke out in July 1914. On 5 August, leading members of the Ghadr party gathered at Yugāntar Āshram, discussed the situation and decided to take advantage of the involvement of the British in the war. The Ghadr party declared war on the British and decided to come to India to carry out armed revolution against the British.

Bābā Sohan Singh Bhaknā, with his companions, left for India. On 22 August 1914, the first ship with 26 Indians left Vancouver;

on 29 August, another ship with 60-70 Indians left San Francisco for India. The latter included Bhāi Kesar Singh, Bhāi Javālā Singh Ṭhaṭhīān, Bhāi Nidhān Singh Chugghā, Ūdham Singh Kasel and Paṇḍit Jagat Rām. The Ghadr leaders wound up their businesses and from October 1914 started pouring in India from United States, Canada, China, Philippins, Singapore, Malaya, Sumatra, Hong Kong and other countries. They also included women workers, such as Bibī Gulāb Kaur (originally from the village of Bakḥshīvālā, in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab) from Manila. Her speeches impressed the listeners including the Malaya State Guides and other units of the Indian army.

According to government records, 2312 Indian Ghadr men had entered India between 13 October 1914 and 25 February 1915. Their influx continued till 1916 when their number increased to more than 8,000. But it is likely that the Ghadr men had entered India in greater numbers than the government knew.

The British Government was not unaware of these activities. It issued an Ingress Ordinance (5 September 1914) giving powers to the provincial governments enabling them to deal with the entrants in any way they considered proper. Most of the entrants were got hold of at the ports of entry, especially at Calcutta. They were either instructed to report to the Central Enquiry Office at Ludhiānā, or, such as Bābā Sohan Singh Bhaknā, were sent there under detention. Out of those apprehended, 2,500 were confined to their respective villages and 400 considered dangerous were kept under detention. About 5,000 were released with a warning.

The capture of Ghadr leaders had upset the plans to some extent, yet the party as a whole was not disheartened. New leaders came forward and reorganized the movement. They established their headquar-

ters at Amritsar, later shifting to Lahore. The party established a new press and published small pamphlets such as : *Ghadr Sandesh*, *Ailān-i-Jaṅg*, *Tilak*, *Nādar Mauqā*, *Rikābgañj*, *Canada dā Dukhrā*, *Naujavān Utho*, *Sachchī Pukār*, and so on. These pamphlets were published in Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi, and were distributed among the public and the soldiers. The party also produced their own flag having red, yellow and green colours. Dr Mathurā Singh supervised factories producing bombs.

The party members contacted students; they contacted soldiers stationed especially at Miān Mir (Lahore), Jalandhar, Firozpur, Peshāwar, Jehlum, Rāwalpiṇḍī, Mardān, Kohāt, Bannū, Ambālā, Meerut, Kānpur and Āgrā cantonments. The soldiers were generally in sympathy with the movement. Many party workers joined the army with a view to obtaining arms and ammunition.

Contacts were also established with Bengal revolutionaries such as Rāsh Behārī Bose whose close companions were Sachin Sānyāl and Vishṇu Gaṇesh Piṅgle. Piṅgle acted as a link between the Ghadr party and Bengalis.

The movement faced financial difficulties in India. The expenses had increased owing to opening of various branches, travelling, purchase of arms and ammunition and publications. Money was not easily available as it was in foreign countries. To overcome this difficulty, the party had to resort to forcible acquisition of funds by undertaking political dacoities.

All the preparations completed, the party executive met on 12 February 1915, and decided to start the rebellion on 21 February. Their plan was simultaneously to attack and capture Miān Mir and Firozpur cantonments; 128th Pioneer and 12 Cavalry were to capture Meerut Cantonment and then proceed to Delhi. Units in cantonments in northern India were expected to join the rebellion.

The British Government had intelligence men posted at railway stations in cities and in

important villages. The *lambardārs*, *zaildārs* and other village functionaries were also alerted to provide information. The government had managed to plant informers in the Ghadr party itself. Before the new leadership came forward and reorganized the movement's plans, the British Government "knew much more about their designs and was in a better position to cope with them." In spite of this, the Ghadrites in the central Punjab murdered policemen and informers and attempted to derail trains and blow up bridges. Factories for preparing bombs were established. All this made the government feel that they were "living over a mine full of explosives."

When the party learnt that the information about the D-Day had leaked, they advanced the date of rebellion to 19 February, but this information also reached the police through their informer, Kirpāl Singh. The police raided the party headquarters at four different places in Lahore and arrested 13 of the "most dangerous revolutionaries." All cantonments were alerted and the Indian troops placed under vigilance; some were even disarmed. Arrests of Ghadr men took place all over the Punjab. Rāsh Behārī Bose, with the help of Kartār Singh Sarābhā, escaped from Lahore to Vārāṇasī. Vishṇu Gaṇesh Piṅgle was arrested at Meerut on 23 March 1915. All the leaders were put in the Lahore jail.

The Government of the Punjab sought and the Government of India passed under the Defence of India Act wide powers to the Punjab Government who formed a special tribunal of three judges, including one Indian, to try the Ghadr men in the Central Jail, Lahore. Thus the rebellion was smashed by the government before it had really taken shape.

The Ghadr men were tried by the Special Tribunal in what are known as Lahore conspiracy cases in batches. The trial of the first batch began on 26 April 1915. In all,

291 persons were tried and sentenced as under: death for 42, 114 were transported for life, 93 awarded varying terms of imprisonment, 42 were acquitted. Confiscation of property was ordered in the case of many. No one appealed against the punishments. Those who were hanged included Kartār Siṅgh Sarābhā, Jagat Siṅgh (Sursiṅgh) Viṣṇū Gaṇesh Piṅgle, Harnām Siṅgh (Siālkoṭī), Bakhshish Siṅgh (son of Īshar Siṅgh), Bhāi Balvant Siṅgh (Khurdpur), Bābū Rām, Harnām Siṅgh, Hāfiz Abdullā and Rūr Siṅgh (Saṅghvāl).

Under the circumstances, the army units which had promised to join the revolution kept quiet. However, some units such as 26 Punjabi, 7 Rājput, 12 Cavalry, 23 Cavalry, 128 Pioneers, Malaya State Guides, 23 Mountain Battery, 24 Jāt Artillery, 15 Lancers, 22 Mountain Battery, 130 Balūch and 21 Punjabi did come out in the open. About 700 men of 5 Light Infantry, located in Singapore, mutined on 15 February and took possession of the fort. The rebellion was subdued by the British troops; 126 men were tried by court martial which sentenced 37 to death, 41 to transportation for life, and the remaining to varying terms of imprisonment. Soldiers from other units were punished as under:

	Death	Transportation for life
23 Cavalry	12	6
12 Cavalry	4	-
130 Balūch	4	59
128 Pioneers	1	-

The party workers also went to Iran and Iraq to instigate Indian troops against the

Baghdād. The Indian Independence Army thus losing its base was also defeated.

The Ghadr party contacted Germany, Turkey, Afghanistan, China and other countries, but not much help came from any of these. Germany sympathized with the Ghadr party and occasionally tried to render some help in the form of weapons and money, but these often failed to reach the party. For instance, 5,000 revolvers on board *Henry S.* which sailed from Manila were captured en route by the British. Germany had also formed an Oriental Bureau for translating and disseminating inflammatory literature to the Indian prisoners of war in Germany.

During World War I, revolutionaries from most countries had gone to Switzerland, which was a neutral country. The Indians there formed Indian Revolutionary Society, also known as Berlin-India Committee. The Society had formed a provisional government at Kābul, but had no contacts with the Indian public. The Ghadr party established links with the Society and both agreed to help each other. Germany sent financial help to the Society but, on learning that it was being misappropriated, discontinued it. The Society soon collapsed. No sum ever reached the Ghadr party.

Ghadr movement, as says O'Dwyer, "was by far the most serious attempt to subvert British rule in India." Most of the workers were illiterate — only 2% of them knew Urdu or Punjabi. Still they organized a strong movement which for the time being thrilled the country and made the British panic. Although the movement was suppressed, it provided

the first step towards the Ghadr movement that followed

1919-35. Delhi, 1985

3. Jagjit Singh, *Ghadr Pārī Lahir*. Delhi, 1979
4. Sainsarā, Gurcharan Singh, *Ghadr Pārī dā Itihās*. Jalandhar, 1989
5. Jas, Jasvant Singh, *Bābā Gurdīt Singh (Kāmāgātā Mārū)*. Jalandhar, 1970

E.C.B.

GHAL KALĀN, village 9 km west of Mogā (30°-48'N, 75°-10'E) in Farīdkoṭ district, has a historical *gurdwārā* dedicated to Gurū Hargobind who came here for a visit from Ḍaraulī. Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Chhevīn stands in a brick-paved compound at the south-west corner of the village. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in a square hall, with a verandah in front. A tall metallic flagmast was erected on 13 April 1973. There is in the compound an old well now in disuse and covered up. The Gurdwārā is managed by a village committee.

M.G.S.

GHANAULĀ, an old village 10 km north of Ropar (30°-58'N, 76°-31'E) in the Punjab, used to be the headquarters of a *parganah* in Mughal times. It claims a historical shrine which commemorates the visit of Gurū Gobind Singh in 1688 while he was returning from Pāoṅṅā to Anandpur. He again passed through Ghanaulā on 6 December 1705 while proceeding to Koṭlā Nihaṅg Khān en route to Chamkaur. The Gurdwārā, a modest-looking single-room structure on the top of a mound near an old fortress, is looked after by the village *saṅgat*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

GHANAUR JAṬṬĀN, locally called Ṭall Ghanaur, village on the left bank of the Ghaggar Branch of the Sirhind canal, about

30 km southeast of Saṅgrūr (30°-14'N, 75°-50'E) in the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind and Gurū Tegh Bahādur. A small domed Mañjī Sāhib commemorates the visits of the Gurūs. Two *karīr* trees, one in the circumambulatory passage and the other in the compound, believed to have sprouted from the wooden posts to which Gurū Hargobind had tethered his horse, are held in veneration by the villagers. With the construction of a much bigger *gurdwārā* across the canal by Mahant Pañjāb Singh and Mahant Mehar Singh, this historical old shrine has fallen into a state of comparative neglect and the ancillary rooms for the *laṅgar* and for lodging pilgrims lie unused. Yet the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in the Mañjī Sāhib and is served by the village *saṅgat*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

GHANĪ KHĀN and his brother Nabī Khān, Pathān horse dealers of Māchhivārā in present-day Ludhiānā district of the Punjab, were admirers of Gurū Gobind Singh whom they had visited at Anandpur and to whom they had sold many good animals. When they learnt that, travelling in a lonely state after the battle of Chamkaur (1705), the Gurū had come to Māchhivārā, they at once turned out to meet him and offered their services. They provided him with a blue-coloured dress and carried him out of Māchhivārā in a palanquin disguised as a Muslim divine. They declared him to be Uchch dā Pīr, the holy man of Uchch, an old seat of Muslim saints in southwest Punjab. They escorted him thus up to Hehrān, a village near Rāikoṭ in Ludhiānā district, where a group of Sikhs relieved them. The Gurū dismissed Ghanī Khān and Nabī Khān with his blessings and

a *hukamnāmā* meant to be a letter of commendation which was reverently preserved by their descendants. The family migrated to Pakistan in 1947. Their house in Māchhivārā is now a *gurdwārā* known as Gurdwārā Uchch dā Pīr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giānī Garjā Singh, eds. *Gurū kiāñ Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

P.S.P.

GHARĪBDĀSĪĀS, followers of Sant Gharibdās (1717-78), also known as Satsāhibiās for their peculiar form of greeting which is ‘Sat Sāhib,’ i.e. eternally existent (*satya*) is the Lord (*sāhib*). The founder of the sect, Gharib Dās was born in 1717 in the small village Chhuḍānī, in Rohtak district. He got married, had six children — four sons and two daughters, and lived a normal worldly life until he came under the influence of Dādūpanthīs. His sincere and persistent devotion won him many followers who sought initiation from him. Though unlettered, he composed religious verse in the form of *dohirās* and *chaupāīs* and *sākhīs* or narratives of saints from Indian piety. Upon his death, Gharib Dās was succeeded by one of his sons who retained his seat in his ancestral village.

For decennial census returns Gharibdāsīās described themselves neither as Sikhs nor as Hindus, and were classified in the reports in the category of ‘other religions.’ In the 1931 census, only six of them, i.e. one family of two male and four female members, are recorded as Sikhs. However, adjuring of idol worship in favour of reverence for the Book and worship of the Impersonal God, the institution of *bhaṇḍārā*, i.e. serving free meals on special occasions, and denunciation of caste are some of the features of this sect which indicate a strong

Sikh influence.

Among the adherents of the sect are both ascetics and laymen. The former are celibates, completely abstaining from flesh and wine. They engage neither in farming nor in trade, and live by begging. They shave their heads and faces, and wear necklaces and white round caps to which is attached a piece of cloth that hangs back. They worship the Book, which contains compositions of Gharibdās and some other saints, and build no temples.

Numerically, the Gharibdāsīās now form an extremely insignificant group, though they have centres, known as the *khambās*, lit. pillars, including one very impressive *ḍerā* at Haridvār.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Crooke, W., *The Tribes and Castes of the North Western India*. Delhi, 1974
2. Ibbetson, Denzil, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*. Patiala, 1970

T.S.

GHARU, pronounced *ghar*, is a term used in the titles of many of the hymns in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The final “u” is only of grammatical significance indicating masculine gender and singular number. *Gharu* appears after the name of the *rāga* (musical measure) and the indication with regard to the author, and is followed by a numeral. For instance, the first hymn in the Sirī Rāga is entitled “Rāgu Sirī Rāgu Mahalā Pahilā l Gharu l”. As in the case of Mahalā the numeral following Gharu is pronounced as first, second, third, and so on, and not as one, two, three, etc. Gharu, ordinarily an equivalent of “house” or “home”, here indicates a variant or style of a *rāga* corresponding to variation in metre, pitch, rhythm and *lai*. *Lai* (Sanskrit *laya*) is a term in Indian musicology signifying timing or speed, *Lai* figures in three varieties, viz. *druta* (quick), *madhya* (mean or moderate)

and *vilambita* (slow). Interestingly, the Sanskrit *laya* also means "rest, repose" as well as "a place of rest, residence, house, dwelling," the latter being synonymous with *ghar* in Hindi and Punjabi. This explains the use of *ghar* for musical variations in the Sikh Scripture. In Iranian music, the Persian word *gāh* (time, place) is used for various musical notes such as *dūgāh* and *sih-gāh* in the same sense.

Bb.S.N.

GHARŪĀN, a village 8 km east of Moriṇḍā (30°-47'N, 76°-29'E), is sacred to Gurū Har Rāi. He visited the place during his travels in these parts. Several people accepted his teachings. They established a *dharamsālā* in the village. This was replaced by a double-storeyed building with a high gateway during the nineteenth century. A part of this building is being used for residential purposes. The other portion has been demolished and a new hall, with *prakāsh asthān* in the centre, has been built. The Gurdwārā is managed by a village committee. The birth anniversary of Gurū Har Rāi is an important annual festival.

Another historical *gurdwārā* in Gharūān is Gurdwārā Akāl Garh Pātshāhī Naumī dedicated to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. Gurū Tegh Bahādur is said to have passed through Gharūān when travelling to Delhi in 1675. According to local tradition, he first went to the place inside the village commemorating the visit of Gurū Har Rāi. But the priests there, probably not recognizing him, treated him with indifference. He came back and retired to a quiet grove, about 300 metres north of the village. The villagers realizing their error came to make their apologies. They requested the Gurū to come to the *dharamsālā*, but he preferred to remain where he was. Next day he resumed his journey and went towards Nandpur-Kalaur.

Another tradition places Gurū Tegh Bahādur's visit in or around 1670, when he stayed here for 10 days. A carpenter, Balap

Rām, served him with much devotion. The Gurū healed many sick persons in the village.

The Gurdwārā is a single room, near a small pond in a mango grove. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in it and is attended by a Nihāṅg Sikh.

M.G.S.

GHAUS KHĀN (d. 1814) was an artillery officer under Mahān Singh Sukkarchakkīā, and after his death, under his son, Raṅjīt Singh. He knew something about casting guns, was skilful in his profession, and was rewarded with *jāgīrs* at Vān and Bharovāl in Amritsar district, with a large house in Lahore which was later occupied by the Mission School. When, in 1812, the Mahārājā reorganized the artillery wing of his army into Topkhānā-i-Khās and Topkhānā-i-Mubāarak, Ghaus Khān was put in charge of both, with the designation of Daroghā-i-Topkhanā. Ghaus Khān distinguished himself in several of the Mahārājā's early campaigns. In 1807, he reduced the fortress of Sheikhpurā and secured the surrender of its defiant chiefs, Arbel Singh and Amīr Singh. In 1810, he captured Paṭṭī and the villages in the vicinity of Tarn Tāran. In 1813, he was put in charge of operations against Attock whose Afghān governor, Jahān Dād Khān, eventually surrendered. Ghaus Khān commanded the Sikh artillery under Diwān Mohkam Chand in the severely contested battle of Haidrū (13 July 1813) in which the Sikhs routed the Afghān forces of the Kābul Wazīr, Fateh Khān. In 1814, Ghaus Khān took part in Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's expedition against Kashmīr. The Sikh army under the Mahārājā reached Puñchh but rain and sickness caused havoc. Cholera broke out and Ghaus Khān fell a prey to the epidemic and died on his way to Lahore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Waheed-ud-Din, Faqir Syed, *The Real Raṅjīt Singh*. Karachi, 1965

2. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Udmāt-ut-Twāriḱh*. Lahore, 1885-89
S.S.B.

GHAVINDĪ, village in Lahore district of Pakistan, only one kilometre from the Indo-Pak border opposite Khālṛā, had a historical shrine commemorating Gurū Nānak's visit. Upon his arrival in the village, the Gurū is said to have put up under a *lahūṛā* tree (*Cordia latifolia*). On this site was built Gurdwārā Lahūṛā Sāhib (*lahūṛā* being a pronunciatonal variation of *lasūṛā*), which had to be abandoned at the time of mass migrations caused by the partition of the Punjab in 1947.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amṛtsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

GHORĪĀN, hymns by Gurū Rām Dās in measure Vaḍahaṅs in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The word '*ghorīān*' in Punjabi is the plural form of *ghorī*, a mare. In Punjabi folk poetry, a type of lyrical songs which are sung on the occasion of marriage are called *ghorīān*.

A Punjabi marriage comprises a series of ceremonies performed at different stages. In one of these ceremonies the bridegroom mounts a handsomely caparisoned mare to go to the house of the bride where a reception awaits. The sisters of the bridegroom feed the mare with crushed gram from a plate, embellish the bridle strings and sing the songs of *ghorī*, other girls and women joining them in chorus, as the bridegroom climbs up on the back of the mare. These eulogize the bridegroom and his ancestry and wish him a happy marriage. In the songs, the word *ghorī* (mare) occurs frequently, almost once in every verse.

Rāga Vaḍahaṅs in the Gurū Granth Sāhib incorporates hymns cast in the moulds of folk songs commonly sung at the time of birth, marriage and death. Gurū Nānak has composed poems, in this *rāgā*, called

alāhaniān or dirges, songs of mourning. Gurū Amar Dās has also contributed to these hymns in the same style. Gurū Rām Dās, the Fourth Gurū, has composed two *ghorīān* hymns, reminiscent of *ghorīān* of folk poetry. The folk forms meant for mundane occasions have been utilized by the Gurūs to compose verses of spiritual reference and meaning.

The *ghorīān* hymns, composed by Gurū Rām Dās, are lyrics of exquisite beauty, woven round images and symbols appropriate to the occasion of marriage, more particularly, to the ceremony of *ghorī* or mare-riding. These hymns hold that human life is a precious opportunity to get united to God as marriage is the opportunity to get united with the bride. The human body is the mare, riding which the seeker of God could successfully and victoriously reach his goal. The mind is to be harnessed, conquered and controlled, just as the mare is controlled by the saddle and bridle. In the hymns, the mare (*ghorī*) has been called *tejanī*, *turī* and *tukhāī*, all synonyms of *ghorī*. The holy men or saints form the marriage procession; God Himself lays out the feast for them. Thus is the spouse found and begotten. The sustained metaphor, in the *ghorīān* hymns, unfolds itself in eight parts, as follows:

1. This mare, i.e. the human body, has been created by God. It is most valuable and precious, a marvellous specimen of the craftsmanship of the Creator. It is obtained by good fortune only. It is of immense value in the spiritual journey, for through the faculties and potentialities it is endowed with, man gets an opportunity to obtain union with God.
2. The saddle refers to the subjugation of the mind through the guidance of the Gurū. Divine knowledge is the harness that controls the mind. Meditation on the Name enriches the mind and gives it poise. This is the conquest of the mind. A mind so saddled or controlled is of

vital aid in the journey of the soul towards its spouse, the Lord.

3. Bridle is the *jñāna* or divine knowledge. True realization leads to the control of the mind. This directs and guides one on the path of spiritual journey.
4. Love of God is the whip used to urge the mare on its spiritual path. Love cultivates, chisels and fashions the mind. A cultivated mind remains in perfect balance and poise, and is not swayed by worldly desires and lusts. The nectar of *nām* (Name) transforms the human personality or mind completely.
5. The journey that the soul has to cover riding this mare is the *saṁsār*. This is an arduous journey with worldly desires and attractions obstructing one at every step.
6. The holy men and saints form the marriage procession. It is the holy company which inspires and aids man to cross the obstacles. Thus the bridegroom, the seeker, successfully completes the journey, repeating constantly the Name, receiving inspiration from the saints.
7. The experience of bliss is the marriage feast. The marriage procession reaches its destination and crosses into the house of Hari, the Supreme Being. There they enjoy and relish the ambrosial food, the nectar of the Name. This is the first taste of bliss, the supreme state of *anand*.
8. Union with God is the solemnization of the marriage. The bridegroom finds the spouse within himself. It is his own real self. He realizes himself. This union is eternal and the joy so attained is unending.

This is the spiritual meaning of the hymns composed by Guru Rām Dās in the style of the popular Punjabi folk form of *ghorīān*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kohli, Surindar Singh, *A Critical Study of Adi Granth*. Delhi, 1961

GHUKKEVĀLĪ, village 21 km north of Amritsar (31°-38'N, 74°-52'E) and connected by a link road to the Amritsar-Ajnālā-Ḍerā Bābā Nānak road, has two historical shrines, sacred to Gurū Arjan (1563-1606) and Gurū Tegh Bahādur (1621-75), respectively.

GURDWĀRĀ GURŪ KĀ BĀGH, located in what was formerly called Gurū kī Rauṛ (*rauṛ* is a Punjabi word for a barren tract of land), commemorates Gurū Arjan's stay here during his travel through the Mājhā country. A small shrine was established by Bhāi Ghukkā, the founder of the village, whose descendants continued to look after it. When Gurū Tegh Bahādur visited the place in 1664, he encouraged the villagers to dig a well and raise a garden in the barren tract. As a result, Gurū kī Rauṛ in time became Gurū kī Bāgh (lit. Gurū's Garden). A *gurdwārā* was established and richly endowed during the time of the Sikh ruler, Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh (1780-1839). Like many other shrines it was under the control of Udāsī priests, and it was after a grim, non-violent agitation, known as Gurū kī Bāgh *morchā*, in 1922, that the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee secured possession of the shrine and of lands attached to it. The present building complex was constructed during the 1980's within a high-walled compound. At the far end of the main assembly hall is the sanctum topped by a domed pavilion. In front of the hall is the *sarovar*, on the bank of which stands a tall memorial in honour of the martyrs of the Gurū kī Bāgh *morchā* of 1922. A separate *gurdwārā*, equally elegant, in the same compound commemorates the visit of Gurū Tegh Bahādur.

GURDWĀRĀ BĀOLĪ SĀHĪB is also dedicated to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. The open well (*bāolī* in Punjabi) caused to be dug by the Gurū still exists. Close to it is the assembly hall, with the sanctum at the far end.

Both these *gurdwārās* are managed by a

local committee under the auspices of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

Gn.S.

GHULĀL, an old village in Ludhiāṇā district, 8 km west of Samrālā (30°-50'N, 76°-11'E), claims a historical shrine dedicated to Gurū Gobind Singh. This Gurdwārā is not included in older lists of Sikh historical shrines, but local tradition indicates that Gurū Gobind Singh, on his way from Māchhivārā to the interior of Mālvā country, stopped in this village for a while before proceeding to Lall. The Gurdwārā stands on a mound inside the village said to be the site of an older shrine. Close to the hall, there is a low-domed square room on a high plinth. This is believed to be the exact spot where the Gurū first alighted. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a village committee.

M.G.S.

GHULĀM MOHĪY UD-DĪN, SHAIKH (d. 1845), who rose to be governor of Kashmir in Sikh times, was the son of Shaikh Ujālā, a *munshī* or accountant in the service of Sardār Bhūp Singh of Hoshiārpur. At a young age, Ghulām Mohiy ud-Dīn took up service under Dīwān Motī Rām, the governor of Kashmir, later shifting to Lahore. He exhibited great diplomatic skill when in 1823, under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's instructions, he persuaded Sardār Muhammad 'Azīm Khān of Kābul, who had marched upon Peshāwar, to retire without firing a shot. In 1827, Kirpā Rām, Dīwān Motī Rām's son, took him to Kashmir upon his appointment as governor of the province. After four years, however, Kirpā Rām was recalled, and Shaikh Ghulām Mohiy ud-Dīn returned with him to Lahore where, according to some sources, he was subjected to punishment for his cruel treatment of the people of Kashmir.

But within a year he returned to Kashmīr as a deputy to Prince Sher Singh who had been sent as the new governor of that territory. Again the Shaikh was reported to have followed a repressive policy which, coupled with the outbreak of famine, made the lot of the people extremely miserable. The Mahārājā recalled Shaikh Ghulām Mohiy ud-Dīn, and inflicted a heavy fine upon him besides confiscating all of his property and the hidden wealth which he had amassed at Hoshiārpur.

The Shaikh remained out of favour with the Darbār for some time but eventually found a patron in Bhāi Rām Singh who helped him to secure service with Prince Nau Nihāl Singh. Nau Nihāl Singh took him to Peshāwar, and entrusted to him the management of his financial affairs. In 1839, he was appointed governor of the Jalandhar Doāb and in April 1841, after Sher Singh's accession to the throne, governor of Kashmīr. In February 1845, Ghulām Mohiy ud-Dīn made overtures to the British government with a view to transferring his allegiance to them, but died soon afterwards and was buried in the Khānaqāh of Shaikh Hamzā Makkhūm, Harī Parbat, Srīnagar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lal, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1957
3. Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh, Maharaja of the Punjab*. Bombay, 1962

H.D.

GHULĀM MURTAZĀ, MIRZĀ, served the Lahore Darbār under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh and his successors for several years. One of his ancestors, Hādī Beg, a Mughal migrant from Samarkand, had emigrated to the Punjab in 1530 during the reign of Bābar and got appointment as *qāzī* or magistrate over seventy villages in the neighbourhood of Qādīān. Hādī Beg's descendants were engaged in constant struggle with the

Rāmgarhīā and Kanhaiyā *sardārs* who had occupied territory in the neighbourhood of Qādiān. Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh who had confiscated the possessions of the Rāmgarhīā chiefship restored to Ghulām Murtazā a large portion of his ancestral estates. Ghulām Murtazā entered the army of the Mahārājā and served on the Kashmīr frontier and at other places. During the time of Mahārājā Kharak Singh and his successors, Ghulām Murtazā did his stints of active service. He accompanied General Ventura in 1841 to Maṇḍī and Kullū, and in 1843 he was sent to Peshāwar. Mirzā Ghulām Murtazā settled at Qādiān, but his estate was resumed upon the occupation of the Punjab by the British.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, '*Udmāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Lepel, Griffin, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

C.S.N.

GHULLĀ SINGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1924), one of the martyrs of Jaito, was born around 1896, the son of Bhāi Naraiṅ Singh and Māi Kishan Kaur, a Jaṭṭ Sikh couple of the village of Bhalūr, near Bāghā Purānā, in present-day Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab. Tall and heavily built, Ghullā Singh helped his father and two elder brothers at tilling the family acre. He had received no formal education and was not yet married when the Akālī agitation at Jaito protesting the forced abdication of the Sikh ruler of Nābhā was gathering momentum. Ghullā Singh received the vows of the *Khālsā* at the hands of Sant Sundar Singh Bhiṇḍrānvāle and became an Akālī activist. On 20 February 1924, he went to watch the first of the columns of Sikh volunteers vowed to martyrdom (*Shahīdī Jathā*), camping at the village of Bargārī, and accompanied it on its march to Jaito the following morning. Machine-gun fire from an armed contingent of the

Nābhā state force, then under a British administrator, opened on the Akālī volunteers near Gurdwārā Ṭibbī Sāhib. Bhāi Ghullā Singh received a bullet shot in the head and fell down dead on the spot. His dead body was taken away by the state police and cremated along with other Jaito martyrs, around 21 in number.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975

G.S.G.

GHUMĀN, village 10 km west of Srī Hargobindpur (31°-41'N, 75°-29'E) in Gurdāspur district of the Punjab. Nāmdev (1270-1350), the much-revered saint of Mahārāshṭra, some of whose hymns are included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, lived in this village for a considerable time. Most of his years until the age of 55 were spent at Paṇḍharpur, in Sholāpur district of Mahārāshṭra. Then he journeyed extensively through north India and returned to Mahārāshṭra after 18 years. During this period, he also visited the Punjab and, according to tradition, made Ghumān his seat of residence.

The temple at Ghumān which, according to local tradition, has existed since the fourteenth century was renovated by Jassā Singh Rāmgarhīā (d. 1802), and the tank attached to it repaired by Sadā Kaur (d. 1832), head of the Kanhaiyā *misl* and mother-in-law of Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh. The main shrine, called Darbār Sāhib Bābā Nāmdev Jī, is an octagonal domed room, with marble floor and projecting windows and balconies. In the centre of it is a stone fixed on a marble-lined platform under a marble pavilion, hexagonal in shape. A brass sheet shows the embossed figure of Bhagat Nāmdev in a sitting posture reviving a dead cow. Next to this shrine is the *samādh* of Bābā Bahuṛ Dās, the principal disciple of Nāmdev in the Punjab.

The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in a separate rectangular room commemorating Gurū Hargobind's visit to the shrine. The temple is managed by Srī Nāmdev Darbār Committee of Ghumāṇ. An annual fair is held on 1 and 2 Māgh (mid-January) in the belief that Nāmdev died here at Ghumāṇ on 2 Māgh 1406 Bk.

M.G.S.

GHURĀṆĪ KALĀṆ, an old village in Ludhiānā district, was visited by Gurū Hargobind in whose memory two *gurdwārās* have since been constructed.

GURDWĀRĀ CHOLĀ SĀHIB PĀTSHĀHĪ CHHEVĪN is inside the village and marks the residence of Bhāi Sūrtiā, the local *masand*, leader of the local Sikh group, at the time of the Gurū's visit. Gurū Hargobind is said to have stayed with him for 45 days. He was pleased by his devotion and bestowed upon him a few articles, the following of which are still preserved in the Gurdwārā as sacred relics:

1. A *cholā* or loose gown with 52 strings attached to it. This is believed to be the cloak Gurū Hargobind was wearing when, holding on to it, 52 captive princes secured their release from the Gwālīor Fort. The Gurdwārā is named after this relic.
2. A *pothī* or sacred book. It is a small handwritten volume containing some of the *banīs* from the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The page at which it is kept open for display shows the first *śloka* and part of the first *aṣṭpādī* of the *Sukhmanī* in golden characters of the Gurmukhī script.
3. A single shoe done in handsomely embroidered velvet cloth.

The area around Ghurāṇī later fell under the influence of the followers of Bābā Rām Rāi who lacked proper respect for the Sikh Gurūs. In 1710, a complaint reached Bandā Siṅgh Bahādur, the conqueror of Sirhind, that the priests of Ghurāṇī had not only insulted a Sikh, Bulāki Siṅgh, and bro-

ken his rebeck, but also used insolent language about the Gurūs. Bandā Siṅgh occupied the territory, chastised the Rām Rāiā *masands* of Ghurāṇī and appointed Bulāki Siṅgh *thānedār*, local police chief, of the district.

The present building, standing on a two-metre high plinth, consists of a rectangular hall, enclosing the old Mañjī Sāhib. The room where the sacred relics are kept was added in 1958. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee which manages it through a local committee. All the principal anniversaries on the Sikh calendar are observed in the Gurdwārā, but two special festivals are the birthday of Gurū Hargobind and Holā. Holā in this village marks the day on which Gurū Hargobind arrived here — 25 Phāgun 1688 Bk corresponding to 21 February 1632.

GURDWĀRĀ NIMSAR outside the village to the east of it was a pond to which Gurū Hargobind used to repair early in the morning for ablutions and meditation. An old *nim* (Margo) tree, believed to have sprouted from one of the tooth-cleansing twigs the Gurū once stuck here, still stands. The pond has now been converted into a properly lined tank and a magnificent *gurdwārā* has been constructed on its bank. A brick-paved platform surrounds the *nim* tree. A small room, with a raised platform inside it, signifies the spot where Gurū Hargobind sat for meditation. In this room is also preserved a relic, a portion of the string netting of the bedstead used by the Gurū in the house of Bhāi Sūrtiā, the *masand*. It is a very fine twine of two strands of *muñj* fibre which is a rare specimen of the craftsmanship of old days. The main building, a 13-metre square hall, constructed in 1971, stands on a two-metre high plinth. Above the hall over the *prakāsh* *asthān* is a domed room with an ornamental gold pinnacle and *khaṇḍā* as the finial. The Gurdwārā is administered by the same com-

mittee as manages Gurdwārā Cholā Sāhib.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

GIĀN (Skt. *jñāna*), knowledge, understanding or consciousness, is what differentiates human beings from the animal world and establishes the superiority of *homo sapiens* over the other species. Nature has not only provided man with a qualitatively superior brain but has also endowed human mind with a dynamic inner stimulus called *jagīāsā* (Skt. *jijñāsā*), desire to know, inquisitiveness. Perhaps it is on account of this urge for knowledge and the consequent exercise that human brain or mind (psyche or soul for the ancients) gradually developed over the millenia. *Giān* consists in man's capacity to distinguish various forms, colours, sounds, smells or their compounds in the shape of objects in the phenomena surrounding him through his sense perceptions. It also includes an understanding of his thoughts, sentiments, feelings and emotions which, though conditioned by external stimuli, are yet the formulation or creation of his own mind. *Giān* is acquired or gathered through the mental faculties of cognition (process of knowing) and affection (affective process pertaining to feelings and emotions). The mind also possesses a third faculty, conation (concerning desire and volition), which is closely related to and interacts with cognition and affection. Epistemological theories are broadly classified as materialism and idealism. While the materialists regard the mind, consciousness or spirit as the product of material world, or nature, the idealists hold that nature and material world are the product of consciousness, of spirit, which is independent of the material world.

In the religious context the idealist view takes precedence over the materialist. Even the primal man must have noticed through experience a twofold division in phenomena. Some things existed and events happened in an orderly or regular manner so that they were easier to understand by personal experience. These formed for the aboriginal mind its natural world. But there was another world of experience, the extraordinary or supernatural, which was baffling and difficult to understand. This was the world of belief, which formed the earliest religion of magic, sorcery, necromancy and witchcraft, traces of which persisted even during the later civilized ages in the form of superstitions, rituals and forms of worship. Knowledge (*giān*) thus came to be classified as natural or ordinary and spiritual or mystical. In Greek philosophy especially in the works of Plato or Aristotle, for instance, words used are *episteme* for ordinary and *gnosis* for spiritual knowledge in opposition to *doxa* (belief).

In India, too, *giān* is divided into two categories: *parāgiān* (higher or spiritual knowledge) and *aparāgiān* (lower or worldly knowledge). In practice, the word *giān* in philosophical sense usually refers to *parāgiān*, also called *ātmagiān*, and the highest knowledge is termed *brahmagiān*, the awareness and understanding of the Ultimate Reality. The earliest Indian religious text, the *R̥gveda*, though mainly comprising hymns of praise and prayer addressed to personalized powers of Nature, does contain some speculative hymns. *Brāhmanas* only describe rituals by means of myths. It is the *Upaniṣads* which are devoted primarily to religious speculation using rational tools. Advait Vedānta defines *giān* as self-effulgent (*svaya-prakāś*). No other knowledge is required to know it. The self-effulgent *giān* enlightens human minds and eradicates the darkness of ignorance (*agiān* or *avidyā*). Metaphors of day and night and of light and darkness have been extensively

used in Indian religious literature for *jñāna* and *ajñāna*, respectively.

Sikhism, without rejecting empirical perceptual knowledge, holds *giān* (spiritual knowledge) definitely superior and more desirable than ordinary knowledge. Gurū Nānak beautifully illustrates *giān* vis-a-vis worldly knowledge in *Japu* (*jī*). After referring to, in stanza XXXIV, the perceptual phenomenon of day and night, changing seasons, the elements amidst which is set the Earth for practising *dharma* (righteous actions or righteousness), stanza XXXV depicts *giān khaṇḍ*, the region of true knowledge, as illimitable expanse of myriad *karam bhūmīs* (lands of action), suns, moons and universes. The comparison clearly brings out that *giān* consists in directing the mind from the limited realities and concerns of this puny Earth towards the limitlessness of the True Reality depicted as *sach khaṇḍ* and finally defined as inexplicable in stanza XXXVII. Elsewhere *giān* itself is said to be inexplicable and available through grace to the exclusion of other wayward efforts (GG, 465). It is also acquired by listening to *nām* (God's Name), having faith in it, internalizing it with love and delving deep into the inner recesses of one's mind (*Japu*, xxi), i.e. through reason, contemplation and meditation. That the jewel of *giān* or understanding of Ultimate Reality lies within one's self and may be had by listening to Gurū's advice, subject of course to God's grace, has been stressed again and again in the Sikh Scripture (GG, 2, 102, 425, 569, 644, 684, 1002, 1378). Faith has of course been prescribed as essential, but stress is also placed on *vichār* (reason or contemplation). Another crucial factor to attainment of *giān* is the Gurū whose words and whose favour are the key to true understanding. Gurū for the Sikhs, after the ten prophets from Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) to Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708), is their Word embodied as Gurū Granth Sāhib. Company of holy men (*sant*) and holy assembly *satisaṅgat* is also highly

commended as being instrumental in the attainment of *giān*. Mere intellectualism and sophistry are, on the other hand, decried as useless wrangling detrimental to body and mind (GG, 230).

Knowledge attained by super-rational and super-sensuous faculties is intuitive and mystical in nature. It is *parāgiān*, the highest form of knowledge. Its attainment not only leads to emancipation of the seeker but also enables him to work for the emancipation of others. Possessor of the highest *giān*, the *brahmgiānī*, is highly praised by Gurū Arjan, Nanak V, and is even equated with God Himself (GG, 272-74).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sṛī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1964
2. Jodh Singh, Bhāī, *Japujī Saṭik*. Patiala, 1988
3. Bhāshā Vibhāg, *Japuji : Ik Tulnātmak Adhiain*. Patiala, 1972
4. Locke, John, *Essay on the Human Understanding*. 1690
5. Berkeley, George, *The Principles of Human Knowledge*. 1710
6. Progress Publishers, *ABC of Dialectical and Historical Materialism*. Moscow, 1976
7. Punjabi University, *Sant Vinobā Bhāve Krit Tikā Japujī*. Patiala, 1969
8. Gurnam Kaur, *Reason and Revelation in Sikhism*. Delhi, 1990
9. Talib, G.S., ed., *The Origin and Development of Religion*. Patiala, 1985

D.S.

M.G.S.

GIĀNĪ, from *giān* or the Sanskrit *jñāna*, means one who possesses *giān*, i.e. knowledge or spiritual understanding. In the Gurū Granth Sāhib the *giānīs* and *brahmgiānīs* are accorded high praise: "They who to the Word are attached are *giānīs*" (GG, 831). Such a person must adhere in every thought, word and deed to the truth and should remain detached from worldly temptations while still living in this world: "Live thou as detached (from the world) as does the lotus from the

water (on which it lives)" (GG, 272). From this scriptural usage, the title assumed demanding qualifications in its traditional Sikh form. Without abandoning the ethical associations implied in the scriptural definition, the traditional usage emphasized the possession of mastery in the understanding of Sikh doctrine, explicitly requiring a deep knowledge of Sikh beliefs and implicitly assuming a personal fulfilment of their demands. The title attained particular respect during the Singh Sabhā revival and it still commands a reputation in orthodox circles. A school of Sikh learning also shares the name Giānī. It originated with Bhāi Manī Singh (d. 1737), contemporary with Gurū Gobind Singh, and represents a distinctive tradition of Scriptural interpretation coming down from him. The term in this sense is to be distinguished from the formal academic title of Giānī granted by universities on a course in Punjabi literature.

W.H.M.

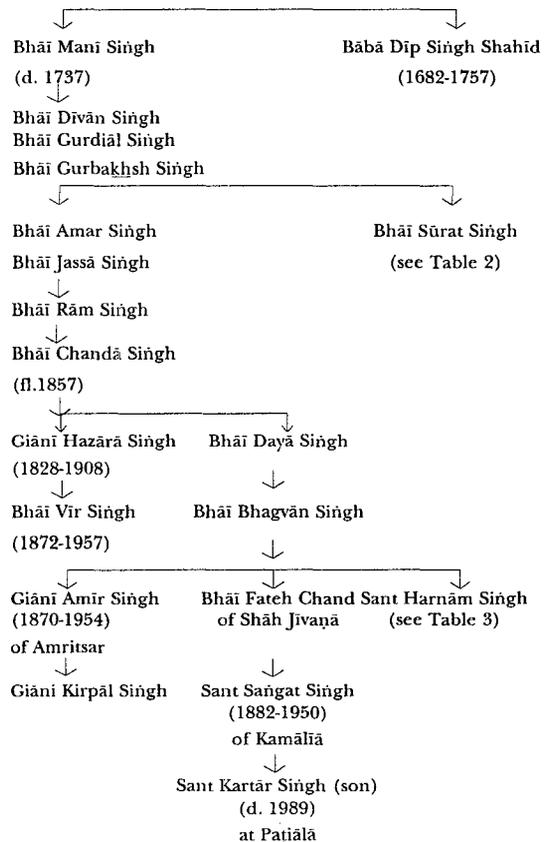
GIĀNĪ SAMPRADĀI is one of three major schools of Sikhs theologians and expositors of the Sikh scripture, the other two being the Udāsīs and the Nirmalās. Giānī, the Punjabi form of Sanskrit *jñānī* from the root *jñā* (to know), originally meant a scholar of high learning. In Sikh tradition, a *giānī* is a learned man of pious character, competent to recite faultlessly, interpret and expound the Gurū Granth Sāhib and other Sikh religious texts. *Sampradāi* denotes a sectarian system or school of thought of accredited standing.

It is claimed that the school of Giānīs originated with Bhāi Manī Singh (d. 1737) who had the privilege of receiving instruction from Gurū Tegh Bahādur and Gurū Gobind Singh. Towards the close of the seventeenth century he was sent by Gurū Gobind Singh to Amritsar to take charge of Srī Harimandar Sāhib. At Amritsar, Bhāi Manī Singh made a practice of performing *kathā*, i.e. discoursing on the Sikh teaching ex-

pounding a given *śabda* with illustration from the lives of the Gurūs and their disciples. This style became, in course of time, established form for clerical interpretation of sacred text.

Bhāi Manī Singh was survived by three exceptionally brilliant pupils, namely, Bhāi Divān Singh, Bhāi Gurdīāl Singh and Bhāi Gurbakhsh Singh, who carried on the scholarly tradition he had established. They had their own pupils who in turn trained their own disciples. Through this chain of pupils, the *sampradāi* has lasted to this day. Listed in the following tables are the more prominent names in this line from Gurū Gobind Singh's time downwards:

Table 1
Gurū Gobind Singh
(1666-1708)



was for the Nirmalās, nor the Gurūs' word accepted as an extension of, or interpretation of the Vedas. Likewise, the Gurū for them was not an *avatār* of Viṣṇu. Nor did they believe in the Hindu system of *varṇāśrama*.

The major centres of the Giānī Sampradāi preserve assiduously their original classical aura. Almost all the recognized serving *granthīs* today, including those at the Harimandar, are the product of either the Amritsar or Damdamī Taksāl.

The Giānīs have been the most proficient exponents of the philosophy and thought of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Very valuable contribution in the written form came in early days from Bhāi Manī Singh (*Giān Ratnāvalī* and *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*), Bhāi Chandā Singh (*Prayāi Gurū Granth Sāhib*), Bhāi Hazārā Singh (*Srī Gurū Granth Kos*) and Bhāi Bhagvān Singh (MS. *Ṭikā Japu* and *Gurbānī Vyākaraṇ*). In comparatively recent times, Giānī Badan Singh (d. 1924) and his colleagues of the Farīdkoṭ synod, Bhāi Bishan Singh Giānī (d. 1936), Paṇḍit Naraiṇ Singh Giānī (d. 1940), Akālī Nihāl Singh (d. 1938), Bhāi Vir Singh (d. 1957) and Bhāi Kirpāl Singh, all basically in the Giānī line, have produced complete or partially complete commentaries of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Dr Earnest Trumpp and Mr M.A. Macauliffe, in translating into English portions of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, were guided and helped by the scholars of this school.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Khālsā, Kartār Singh, *Khālsā Jivan ate Gurnat Rahit Maryādā*. Mehta, 1977
2. Rūp, Harindar Singh, *Sikh te Sikhī*. Lahore, 1947
3. Tāran Singh, *Gurbānī dān Viākhīā Prañālīān*. Patiala, 1980

T.S.

GIĀN PRABODH (Guide to Enlightenment), included in Gurū Gobind Singh's *Dasam*

Granth, is a long poem in Braj employing sixteen different metres. It comprises two independent parts, the first, i.e. the introductory one (stanzas 1 to 125), beginning with laudation of the Almighty who is depicted as Supreme, beyond comprehension, non-dual, infinite, invisible, unattached, desireless and fearless. The Supreme Being is the Creator and Succourer of the universe, and the Embodiment of Supreme Bliss. He is beyond Time and beyond retribution for *karma*. All pilgrimages, practices of yoga, renunciation of the world, are meaningless if He is not remembered. The second part consists of 211 stanzas (126-336), each a quatrain with the exception of two couplets (250 and 253). The theme of this part is the practical philosophy of the world. The expositions are professed in the form of highly metaphysical dialogues, between Jīvātman and Paramātman, and the nature of *ātman* and fourfold worldly *dharma* i.e. politics (*rāj dharma*), charity (*dān dharma*), household life (*bhog dharma*) and liberation (*mokṣa dharma*) have been defined. How this fourfold religion of man is to be lived is illustrated from the legends of the *Mahābhārata* and from the tales of the successors of Yudhishṭhira and his brothers, namely Pṛikṣit, Janmejya and his son, Ajai Singh, born of a concubine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Loehlin, C.H., *The Granth of Guru Gobind Singh and the Khalsa Brotherhood*. Lucknow, 1971
2. Ashta, Dharam Pal, *The Poetry of the Dasam Granth*. Delhi, 1959
3. Jaggī, Ratan Singh, *Dasam Granth Parichaya*. Delhi, 1990

D.P.A.

GIĀN SĪNGH, BHĀĪ (1883-1953), *naqqāsh* or fresco-painter, was born in the city of Amritsar in 1883. His father, Tābā Singh, a comb-maker by profession, supplemented his meagre income by dispensing *āyurvedic*

medicines in his spare time. At the age of five, Giān Singh was sent to school run by Giānī Ṭhākūr Singh, who later rose into prominence as a Sikh missionary and scholar. Giānī, Ṭhākūr Singh's influence on him was everlasting.

After he had passed his primary school, Giān Singh was apprenticed to Nihāl Singh Naqqāsh, a third generation descendant of Bhāī Kehar Singh Naqqāsh, who enjoyed court patronage under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. Giān Singh served his apprenticeship for 14 long years until the death of his mentor in 1905. He brought to his passion for drawing unusual powers of observation and concentration. He made rapid progress in his art and soon began to collaborate with Jawāhar Singh Naqqāsh, a brother of his erstwhile teacher, in working on ornamental designs in the Golden Temple.

Giān Singh's fame will rest principally on his fresco-painting on the walls of the Golden Temple. The art of fresco-painting consists in transferring the outline (*khākā*) of a design on wet plaster and then filling the outline with appropriate colours before the plaster dries up. The basic colours thus established are worked with requisite details and light and shade achieved with dots and streaks. The colours used are indigenously prepared: red ochre from *hirmachī*, yellow ochre from *gulzard*, emerald green from *saṅge-sabz*, lamp black from burnt coconut, ultra marine from *lājvard* and white from burnt marble.

While much of Giān Singh's work on the outer walls of the domed structure, on the topmost storey, stands partially erased by wind and rain, that on its inner walls yet survives in its original freshness. One *dehin* executed by him in the sanctum on the first floor, just above Har kī Pauṛī, bears testimony to his inimitable workmanship. *Dehin*, the most fascinating item of fresco-painting was Giān Singh's forte. It is an imaginative ensemble of forms taken by the artist from animal or

vegetable life, so curiously intertwined as to present a composite and organized whole. Structurally, *dehin* has three parts — a pedestal, a vase poised on the pedestal and a bouquet of flowers or a floral bush called *jhār*. On the pedestal are depicted birds or animals in various dramatic postures — in erotic clasp, in combat or one chasing the other. These figures are often intertwined with creepers.

The other items of note in fresco-painting are floral "square" (*murrabā*) and "rectangle" (*tillī*). These are used in wall, floor or ceiling decoration. The square usually consists of a fine setting of flowers, leaves, creepers or bushes within a flowery border with handsomely patterned corners. A typical example of a square done by Giān Singh is the one called Aquatic Harmony. It takes for its *motif* a number of fish encircling a tortoise, with others frolicking around the first set in a circular rhythm.

Giān Singh introduced a number of innovations in the art of fresco-painting. His predecessors in the Sikh school of art depicted gods and goddesses in the body of the pedestal in the manner of their Persian or Mughal forerunners. But Giān Singh replaced these *motifs* with those of "grapples" (*pakṛān*) of animals, birds, flowers, creepers, etc. He also painted historical Sikh shrines on the body of the vase formerly left blank. In addition to this, he brought shade work to a high standard of perfection and gave a poetic touch to his compositions by making them rhythmically balanced and elegant. The colours he used were always bright and attractive.

Apart from fresco-painting Giān Singh tried his hand at several allied arts such as (*gach*) stucco work, (*jarathārī*) mosaic work and (*ṭukṛī*) cut-glass work. He was an expert in *gach* work which consists in carving embossed designs on partially wet layers of plaster of Paris and afterwards, when completely dry, covering it with gold leaves with

an undercoat of varnish. Verses from the *Japu(jī)* have been rendered in this style under the arches leading to the sanctum in the Golden Temple. Another type of work popularly known as *tukrī* work, much in vogue in Mughal days, consists in setting pieces of glass, gold leaves or precious stones in *gach* work in artistic patterns. The *tukrī* work on the inside of the dome in the central sanctum of the Golden Temple executed in its entirety by Giān Singh, bears witness to his sense of design and his patience and assiduity.

Giān Singh not only prepared designs for Jaṛatkārī (*mosaic*) work in marble to be executed by craftsmen from Delhi and Rājasthān, but also selected stones of appropriate colour and grain to be laid in the marble. The mosaic designs were based on colourful representations of flora and fauna or on themes picked from Hindu mythology.

Giān Singh was a master of free-hand drawing. His pencil kept pace with the abundance of designs and ideas which flowed from his fertile mind as some of his published works like *Nikāshī Darpan*, *Vishkarmā Darpan*, *Nikāshī Art Sikhyā* and *Tāj-e-Zargarī*, indicate.

In the *Nikāshī Darpan* (1924), he has drawn stylized forms of various flowers side by side with their natural forms, showing how the latter could be improved upon for the purpose of adjustment in a design. It also contains line work studies of birds and animals, different limbs and organs of the human body, border designs in rectangular, square, half patterns, all-over patterns and vase stands composed of rhythmically intertwined animal, bird and plant forms. The *Vishkarmā Darpan* (1926) is a profusely illustrated manual of decorative, architectural and furniture designs. The *Tāj-e-Zargarī* (Vol. I, 1920, and Vol II, 1930) contains 1539 designs of Indian ornaments. The *Nikāshī Art Sikhyā* (1942) contains scores of sketches

designed to initiate a beginner into the intricacies of drawing.

While toiling at larger works, Giān Singh found time for painting easel pictures in which he could freely indulge his humour. Some of his canvases are notable for their originality of conception and workmanship. His painting *Types of Irreligion*, which illustrates a well-known couplet of Kabīr, is a biting satire on charlatans who dupe the naive and the gullible in the name of religion. The *Eternal Strife*, based on a mythological theme, represents the forces of Good (*suras*) locked in mortal combat with those of Evil (*asuras*). The *Elephant Fight* allegorizes Māyā and its victims. It depicts two male elephants (victims) contending fiercely for the prize — Māyā in the form of a female elephant who, standing at a distance, contemplates the fight with sadistic mirth.

In appreciation of Giān Singh's exquisite work in the Golden Temple, he was presented, in 1949, with a robe of honour by the Shiromaṇī Gur'dwārā Parbandhak Committee.

During his apprenticeship, Giān Singh had prepared a set of paintings on the Ten Sikh Gurūs which was printed in Germany. It became very popular.

Giān Singh died in 1953. Another famous Amritsar artist, G.S.Sohan Singh, was his son. His eldest son, Sundar Singh, was killed in the Jalliān-wālā Bagh firing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Arshi, P.S., *Sikh Architecture*. Delhi, 1986
2. Madanjit Kaur, *The Golden Temple: Past and Present*. Amritsar, 1983

Sm.S.

GIĀN SINGH, GIĀNĪ (1824-1884), scholar and theologian, was the elder son of Giānī Bishan Singh, a collateral of the well-known Giānī house of Amritsar, headed by Giānī Sant Singh and his son, Giānī Gurmukh Singh. Giān Singh was born at Amritsar

about 1824. He received his education from his father at his home, in Kaṭṛā Rāmgarhīān, near Chowk Bābā Aṭal. As he grew up, he started giving discourses on Sikh Scripture and history at Gurdwārā Tharā Sāhib, near the Akāl Takḥt, and later at Buṅgā Mānānvālīān. His easy manner and clarity of exposition won him a large circle of admirers which included Hindus as well as Sikhs. Giānī Giān Singh was also a poet of considerable merit. His *Gurpurb Prakāsh*, a book of verse in Braj, contains anecdotes from the lives of the Ten Gurūs. He also wrote in prose a commentary on the *Japu(jī)*. Some of the works published by his son, Giānī Sardul Singh, are also attributed to him.

Giānī Giān Singh was one of the founders of the Singh Sabhā. He participated in the meeting called in 1873 in Amritsar by some leading Sikhs following the announcement by four Sikh students of the Mission School to embrace Christianity. The meeting led to the establishment of Sri Gurū Singh Sabhā, Amritsar. Giānī Giān Singh was appointed secretary of the Sabhā.

Towards the end of March 1884, Giānī Giān Singh was invited to Gudwārā Kaulsar to give the inaugural recitation from a copy of the Gurū Granth Sāhib prepared by Bhāi Pratāp Singh, the well-known calligraphist and *granthī* of his day. There, while reciting a hymn, he suddenly fainted. He remained in a coma for 50 hours and passed away on 30 March 1884. His death was widely mourned and he was cremated with due honours near Gurdwārā Bāba Aṭal Sāhib.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jagjit Singh, *Singh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974
2. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
Jg.S.

GIĀN SINGH, GIĀNĪ (1822-1921), poet and historian, was born of a Dullaṭ Jaṭṭ family on 5 Baisākh 1879 Bk/15 April 1822, at

Launḡovāl, a village in present-day Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab. Giān Singh claimed descent from the brother of Bhāi Manī Singh Shahīd, Nagāhīā Singh. His father's name was Bhāg Singh and mother's Desān. He learnt Gurmukhī in his village from Bhāi Bholā Singh and Sanskrit from Paṇḍit Ātmā Rām. He was gifted with a melodious voice and recitation of *gurbānī* earned him popularity in the village. At the age of twelve, he was taken to Lahore by his maternal uncle, Karam Singh, who was a Sūbahdār in the army of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. Dhannā Singh Malvai introduced him to the Mahārājā who employed him to recite the *Sukhmanī* to him every morning. At Lahore Giān Singh was able to continue his studies under the guidance of Giānī Rām Singh. After the death of his patron, he returned to his village and received appointment in the revenue office in Paṭiālā state in place of his uncle, Harī Singh, who had died childless in 1841 fighting in Mahārājā Karam Singh's army. During the first Anglo-Sikh war, when Paṭiālā was an ally of the British, Giān Singh was sent to Mudkī where he was assigned to distributing mail. In 1849, as Paṭiālā troops were engaged in an anti-rebel operations in aid of Jīnd state, Giānī Giān Singh who was among them was seriously wounded in the leg and had to quit service. His true calling in life began when he resigned his position as a *granthī* in Paṭiālā and set out on an extensive peregrination across India visiting places of pilgrimage, especially those commemorating events in Sikh history. Returning to the Punjab owing to the upheaval of 1857, he came in touch with Paṇḍit Tārā Singh Narotam, a renowned scholar of the Nirmalā school, whom he acknowledges in his writings as his literary mentor. He helped Tārā Singh in preparing his lexicon of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, *Gurū Granth Girārath Koś*, by sending to him in Paṭiālā notes he took of the religious discourses of Giānī Chandā Singh

Sūramā, the blind, another celebrated scholar of the day, whose seat was in Amritsar. GiānĪ Giān Singh was launched on his own distinguished career as a writer with the publication in 1880 of his *Panth Prakāsh*, a history of the Sikhs in Braj verse. He now planned another ambitious work, the *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā*, which was to be published in five parts. The first three parts were lithographed in 1892 by Bābā Rājinder Singh, proprietor Gurū Gobind Singh Press, Siālkoṭ. Urdu editions of these three volumes entitled *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā*, *Shamsher Khālsā* and *Rāj Khālsā*, respectively, were also published. Suffering a prolonged illness in Amritsar, GiānĪ Giān Singh transferred his unpublished manuscripts as well as his rights in published books to the *Khālsā Tract Society* for a subsistence allowance of Rs 12 per month. He survived his illness, and returned to Paṭiālā where he received ready patronage of the ruling family. He solemnized the first wedding of the young Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh on 9 March 1908.

GiānĪ Giān Singh remained celibate. He adopted GiānĪ Hamir Singh, the son of his niece, Pradhān Kaur, as his heir. In 1916 he drew up a new will in which he nominated a committee to arrange the publication of his works. The members of the committee were Bhāi Sāhib Bhāi Arjan Singh of Bāgarīān, Sardār Bahādar General Gurnām Singh, Bhāi Kāhn Singh and Sardār Gajjan Singh of Ludhiānā. On 15 August 1916, the Mahārājā of Paṭiālā approved the constitution of a History Society, with Hamir Singh as its secretary, for the publication of historical works by GiānĪ Giān Singh and others. He also sanctioned a grant of Rs 135,000 for the Society and authorized the publication through the state press. But a dispute which arose between the states of Paṭiālā and Nābhā hampered the work of the committee. Giān Singh himself became a pawn in this feud. He was a native of

Paṭiālā state and had stayed for long periods at Paṭiālā, but the ruler of Nābhā, Mahārājā Ripudaman Singh, considered him a relation, the Mahārājā's mother being a daughter of his village, Lauṅgovāl. Both the states thus claimed him. One night he was whisked away in a car from Paṭiālā to Nābhā. He died there on 9 Assū 1978 Bk/24 September 1921.

The *Panth Prakāsh* and *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā* are the most important but not the only works of GiānĪ Giān Singh. His other books are: *Sūraj Prakāsh Vārtak*, an abridged version in prose of Bhāi Santokh Singh's *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*; *Rāmāyaṇ Bhāi Manī Singh Jī Dī*; *Twārīkh Amritsar* (Urdu); *Twārīkh Lahore* (Urdu); *Patit Pāvan*; *Gurdhām Saṅgrah*; *Bhūpendrānand*; *Itihās Bāgarīān* and *Ripudaman Prakāsh*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhagat Singh, *GiānĪ Giān Singh*. Patiala, 1978
2. *Singh Sabhā Patrikā (Srī Guru Panth Prakāsh Aṅk)* Amritsar, 1979
3. Kīrpāl Singh, ed., *Srī Guru Panth Prakāsh*, vol. I. Amritsar, 1970

S.S.S.

GIĀN SINGH RĀREVĀLĀ (1901-1979), administrator and politician, was born on 16 December 1901 at his mother's village Bhaṛī in Ludhiānā district. His own ancestral village was Rāṛā, also in Ludhiānā district, where his father Ratan Singh was a *bisvedār* (fief-holder) of the former princely state of Paṭiālā. Giān Singh having received his early education at Bhaṛī, Samrālā and Ludhiānā, passed his matriculation examination from Model High School, Paṭiālā, and Bachelor of Arts examination from Mohindra College, Paṭiālā, in 1925. He then entered the Paṭiālā state service as a *nāib nāzim* (assistant deputy commissioner) and after a year's training at Paṭiālā he was posted to Sunām. He later served in different positions as under-secretary in the state's

foreign office; as district magistrate at Nārnaul; as revenue commissioner of the state of Paṭiālā where he simultaneously functioned as president of the municipal committee of Paṭiālā; as excise commissioner; as judge of the state's high court; and as revenue and agriculture minister. After the formation of Paṭiālā and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) in 1948, Sardār Giān Singh Rārevālā was appointed its prime minister, and later became the first elected chief minister of PEPSU at the head of a non-Congress coalition ministry formed on 20 April 1952. In this capacity his major achievements were integration of the services of different constituent states of PEPSU and rehabilitation of Hindu and Sikh refugees from West Pakistan. He made a sterling contribution towards the development of the Punjabi language. Already during the prime-ministership of Sardār Hardit Singh Malik (1944-47), he had persuaded the Paṭiālā state government to establish a Punjabi cell in the department of education. During his own prime-ministership of PEPSU, he upgraded this cell into a full-fledged Punjabi department and made the knowledge of Punjabi compulsory for all government servants. The Rārevālā ministry was, however, short-lived. As a result of an adverse judgement on an election petition moved against him, the ministry was dismissed and the state placed under President's rule on 5 March 1953. Sardār Rārevālā sympathized with and worked for the Punjabi Sūbā agitation in 1955. He was personally not in favour of the Regional Formula scheme, although in the general body meeting of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal held on 11 March 1956 it was he who commended the plan to the house. The general body approved it after a prolonged discussion. Consequently, PEPSU merged with the Punjab on 1 November 1956, and many Akālīs including Rārevālā joined the Congress party.

He was sworn in as minister for irriga-

tion and power in the Kairoṅ ministry on 3 April 1957 after the second general election. He was re-elected to the Punjab Assembly in 1962 and 1967 on Congress nomination. On 31 August 1965 he convened a meeting of all Sikh legislators. The meeting asked the government to accept the Punjabi Sūbā demand in principle. The demand was later accepted and Punjab was reorganized on linguistic basis into two states, Haryāṇā and Punjab, with effect from 1 November 1966. During the Akālī ministeries that were subsequently formed, Giān Singh Rārevālā functioned as leader of the Opposition.

Sardār Giān Singh Rārevālā left active politics in 1969. He died at Delhi on 31 December 1979 after a prolonged illness. His body was cremated at Rāṛā on 2 January 1980.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sarhadi, Ajit Singh, *Punjabi Suba*. Delhi, 1970
2. Bajwa, Harcharan Singh, *Fifty Years of Punjab Politics (1920-1970)*. Chandigarh, 1979

Aj.S.L.

GILBERT, SIR WALTER RALEIGH (1785-1853), divisional commander of the British army under Lord Hugh Gough in the first and second Anglo-Sikh wars, son of the Rev Edmund Gilbert, was born in Bodmin, England, in 1785. In 1801, he joined the Bengal infantry as a cadet. He rose to be a major-general in 1841, and lieutenant-general in 1851. He commanded a division of the army under Sir Hugh Gough in the first Anglo-Sikh war, in the battles of Mudkī and Ferozeshāh in December 1845, and at Sabhrāoṅ on 10 February 1846. Hugh Gough eulogized Gilbert's services in his despatches. Gilbert also commanded a division of Gough's army in the second Anglo-Sikh war, in the battles of Cheliānvālā (13 January 1849) and Gujṛāt (21 February 1849).

Gilbert was created a baronet in 1851.

He died in London on 12 May 1853.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1956
2. Hasrat, B.J., *Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968
3. Nijjar, B.S., *Anglo-Sikh Wars*. Delhi, 1976
4. Henry, G.A., *Through the Sikh Wars*. Patiala, 1970

B.J.H.

GILL KALĀN, village 3 km east of Rāmpurā Phūl (30°-16'N, 75°-14'E) in Baṭhiṇḍā district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Gurūsar Pātshāhī Chheviṅ, dedicated to Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), who visited here in 1634. During the battle of Mehrāj, Gurū's *laṅgar* and provisions, according to tradition, were located here. The main Gurdwārā was constructed by Mahārājā Hirā Singh of Nābhā (1843-1911). A new 3-storeyed domed building was added during the 1970's. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Largely-attended religious fairs are held to mark the birth anniversaries of Gurū Gobind Singh and the Khālsā.

Gn.S.

GILLMORE, an English deserter from British army who came to Lahore in 1833 and entered the Sikh service. He attained the rank of colonel and commanded a regiment. He married a Kashmirī Muslim woman and had children by her. He died of cholera at Lahore and was buried in the Gol Bāgh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India*. Lahore, 1929

Gl.S.

GILLOT or Quilette, a Frenchman, who had served in the French navy before joining the Khālsā army in 1842. He was entrusted

with the task of training artillery recruits. He secured his discharge after two years' stay in Lahore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India*. Lahore, 1929

Gl.S.

GIRANTH is the title of the religious book of the Dīvānā sect. The authorship of the book is generally attributed to Hariā and Bālā, two leading figures in the order who were themselves disciples of Miharbān, grandson of Gurū Arjan, Nānak V. One of the manuscript copies of the *Giranth* which has not so far been printed is preserved in the private collection of Professor Pritam Singh at Paṭiālā. Dated Jeṭh 1792 Bk/May 1735, it comprises 694 folios. The contents of the *Giranth* are, like those of Sikh scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, cast into musical measures such as Gaurī, Āsā, Bhairau, Prabhātī, Gūjarī, Rāmkalī, Sorath, Mājh, etc. Besides *śabdās* and *ślokas* in different *rāgas*, the more important of the compositions in the *Giranth* are *Sukhmanī*, *Krishan Avatār Līlā* and *Goṣṭī Gorakh Ganés Kī. Sukhmanī* (ff. 189-405), which covers about one-third of the manuscript and which is ascribed by name to Hariā, is the most important text in the *Giranth*. The form is identical with that of Gurū Arjan's *bāṇī* of the same name. It comprises 82 *aṣṭpadīs*, each *aṣṭpadī* consisting of eight *paurīs* and each *paurī* having ten lines. Each *paurī* is preceded by one or two *ślokas* like Gurū Arjan's *Sukhmanī*. Hariā's composition lays stress on *simran*, i.e. constant remembrance of God's name. The *Giranth* closes with a 57-stanza verse titled *Ṭhūṭhā*, lit. an earthen cup or a begging bowl. It appears to be a lyrical poem meant to be sung by the followers of this sect. Although the Dīvānās have little in common with the Sikh faith, the authors of the *Giranth* call themselves *Nānakpanthī*, i.e. the followers of Gurū Nānak (f. 410).

Kr.S.

GIRDHĀRĪ, BHĀĪ, a wealthy but childless shopkeeper from southern districts, who hearing of how a certain goldsmith had got offspring as a result of Gurū Amar Dās's blessing, made a pilgrimage to Goindvāl to see the Gurū. The Gurū uttered a *śloka* (couplet) as he saw him: "None can erase what is writ on the forehead. What is written happeneth. He who hath spiritual insight understandeth this" (GG, 1413). He advised Girdhārī to rejoice in God's will, repeat the Name and do good deeds. Girdhārī withdrew from the Gurū's presence crestfallen.

Bhāi Pāro, a pious Sikh, observing Girdhārī's melancholy plight, spoke to him, "Do not be disheartened. If you have faith, you may still have not one but five children." As goes the tradition, Girdhārī in due time became the father of five sons. He travelled to Goindvāl with his sons to pay homage to Gurū Amar Dās and render gratefulness. Even as he made obeisance before the Gurū, Bhāi Pāro realized how he had unintentionally been an instrument in causing the marvel. He fell at the Gurū's feet in penitence. The Gurū blessed both Bhāi Girdhārī and Bhāi Pāro.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Macauliffe, Max Aurther, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
2. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
B.S.D.

GIRDHAR LĀL or Girdhārī Lāl, a poet in Gurū Gobind Singh's retinue at Pāoṅṭā, was the author of *Piṅgal Sār*, a treatise in verse on Hindi prosody. According to its autobiographical stanzas 7-16, Girdhar Lāl was the son of Gaj Mall, a Khatri of Gaḍiyal clan. The family came originally from Multān but after a stay at Saḍhaurā, now in Yamunānagar district of Haryāṇā, had settled at Lahore. From there Dvārkā Dās, great-great-grandfather of Girdhar Lāl, had shifted to Āgrā at the in-

stance of Muzaffar Khān, an Afghān noble. Girdhar Lāl received education in Braj literature and prosody at the hands of a Brāhmaṇ scholar, Hriday Rām. He had commenced writing *Piṅgal Sār* at Āgrā, but completed it at Pāoṅṭā in Magghar 1745 Bk/November 1688. The manuscript is preserved in the Languages Department Library at Paṭialā (MS. No. 129).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Senāpatī, *Srī Gur Sobhā*. Patiala, 1967
2. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Srī Gurū Gobind Singh Jī de Darbāri Ratan*. Patiala, 1976

P.S.

GOBINDGARH or Maṅḍī Gobindgarh, an industrial township 9 km west of Sirhind (30°-38'N, 76°-23'E) has a historical shrine called Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Hargobind Sāhib Jī. The Gurdwārā commemorates the visit of Gurū Hargobind who had made a brief halt here in the course of one of his journeys through Mālvā country. The old single-room monument has since been replaced by a modern building, with a three-storeyed gateway forming an imposing facade. The main assembly hall is on the ground floor. On the roof there are decorative cupolas at the corners. The three storeyed sanctum is topped over by a lotus dome covered with rectangular chips of white glazed tile.

The Gurdwārā is under the control of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

M.G.S.

GOBINDGARH FORT, raised in the time of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh on the ruins of an old fortress built at Amritsar by Gujjar Singh (d. 1788) of the Bhaṅgī clan, was named in honour of Gurū Gobind Singh. The Fort took four years, 1805-09, to build. According to Lepel Griffin, Shamir Singh Theṭhar (d. 1824), one of the army commanders, was entrusted by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh with the

task of building the Fort. He was also appointed its first *qilādār* (commandant). The Fort, an imposing structure with a gilded dome, was surrounded by a high wall. It had eight towers. The moat around it was lined with bricks. The huge wooden door on the eastern side marked the main entrance. The Fort contained magazines, arsenals and royal stables, besides a mint. Imām ud-Dīn, one of the renowned three Faqīr brothers of Sikh times, remained in charge of the Fort for many years.

The Fort also served as the State treasury. Here were kept the crown jewels as well as the Mahārājā's gold and silver. Political prisoners were sent here for detention. The Fort retained its importance under the British and is at present used by the Indian defence forces.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Smyth, G. Carmichael, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*. Patiala, 1970
3. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
B.S.N.

GOBIND JAS, RĀI (d. 1846) served, like his father Rāi Anand Singh, as a *vakīl* or agent of the Sikh kingdom, first at Ludhiānā and then at Delhi. His despatches from Ludhiānā contain reports concerning various political matters such as the Indus navigation scheme, the Ropar meeting, Alexander Burnes' mission to Kābul, the Tripartite treaty, Lord Auckland's visit to Fīrozpur, and the passage of British troops across the Punjab to Kābul. He was one of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's most well-informed counsellors on Anglo-Sikh affairs.

Gobind Jas died in 1846.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Hasrat, B.J., *Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968
B.S.N.

GOBINDPURĀ, village 7 km west of Bareṭā (29°-52'N, 75°-42'E) in Mānsā district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur as well as to Gurū Gobind Singh. Gurū Tegh Bahādur, says the *Sākhī Pothī*, arrived here from Bachchhoānā on his way to Gāgā and further east. Gurū Gobind Singh passed through it on his way back from Akbarpur Khudāl to Sirsā in 1706. Separate Mañjī Sāhibs in the form of platforms dedicated one each to them were built in a single hall. The Gurū Granth Sāhib was seated on a third platform between the two. The building has now been reconstructed. The Gurdwārā is administered by the village *saṅgat*. Religious assemblies are held on *amāvasyā* — the last day of the dark half of the month, when an unbroken recital (*akhand pāth*) of the Gurū Granth Sāhib is concluded, followed by *kīrtan* and discourses and a community meal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
3. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

GOBIND RĀM, BHĀĪ (d. 1845), son of Bhāi Harbhaj and a grandson of Bhāi Vastī Rām, had, like his brother Bhāi Rām Singh, an honoured position at the court of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. A good scholar of Sanskrit and Persian, Gobind Rām, was of a retiring nature and more interested in spiritualism and medicine. According to Sohan Lāl Sūrī, the court historian, Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh was highly impressed by Gobind Rām's knowledge of metaphysics and often had long discussions with him.

Bhāi Gobind Rām, who suffered a paralytic stroke in 1840, died at Lahore on 23 March 1845.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89

2. Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1957
3. Waheeduddin, Faqir Syed, *The Real Ranjit Singh*. Karachi, 1965

J.S.K.

GOBIND SINGH, GURŪ (1666-1708), the tenth and the last Gurū or Prophet-teacher of the Sikh faith, was born Gobind Rāi on Poh *sudī* 7, 1723 Bk/22 December 1666 at Paṭnā, in Bihār. His father, Gurū Tegh Bahādur, the Ninth Gurū, was then travelling across Bengal and Assam. Returning to Paṭnā in 1670, he directed his family to return to the Punjab. On the site of the house at Paṭnā in which Gobind Rāi was born and where he spent his early childhood now stands a sacred shrine, Takht Sṛī Harimandar Sāhib, one of the five most honoured seats of religious authority (*takht*, lit. throne) for the Sikhs. Gobind Rāi was escorted to Anandpur (then known as Chakk Nānakī) in the foothills of the Śivāliks where he reached in March 1672 and where his early education included reading and writing of Punjabi, Braj, Sanskrit and Persian. He was barely nine years of age when a sudden turn came in his own life as well as in the life of the community he was destined to lead. Early in 1675, a group of Kashmirī Brāhmaṇs, driven to desperation by the religious fanaticism of the Mughal satrap, Iftikhār Khān, visited Anandpur to seek Gurū Tegh Bahādur's intercession. As the Gurū sat reflecting what to do, young Gobind Rāi, arriving there in company with his playmates, asked him why he looked so preoccupied. The father, as records Kuir Singh in his *Gurbilās Pātshāhī* 10, replied, "Grave are the burdens the earth bears. She will be redeemed only if a truly worthy person comes forward to lay down his head. Distress will then be expunged and happiness ushered in." "None could be worthier than yourself to make such a sacrifice," remarked Gobind Rāi in his innocent manner. Gurū Tegh Bahādur soon afterwards proceeded to the imperial capital, Delhi, and court-

ed death on 11 November 1675.

Gurū Gobind Singh was formally installed Gurū on the Baisākhī day of 1733 Bk/29 March 1676. In the midst of his engagement with the concerns of the community, he gave attention to the mastery of physical skills and literary accomplishment. He had grown into a comely youth — spare, lithe of limb and energetic. He had a natural genius for poetic composition and his early years were assiduously given to this pursuit. The *Vār Sṛī Bhagautī Jī Kī*, popularly called *Chaṇḍī dī Vār*, written in 1684, was his first composition and his only major work in the Punjabi language. The poem depicted the legendary contest between the gods and the demons as described in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. The choice of a warlike theme for this and a number of his later compositions such as the two *Chaṇḍī Charitras*, mostly in Braj, was made to infuse martial spirit among his followers to prepare them to stand up against injustice and tyranny.

Much of Gurū Gobind Singh's creative literary work was done at Pāoṅṭā he had founded on the banks of the River Yamunā and to which site he had temporarily shifted in April 1685. Poetry as such was, however, not his aim. For him it was a means of revealing the divine principle and concretizing a personal vision of the Supreme Being that had been vouchsafed to him. His *Jāpu* and the composition known as *Akāl Ustatī* are in this tenor. Through his poetry he preached love and equality and a strictly ethical and moral code of conduct. He preached the worship of the One Supreme Being, deprecating idolatry and superstitious beliefs and observances. The glorification of the sword itself which he eulogized as *bhagautī* was to secure fulfilment of God's justice. The sword was never meant as a symbol of aggression, and it was never to be used for self-aggrandizement. It was the emblem of manliness and self-respect and was to be used only in self-defence, as a last resort. For Gurū

Gobind Singh said in a Persian couplet in his *Zafarnāmah*:

When all other means have failed,
It is but lawful to take to the sword.

During his stay at Pāoṅṭā, Gurū Gobind Singh availed himself of his spare time to practise different forms of manly exercises, such as riding, swimming and archery. His increasing influence among the people and the martial exercises of his men excited the jealousy of the neighbouring Rājput hill rulers who led by Rājā Fateh Chand of Garhvāl collected a host to attack him. But they were worsted in an action at Bhaṅṅānī, about 10 km northeast of Pāoṅṭā, on 18 Assū 1745 Bk/18 September 1688. Soon thereafter Gurū Gobind Singh left Pāoṅṭā and returned to Anandpur which he fortified in view of the continuing hostility of the Rājput chiefs as well as of the repressive policy of the imperial government at Delhi. The Gurū and his Sikhs were involved in a battle with a Mughal commander, Alif Khān, at Nadauṅ on the left bank of the Beās, about 30 km southeast of Kāṅṅrā, on 22 Chet 1747 Bk/20 March 1691. Describing the battle in stirring verse in *Bachitra Nāṭak*, he said that Alif Khān fled in utter disarray "without being able to give any attention to his camp." Among several other skirmishes that occurred was the Husainī battle (20 February 1696) fought against Husain Khān, an imperial general, which resulted in a decisive victory for the Sikhs. Following the appointment in 1694 of the liberal Prince Mu'azzam (later Emperor Bahādur Shāh) as viceroy of northwestern region including Punjab, there was however a brief respite from pressure from the ruling authority.

In 1698, Gurū Gobind Singh issued directions to Sikh *saṅgats* or communities in different parts not to acknowledge *masands*, the local ministers, against whom he had heard complaints. Sikhs, he instructed, should come to Anandpur straight without

any intermediaries and bring their offerings personally. The Gurū thus established direct relationship with his Sikhs and addressed them as his *Khālsā*, Persian term used for crown-lands as distinguished from feudal fiefs. The institution of the *Khālsā* was given concrete form on 30 March 1699 when Sikhs had gathered at Anandpur in large numbers for the annual festival of Baisākhī. Gurū Gobind Singh appeared before the assembly dramatically on that day with a naked sword in hand and, to quote Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*, spoke: "Is there present a true Sikh who would offer his head to the Gurū as a sacrifice?" The words numbed the audience who looked on in awed silence. The Gurū repeated the call. At the third call Dayā Rām, a Sobtī Khatri of Lahore, arose and humbly walked behind the Gurū to a tent near by. The Gurū returned with his sword dripping blood, and asked for another head. At this Dharam Dās, a Jaṭṭ from Hastināpur, came forward and was taken inside the enclosure. Gurū Gobind Singh made three more calls. Muhkam Chand, a washerman from Dvārkā, Himmat, a water-carrier from Jagannāthpurī, and Sāhib Chand, a barber from Bidar (Karnāṭaka) responded one after another and advanced to offer their heads. All the five were led back from the tent dressed alike in saffron-coloured raiment topped over with neatly tied turbans similarly dyed, with swords dangling by their sides. Gurū Gobind Singh then introduced *khaṅḍe dī pāhul*, i.e. initiation by sweetened water churned with a double-edged broadsword (*khaṅḍā*). Those five Sikhs were the first to be initiated. Gurū Gobind Singh called them Pañj Piāre, the five devoted spirits beloved of the Gurū. These five, three of them from the so-called low-castes, a Kṣatriya and a Jaṭṭ, formed the nucleus of the self-abnegating, martial and casteless fellowship of the *Khālsā*. All of them surnamed Singh, meaning lion, were required to wear in future the five symbols of the *Khālsā*, all beginning with the

letter K — the *keṣ* or long hair and beard, *kaṅghā*, a comb in the *keṣ* to keep it tidy as against the recluses who kept it matted in token of their having renounced the world, *kaṛā*, a steel bracelet, *kachch*, short breeches, and *kirpān*, a sword. They were enjoined to succour the helpless and fight the oppressor, to have faith in one God and to consider all human beings equal, irrespective of caste and creed. Gurū Gobind Singh then himself received initiatory rites at the hands of his five disciples, now invested with authority as *Khālsā*, and had his name changed from Gobind Rāi to Gobind Singh. "Hail," as the poet subsequently sang, "Gobind Singh who is himself Master as well as disciple." Further injunctions were laid down for the Sikhs. They must never cut or trim their hair and beards, nor smoke tobacco. A Sikh must not have sexual relationship outside the marital bond, nor eat the flesh of an animal killed slowly in the Muslim way.

These developments alarmed the caste-ridden Rājput chiefs of the Śivālik hills. They rallied under the leadership of the Rājā of Bilāspur, in whose territory lay Anandpur, to forcibly evict Gurū Gobind Singh from his hilly citadel. Their repeated expeditions during 1700-04 however proved abortive. They at last petitioned Emperor Aurangzib for help. In concert with contingents sent under imperial orders by the governor of Lahore and those of the *faujdār* of Sirhind, they marched upon Anandpur and laid a siege to the fort in Jeth 1762 Bk/May 1705. Over the months, the Gurū and his Sikhs firmly withstood their successive assaults despite dire scarcity of food resulting from the prolonged blockade. While the besieged were reduced to desperate straits, the besiegers too were chagrined at the tenacity with which the Sikhs held out. At this stage, the besiegers offered, on solemn oaths, safe exit to the Sikhs if they quit Anandpur. At last, the town was evacuated during the night of Poh *sudī* 1, 1762 Bk/5-6 December 1705. But soon, as

the Gurū and his Sikhs came out, the hill monarchs and their Mughal allies set upon them in full fury. In the ensuing confusion many Sikhs were killed and all of the Gurū's baggage, including most of the precious manuscripts, was lost. The Gurū himself was able to make his way to Chamkaur, 40 km southwest of Anandpur, with barely 40 Sikhs and his two elder sons. There the imperial army, following closely on his heels, caught up with him. His two sons, Ajit Singh (b. 1687) and Juhār Singh (b. 1691) and all but five of the Sikhs fell in the action that took place on 7 December 1705. The five surviving Sikhs bade the Gurū to save himself in order to reconsolidate the *Khālsā*. Gurū Gobind Singh with three of his Sikhs escaped into the wilderness of the Mālvā, two of his Muslim devotees, *Chanī Khān* and *Nabī Khān*, helping him at great personal risk.

Gurū Gobind Singh's two younger sons, Zorāwar Singh (b. 1696) and Fateh Singh (b. 1699), and his mother, Mātā Gujarī, were after the evacuation of Anandpur betrayed by their old servant and escort, Gaṅgū, to the *faujdār* of Sirhind, who had the young children executed on 13 December 1705. Their grandmother died the same day. Befriended by another Muslim admirer, Rāi Kalhā of Rāikoṭ, Gurū Gobind Singh reached Dinā in the heart of the Mālvā. There he enlisted a few hundred warriors of the Brāj clan, and also composed his famous letter, *Zafarnāmah* or the Epistle of Victory, in Persian verse, addressed to Emperor Aurangzib. The letter was a severe indictment of the Emperor and his commanders who had perjured their oath and treacherously attacked him once he was outside the safety of his fortification at Anandpur. It emphatically reiterated the sovereignty of morality in the affairs of State as much as in the conduct of human beings and held the means as important as the end. Two of the Sikhs, Dayā Singh and Dharam Singh, were despatched with the *Zafarnāmah* to Ahmadnagar in the South

to deliver it to Auraṅzīb, then in camp in that town.

From Dīnā, Gurū Gobind Singh continued his westward march until, finding the host close upon his heels, he took position astride the water pool of Khidrānā to make a last-ditch stand. The fighting on 29 December 1705 was hard and desperate. In spite of their overwhelming numbers, the Mughal troops failed to capture the Gurū and had to retire in defeat. The most valorous part in this battle was played by a group of 40 Sikhs who had deserted the Gurū at Anandpur during the long siege, but who, chided by their womenfolk at home, had come back under the leadership of a brave and devoted woman, Māī Bhāgo, to redeem themselves. They had fallen fighting desperately to check the enemy's advance towards the Gurū's position. The Gurū blessed the 40 dead as 40 *mukte*, i.e. the 40 Saved Ones. The site is now marked by a sacred shrine and tank and the town which has grown around them is called Muktsar, the Pool of Liberation.

After spending some time in the Lakkhī Jungle country, Gurū Gobind Singh arrived at Talvaṅḍī Sābo, now called Damdamā Sāhib, on 20 January 1706. During his stay there of over nine months, a number of Sikhs rejoined him. He prepared a fresh recension of Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, with the celebrated scholar, Bhāī Manī Singh, as his amanuensis. From the number of scholars who had rallied round Gurū Gobind Singh and from the literary activity initiated, the place came to be known as the Gurū's Kāshī or seat of learning like Vārāṅasī.

The epistle *Zafarnāmah* sent by Gurū Gobind Singh from Dīnā seems to have touched the heart of Emperor Auraṅzīb. He forthwith invited him for a meeting. According to *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī*, the Emperor had a letter written to the deputy governor of Lahore, Mun'im Khān, to conciliate the Gurū and make the required arrangements for his journey to the Deccan. Gurū Gobind

Singh had, however, already left for the South on 30 October 1706. He was in the neighbourhood of Baghor, in Rājasthān, when the news arrived of the death of the Emperor at Ahmadnagar on 20 February 1707. The Gurū thereupon decided to return to the Punjab, via Shāhjahānābād (Delhi). That was the time when the sons of the deceased Emperor were preparing to contest succession. Gurū Gobind Singh despatched for the help of the eldest claimant, the liberal Prince Mu'azzam, a token contingent of Sikhs which took part in the battle of Jājāū (8 June 1707), decisively won by the Prince who ascended the throne with the title of Bahādur Shāh. The new Emperor invited Gurū Gobind Singh for a meeting which took place at Āgrā on 23 July 1707.

Emperor Bahādur Shāh had at this time to move against the Kachhvāhā Rājputs of Āmber (Jaipur) and then to the Deccan where his youngest brother, Kām Bakḥsh, had raised the standard of revolt. The Gurū accompanied him and, as says *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī*, he addressed assemblies of people on the way preaching the word of Gurū Nānak. The two camps crossed the River Tāptī between 11 and 14 June 1708 and the Bāṅ-Gaṅgā on 14 August, arriving at Nāndeḍ, on the Godāvāri, towards the end of August. While Bahādur Shāh proceeded further South, Gurū Gobind Singh decided to stay awhile at Nāndeḍ. Here he met a Bairāgi recluse, Mādho Dās, whom he converted a Sikh administering to him the vows of the Khālsā, renaming him Gurbakḥsh Singh (popular name Bandā Singh). Gurū Gobind Singh gave Bandā Singh five arrows from his own quiver and an escort, including five of his chosen Sikhs, and directed him to go to the Punjab and carry on the campaign against the tyranny of the provincial overlords.

Nawāb Wazīr Khān of Sirhind had felt concerned at the Emperor's conciliatory treatment of Gurū Gobind Singh. Their marching together to the South made him

jealous, and he charged two of his trusted men with murdering the Gurū before his increasing friendship with the Emperor resulted in any harm to him. These two Paṭhāns — Jamshed *Khān* and Wāsil Beg are the names given in the *Gurū kīān Sākhīān* — pursued the Gurū secretly and overtook him at Nānded, where, according to *Srī Gur Sobhā* by Senāpati, a contemporary writer, one of them stabbed the Gurū in the left side below the heart as he lay one evening in his chamber resting after the *Rahrāsi* prayer. Before he could deal another blow, Gurū Gobind Singh struck him down with his sabre, while his fleeing companion fell under the swords of Sikhs who had rushed in on hearing the noise. As the news reached Bahādur Shāh's camp, he sent expert surgeons, including an Englishman, Cole by name, to attend on the Gurū. The wound was stitched and appeared to have healed quickly but, as the Gurū one day applied strength to pull a stiff bow, it broke out again and bled profusely. This weakened the Gurū beyond cure and he passed away on Kattak *sudī* 5, 1765 Bk/7 October 1708. Before the end came, Gurū Gobind Singh had asked for the Sacred Volume to be brought forth. To quote *Bhaṭṭ Vahī Talauḍā Parganaḥ Jind*:

Gurū Gobind Singhjī, mahilā dasmān, beṭā Gurū Tegh Bahādur jī kā, potā Gurū Hargobindjī kā, paṛpotā Guru Arjunjī kā, baṅs Gurū Rām Dāsī kī, Sūrajbaṅsī Gosal gotra, Sodhī Khatri, bāsī Anandpur parganaḥ Kahlūr, muqām Nānder taḥ Godāvarī, des dakkhaṅ, sammāt satrān sui painsath Kārtik mās kī chauth, śukla pakkhe budhvār ke dihuṅ, Bhāi Dayā Singh se bachan hoyā, Srī Granth Sāhib lai āo, bachan pāi Dayā Singh Srī Granth Sāhib lai āye, Gurūjī ne pānch paise nārīal āge bheṭā rākhā, mālthā ṭekā, sarbatt saṅgat se kahā merā hukam hai merī jāgāh Srī Granthjī ko jānanā, jo Sikh jānegā tis kī ghāl thāen paegī Gurū tis kī bahujī kaṛegā, satt kar mānanā

Gurū Gobind Singh, the Tenth Master, son of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, grandson of Gurū Hargobind, great-grandson of Gurū Arjan, of the family of Gurū Rām Dās, Surajbaṅsī, Gosal clan, Sodhī Khatri, resident of Anandpur, *parganaḥ* Kahlūr, now at Nānded, in the Godāvarī country in the Deccan, asked Bhāi Dayā Singh, on Wednesday, 6 October 1708, to fetch Srī Granth Sāhib. In obedience to his orders, Dayā Singh brought Srī Granth Sāhib. The Gurū placed before it five pice and a coconut and bowed his head before it. He said to the *saṅgat*, "It is my commandment: Own Srī Granthjī in my place. He who so acknowledges it will obtain his reward. The Gurū will rescue him. Know this as the truth".

Gurū Gobind Singh thus passed on the succession with due ceremony to the Holy Book, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, ending the line of personal Gurūs. "The Gurū's spirit," he said, "will henceforth be in the Granth and the *Khālsā*. Where the Granth is with any five Sikhs representing the *Khālsā*, there will the Gurū be."

The Word enshrined in the Holy Book was always revered by the Gurūs as well as by their disciples as of Divine origin. The Gurū was the revealer of the Word. One day the Word was to take the place of the Gurū. The inevitable came to pass when Gurū Gobind Singh declared the Gurū Granth Sāhib as his successor. It was only through the Word that the Gurūship could be made everlasting. The Word as contained in the Gurū Granth Sāhib was henceforth, and for all time to come, to be the Gurū for the Sikhs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Patshāhī* 10. Patiala, 1968
2. Sukhā Singh, Bhāi, *Gurbilās Dasvīn Pātshāhī*. Lahore, 1912
3. Senapati, *Srī Gur Sobhā*. Patiala, 1967
4. Chibbar, Kesar Singh, *Baṅsāvālinamā Dasān*

- Pātshāhīān Kā*. Chandigarh, 1972
5. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1966
 6. Grewal, J.S. and S.S. Bal, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1966
 7. Verma, Devinder, *Guru Gobind Singh on the Canvas of History*. Delhi, 1995
 8. Talib, Gurbachan Singh, *The Impact of Guru Gobind Singh on Indian Society*. Chandigarh, 1966
 9. Sher Singh, *Social and Political Philosophy of Guru Gobind Singh*. Delhi, n.d.
 10. Lakshman Singh, Bhagat, *A Short Sketch of the Life and Work of Guru Gobind Singh*. Lahore, 1909.

G.S.

GOD, a term used to denote any object of worship or evocation, signifies the belief of most modern religions in the existence of a Supreme Being who is the source and support of the spatio-temporal material world. Theologians remember Him by the name of God. The fundamental belief of Sikhism, too, is that God exists, not merely as an idea or concept, but as a Real Being, indescribable yet not unknowable. The Gurūs, however, never theorized about proofs of the existence of God. For them He is too real and obvious to need any logical proof. Gurū Arjan, Nānak V, says, "God is beyond colour and form, yet His presence is clearly visible" (GG, 74), and again, "Nānak's Lord transcends the world as well as the scriptures of the east and the west, and yet he is clearly manifest" (GG, 397). In any case, knowledge of the ultimate Reality is not a matter for reason; it comes by revelation of Himself through *nadar* or grace and by *anubhava* or mystical experience. Says Gurū Nānak, "*budhi pāthi na pāīai bahu chaturāīai bhāi milai mani bhāne* (He is not accessible through intellect, or through mere scholarship or cleverness at argument; He is met, when He pleases, through devotion)" (GG, 436).

Sikhism as a religion is uncompromisingly monotheistic. The Gurūs have described God in numerous ways in their hymns included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, but the

unicity of the deity is consistently emphasized throughout. Briefly, God for the Sikhs as described in the *mūl mantra*, basic formula of the faith, viz. *Ik oankār satināmu kartā purakhu nirbhau nirvairu akāl mūrati ajūnī saibhañ gurprasādi*, is the "One Supreme Being, the Immutable and Eternal Name, the Creative Masculine Principle, Without fear and Without rancour, the Timeless Verity, Unincarnated and Self-Existent, known through His grace." *Oankār* is a variation of the mystic monosyllable *Om* (also known as *anahata nāda*, the unstruck sound) first set forth in the Upaniṣads as the transcendent object of profound religious meditation. Gurū Nānak prefixed the numeral one (*ik*) to it making it *Ik Oankār* or *Ehankār* to stress His oneness. He is named and known only through His immanent nature. Almost all of His names are attributive. The only name which can be said to truly fit his transcendent state is *Satī* or *Satinām* (Sanskrit *satya*), the changeless and timeless Reality. He is transcendent and all-pervasive at the same time. Transcendence and immanence are two aspects of the same single Supreme Reality. He is immanent in the entire creation, but the creation as a whole fails to contain Him fully. As says Gurū Tegh Bahādur, Nānak IX, "He has himself spread out His own *māyā* which He Himself oversees; many different forms He assumes in many colours, yet he stays independent of all" (GG, 537).

God is *Kartā Purakh*, the Creator-Person. He created the spatio-temporal universe not from some pre-existing physical element, but from His own Self. Universe is His own emanation. It is not *māyā* or illusion but is real (*satī*) because, as say Gurū Arjan, "True is He and true is His creation [because] all has emanated from God Himself" (GG, 294). But God is not identical with the universe. The latter exists and is contained in Him and not vice versa. God is immanent in the created world, but is not limited by it. "Many times He expands Himself into such worlds

but He ever remains the same One Ekañkār” (GG, 276). Even at one time “there are hundreds of thousands of skies and nether regions” (GG, 5). Included in *sach khand*, the figurative abode of God, there are countless regions and universes” (GG, 8). Creation is “His sport which He Himself witnesses, and when He rolls up the sport, He is His sole Self again” (GG, 292). He Himself is the Creator, Sustainer and the Destroyer.

What is the Creator’s purpose in creating the universe? It is not for man to enquire or judge the purpose of His Creator. To quote Gurū Arjan again, “The created cannot have a measure of the Creator; what He wills, O Nānak, happens” (GG, 285). For the Sikhs, the Creation is His pleasure and play. “When the showman beat His drum, the whole creation came out to witness the show; and when He puts aside his disguise, He rejoices in His original solitude” (GG, 174, 291, 655, 736).

Purakhu added to *Kartā* in the Mūl Mantra is the Punjabi form of Sanskrit *puruṣa*, which literally means, besides man, male or person, “the primeval man as the soul and original source of the universe; the personal and animating principle; the supreme Being or Soul of the universe.” *Purakh* in Mūl Mantra is, therefore, none other than God the Creator. The term has nothing to do with the *puruṣa* of the Sāṅkhya school of Indian philosophy where it is the spirit as a passive spectator of *prakriti* or creative force.

That God is *nirbhau* (without fear) and *nirvair* (without rancour) is obvious enough as He has no *sarīk* or rival. But the terms have other connotations, too. *Nirbhau* not only indicates fearlessness but also the absence of fearfulness. It also implies sovereignty and unquestioned exercise of Will. Similarly, *nirvair* implies, besides absence of enmity, the positive attributes of compassion and impartiality. Together the two terms mean that God loves His handiwork and is the Dispenser of impartial justice, *dharam-niāu*.

Gurū Rām Dās, Nānak IV, says: “Why should we be afraid, with the True One being the judge. True is the True One’s justice” (GG, 84).

God is *Akāl Mūrati*, the Eternal Being. The timelessness involved in the negative epithet *akāl* has made it popular in Sikh tradition as one of the names of God, the Timeless One, as in *Akāl Purakh* or in the slogan *Sat Srī Akāl* (*Satyā Śrī Akāl*). One of the most sacred shrines of the Sikhs is the *Akāl Takht*, the Eternal Throne, at Amritsar. *Mūrati* here does not mean form, figure, image or idol. Sikhism expressly forbids idolatry or image-worship in any form. God is called *Nirāñkār*, the Formless One, although it is true that all forms are the manifestations of *Nirāñkār*. *Bhāi Gurdās*, the earliest expounder and the copyist of the original recension of Gurū Granth Sāhib, says: “*Nirāñkār ākāru hari joti sarūp anūp dikhāiā* (The Formless One having created form manifested His wondrous refulgence” (*Vārāñ*, XII. 17). *Mūrati* in the Mūl Mantra, therefore, signifies verity or manifestation of the Timeless and Formless One.

God is *Ajūnī*, Unincarnated, and *Saibhañ* (Sanskrit *svayambhū*), Self-existent. The Primal Creator Himself had no creator. He simply is, has ever been and shall ever be by Himself. *Ajūnī* also affirms the Sikh rejection of the theory of divine incarnation. Gurū Arjan says: “Man misdirected by false belief indulges in falsehood; God is free from birth and death... May that mouth be scorched which says that God is incarnated” (GG, 1136).

The Mūl Mantra ends with *gurprasādi*, meaning thereby that realization of God comes through Gurū’s grace. “Gurū” in Sikh theology appears in three different but allied connotations, viz. God, the ten Sikh Gurūs, the enlightened ones and enlighteners, and the *gur-shabad* or Gurū’s utterances as preserved in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Of God’s grace, Gurūs’ instruction and guidance and the scriptural *sabad* (San-

skrit, *śabda*, lit. Word), the first is the most important, because, as nothing happens without God's will or pleasure, His grace is essential to making a person inclined towards a desire and search for union with Him.

God in Sikhism is thus depicted in three distinct aspects, viz. God in Himself, God in relation to creation, and God in relation to man. God by himself is the one Ultimate, Transcendent Reality, Nirguṇa (without attributes), Timeless, Boundless, Formless, Ever-existent, Immutable, Ineffable, All-by-Himself and even Unknowable in His entirety. The only nomenclatures that can rightly be applied to Him in this state of *sunm* (Sanskrit, *śūnya* or void) are Brahma and Pābrahma (Sanskrit, Pābrahman) or the pronouns He and Thou. During a discourse with Siddhas, Hindu recluses, Gurū Nānak in reply to a question as to where the Transcendent God was before the stage of creation replies, "To think of the Transcendent Lord in that state is to enter the realm of wonder. Even at that stage of *sunm*, he permeated all that Void" (GG, 940). This is the state of God's *sunm samādhī*, self-absorbed trance.

When it pleases God, He becomes *sarguṇa* (Sanskrit, *saguna*, with attributes) and manifests Himself in creation. He becomes immanent in His created universe, which is His own emanation, an aspect of Himself. As says Gurū Amar Dās, Nānak III, "This (so-called) poison, the world, that you see is God's picture; it is God's outline that we see" (GG, 922). Most names of God are His attributive, action-related signifiers, *kirtam nām* (GG, 1083) or *karam nām* (*Dasam Granth*, Jāpu). God in the Sikh Scripture has been referred to by several names, picked from Indian and semitic traditions. He is called in terms of human relations as father, mother, brother, relation, friend, lover, beloved, husband. Other names, expressive of His supremacy, are *thākur*, *prabhū*, *svāmī*, *sāh*, *pātsāh*, *sāhib*, *sāṁ* (Lord,

Master). Some traditional names are *rām*, *nārāyan*, *govind*, *gopāl*, *allah*, *khudā*. Even the negative terms such as *niraṅkār*, *nirañjan et al.* are as much related to attributes as are the positive terms like *dātā*, *dātār*, *kartā*, *kartār*, *dayāl*, *kripāl*, *qādir*, *karīm*, etc. Some terms peculiar to Sikhism are *nām* (lit. name), *sabad* (lit. word) and Vāhigurū (lit. Wondrous Master). While *nām* and *sabad* are mystical terms standing for the Divine manifestation and are used as substitute terms for the Supreme Being, *Vāhigurū* is an ejaculatory phrase expressing awe, wonder and ecstatic joy of the worshipper as he comprehends the immenseness and grandeur of the Lord and His Creation.

Immanence or All-pervasiveness of God, however, does not limit or in any way affect His transcendence. He is Transcendent and Immanent at the same time. The Creation is His *līlā* or cosmic play. He enjoys it, pervades it, yet Himself remains unattached. Gurū Arjan describes Him in several hymns as "Unattached and Unentangled in the midst of all" (GG, 102, 294, 296); and "Amidst all, yet outside of all, free from love and hate" (GG, 784-85). Creation is His manifestation, but, being conditioned by space and time, it provides only a partial and imperfect glimpse of the Timeless and Boundless Supreme Being.

That God is both Transcendent and Immanent does not mean that these are two phases of God one following the other. God is One, and He is both *nirguṇa* and *sarguṇa*. "*Nirguṇa sarguṇu hari hari merā*, (God, my God is both with and without attributes)," sang Gurū Arjan (GG, 98). Gurū Amar Dās also had said, "*Nirguṇa sarguṇa āpe soi* (He Himself is with as well as without attributes)" (GG, 128). Transcendence and Immanence are two aspects of the same Supreme Reality.

The Creator also sustains His Creation compassionately and benevolently. "My Lord is ever Fresh and ever Bountiful" (GG, 660); "He is the eradicator of the pain and sorrow of the humble" (GG, 263-64). The universe is

created, sustained and moved according to His *hukam* or Divine Will, and Divine purpose. "The inscrutable *hukam* is the source of all forms, all creatures.... All are within the ambit of *hukam*; there is nothing outside of it." (GG p. 1). Another principle that regulates the created beings is *karma* (actions, deeds). Simply stated, it is the law of cause and effect. The popular dictum "As one sows so shall one reap" is stressed again and again in the Gurū Granth Sāhib (GG, 134, 176, 309, 316, 366, 706, 730).

The created world though real is not eternal. Whenever God desires, it merges back into His Timeless and Formless Self. Gurū Gobind Singh calls this process of creation and dissolution *udkarkh* (Sanskrit, *utkarṣaṇa*) and *ākarkh* (Sanskrit, *ākarṣaṇa*), respectively: "Whenever you, O Creator, cause *udkarkh* (increase, expansion), the creation assumes the boundless body; whenever you effect *ākarkh* (attraction, contraction), all corporeal existence merges in you" (*Benatī Chaupāī*). This process of creation and dissolution has been repeated God alone knows for how many times. A passage in the *Sukhmanī* by Gurū Arjan visualizes the infinite field of creation thus:

Millions are the mines of life; millions the spheres;

Millions are the regions above; millions the regions below;

Millions are the species taking birth.

By diverse means does He spread Himself.

Again and again did He expand Himself thus,

But He ever remains the One Ekañkār.

Countless creatures of various kinds

Come out of Him and are absorbed back.

None can know the limit of His Being;

He, the Lord, O Nānak! is all in all

Himself.

(GG, 275-76)

Man, although an infinitesimal part of God's creation, yet stands apart from it insofar as it is the only species blessed with

reflection, moral sense and potentiality for understanding matters metaphysical. In Sikhism, human birth is both a special privilege for the soul and a rare chance for the realization of union with God. Man is lord of earth, as Gurū Arjan says, "Of all the eight million and four hundred thousand species, God conferred superiority on man" (GG, 1075), and "All other species are your (man's) water-bearers; you have hegemony over this earth" (GG, 374). But Gurū also reminds that "now that you (the soul) have got a human body, this is your turn to unite with God" (GG, 12, 378). Gurū Nānak had warned, "Listen, listen to my advice, O my mind! only good deed shall endure, and there may not be another chance" (GG, 154). So, realization of God and a reunion of *ātmā* (soul) with *paramātmā* (Supreme Soul, God) are the ultimate goals of human life. The achievement ultimately rests on *nadar* (God's grace), but man has to strive in order to deserve His grace. As a first step, he should have faith in and craving for the Lord. He should believe that God is near him, rather within his self, and not far away. He is to seek Him in his self. Gurū Nānak says: "Your beloved is close to you, O foolish bride! What are you searching outside?" (GG, 722), and Gurū Amar Dās reassures: "Recognize yourself, O mind! You are the light manifest. Rejoice in Gurū's instruction that God is always with (in) you. If you recognize your Self, you shall know the Lord and shall get the knowledge of life and death" (GG, 441). The knowledge of the infinitesimal nature of his self when compared to the immenseness of God and His creation would instil humility in man and would rid him of his ego (a sense of I, my and mine) which is "the greatest malady man suffers from" (GG, 466, 589, 1258) and the arch-enemy of *nām* or path to God-Realization (GG, 560). Having surrendered his ego and having an intense desire to reach his goal (the realization of Reality), the

seeker under Gurū's instruction (*gurmātī*) becomes a *gurmukh* or person looking gurūward. He meditates upon *nām* or *śabda*, the Divine Word, while yet leading life as a householder, earning through honest labour, sharing his victuals with the needy, and performing self-abnegating deeds of service. Sikhism condemns ritualism. Worship of God in the Sikh way of life consists in reciting *gurbānī* or holy texts and meditation on *nām*, solitary or in *saṅgat* or congregation, *kīrtan* or singing of scriptural hymns in praise of God, and *ardās* or prayer in supplication.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sṛī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1959
2. Jodh Singh, Bhāi, *Gurmātī Nirṇaya*. Amritsar, 1932
3. Pṛitam Singh, ed., *Sikh Phalsaphe dī Rūp Rekḥā*. Amritsar, 1975
4. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944
5. Kapur Singh, *Parāśaraprasna*. Amritsar, 1989

G.S.T.

GODARĪĀ, BHĀĪ, a saintly person who usually carried a *godarī* or padded wrapping around his person (from which he derived his name), was always repeating God's name and was ever ready to do any act of selfless service. According to *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*, a legend grew that whatever he casually uttered came to pass. After serving Bhāi Gaurā, son of the celebrated Bhāi Bhagatū for some time, Godarīā became a wandering *sādhū*, a *godarī* and a *gandhālā*, a spear-like digging tool, his only possessions, and his favourite pastime being the planting of shady trees. He met Gurū Gobind Singh at Bhuchcho, now in Baṭhiṇḍā district, in 1706 and became a disciple. He presented himself again at Talvaṇḍī Sābo in October 1706 when the Gurū was preparing to leave for the South.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968

2. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
3. Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giānī Garjā Singh, eds. *Gurū kiān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986

P.S.P.

GOIND, BHĀĪ, a Gheī Khatrī of Sultānpur Lodhī, embraced the Sikh faith in the time of Gurū Amar Dās. He took part in *sevā* for the digging of the sacred pool at Amritsar under Gurū Arjan. Bhāi Gurdās describes Bhāi Goind in his *Vārān*, XI.20, as one of the leading disciples of the Gurū.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Sṛī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

GOIND, BHĀĪ, also known as Bhāi Gondā (1569-1649), head of a *dhūān*, seat or branch of Udāsī Sikh preachers, was born on 27 July 1569 in a Khatrī family of Srīnagar in Kashmir. He was the son of Bhāi Jai Dev and Māi Subhadrā. Guided by a Nānakshāhī (Sikh) *sādhū*, he came to the Punjab in 1596 and received instruction from Gurū Arjan at Kartārpur. During the time of Gurū Hargobind, he attached himself to the service of Bābā Gurdittā, the eldest son of the Gurū and head of the Udāsī sect. On 11 September 1637, he was ordained head of a *dhūān*. Making Kīratpur and, later, Phillaur as the headquarters of his branch, Bhāi Goind preached mostly in the Doābā, country between the Rivers Sutlej and Beās. He died on 15 September 1649 at Phillaur where a *samādh* or mausoleum was constructed in his honour. His *dhūān* languished away after his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Raṇḍhūr Singh, *Udāsī Sikhān dī Vithiā*. Amritsar, 1972
2. Brahmānand, Paṇḍit, *Gurū Udāsīn Matt Darpan*. Sakhar (Sindh), 1923

P.S.P.

GOIND KUKK, BHĀĪ, and Bhāi Golā and Bhāi Mohan, also KukK Jajts, sought refuge at the feet of Gurū Arjan and asked to be instructed in the path of righteousness and liberation. The Gurū gave them twofold advice: "Repeat the Name of God and remember death. By remembering death, you will desist from committing sin, and by repeating God's Name the effect of your past sins will be erased." Bhāi Goind and his two companions became Sikhs and, according to Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, ever remained in the service of the Gurū.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Gurdās, Bhāi, *Vārān*, XI.23

T.S.

GOINDVĀL (31°-22'N, 75°-9'E), the first-ever place of Sikh pilgrimage so designated by its founder, Gurū Amar Dās. This in fact was the spot where the ancient east-west highway crossed the River Beās. With the renovation of the highway by Sher Shāh Sūr, the Afghān ruler of north India (1540-45), this ferry site became an important transit point. This led one Goindā or Gondā, a Marvāhā Khatri trader, to plan establishing an habitation at the western end of the ferry. Thwarted in his endeavour by natural calamities which Goindā attributed to evil spirits, he repaired to Khaḍūr to seek Gurū Anḡad's blessing. The Gurū deputed his devoted disciple, (Gurū) Amar Dās, to help Goindā. Amar Dās, who knew that tract very well as he had been carrying river water from this place to Khaḍūr daily for his Master's ablutions, laid the foundation of a village which was named after Goindā. After his anointment as Gurū in 1552, Gurū Amar Dās shifted from Khaḍūr to Goindvāl. In 1559, Gurū Amar

Dās commenced the digging in Goindvāl of a *bāoli*, i.e. a well with steps descending down to water level which, when completed, attracted pilgrims from far and near. Goindvāl also became in the time of Gurū Amar Dās the centre of an annual fair on the occasion of Baisākhī. Even after Gurū Amar Dās's successor, Gurū Rām Dās, had built up Amritsar and made it his permanent seat, devotees continued to visit Goindvāl to have a dip in the sacred *bāoli* and pay homage at other local shrines.

SRĪ BĀOLĪ SĀHIB is a large, open well, 8 metres across. Its water level is reached through a covered passage comprising a flight of 84 steps. A wide pointed archway opens on a domed clearance, four steps below the ground level. Its cupola is painted with multicoloured floral designs and portraits of Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Hargobind and Gurū Gobind Singh. The area between the arch and the coping is covered with portraits of the Ten Gurūs, and those of Bābā Moharī, Bābā Mohan and Bābā Anand. Other paintings depict scenes from the life of Gurū Amar Dās. Most of the steps are covered with marble slabs donated by different devotees, the earliest of these being dated 1963 BK/AD 1906. The lotus dome above the entrance has a tall gold-plated pinnacle with pinnacled kiosks and solid decorative domes around it.

THARĀ SĀHIB SRĪ GURŪ AMAR DĀS JĪ is a marble-lined platform, with a pinnacled canopy of white marble supported on cylindrical columns, at the entrance to Srī Bāoli Sāhib. It marks the site where Gurū Amar Dās used to sit supervising the digging of the Bāoli.

SRĪ DARBĀR SĀHIB or Prakāsh Asthān Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī, adjacent to Srī Bāoli Sāhib, is a square hall with a sanctum in the centre where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated. Daily congregations take place in this hall.

LAṄGAR SRĪ GURŪ AMAR DĀS JĪ, in the vicinity of the Darbār Sāhib, is a large-sized refectory, with kitchens attached.

GURŪ AMAR DĀS NIVĀS, behind the Bāoli Sāhib, is a two-storeyed building providing lodging for pilgrims.

GURDWARĀ SRĪ CHUBĀRĀ SĀHIB, in a different complex which was once the residence of Gurū Amar Dās and his family, is the attic in which the Gurū himself lived. It is a small room with a still smaller room entered through it. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in the front room on a silver *pālakī* or portable canopied throne. This room has doors covered with silver. The interior is decorated with stucco work inset with reflecting glass pieces and intricate designs in many colours.

KILLĪ SĀHIB, a small wooden peg (*killī* in Punjabi) now covered with a silver sheath, is fixed in the front wall of Srī Chubārā Sāhib on the outside. Gurū Amar Dās, it is said, used to meditate in the standing posture holding on to this peg for support. An embossed design on a brass plate above the Killī Sāhib depicts Gurū Nānak, flanked by Bhāi Bālā and Bhāi Mardānā, sitting under a tree. Another embossed sketch shows Gurū Amar Dās and his sons, Bābā Moharī and Bābā Mohan.

GURĪĀI ASTHĀN GURŪ RĀM DĀS, marks the spot where Gurū Rām Dās was anointed Gurū. A brass plate donated by a descendant of Gurū Amar Dās in 1920 has etched on it the scene of the ceremony in which Bhāi Gurdās is holding a whisk over the head of Gurū Rām Dās, Bābā Buḍḍhā is putting the saffron mark on his forehead and Gurū Amar Dās is standing behind Bābā Buḍḍhā, while Bābā Moharī is touching the feet of Gurū Rām Dās and Bābā Mohan is sitting in meditation on a deer-skin. Next to them are figures of 22 prominent Sikhs on whom Gurū Amar Dās is

said to have bestowed *mañjīs*, the insignia of appointment as preachers in their respective districts.

JOTĪ JOT ASTHĀN PĀTSHĀHĪ III, a small marbled pavilion next to Guriāi Asthān, was built on the site of the room in which Gurū Amar Dās died on 1 September 1574. Gurū Rām Dās also died in that room exactly seven years later.

JANAM ASTHĀN SRĪ GURŪ ARJAN DEV JĪ is a room, in the same compound as Srī Chubārā Sāhib, where Gurū Arjan was born. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in this room.

CHUBĀRĀ BĀBĀ MOHAN JĪ marks the spot where Bābā Mohan, the ascetic son of Gurū Amar Dās, used to live in an upstairs room (*chubārā*, in Puñjabī). It was here that Gurū Arjan received from Bābā Mohan the *pothīs* containing hymns for use in the compilation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The present room in which the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated is on the ground floor. Among the relics preserved in the Chubārā Sāhib complex is the palanquin in which the *pothīs* were carried to Amritsar and then brought back to Goindvāl.

KHŪH GURŪ RĀM DĀS JĪ ATE JOTĪ JOT ASTHĀN BHĀI GURDĀS JĪ is the sign for a separate Gurdwārā, to the west of Srī Chubārā Sāhib, commemorating Bhāi Gurdās, who died here, and Gurū Rām Dās, the *khūh* or well sunk by whom is still preserved in the compound in front.

All these shrines in Goindvāl are managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. A largely-attended three-day fair takes place in the month of September to mark the death anniversary of Gurū Amar Dās.

GURDWARĀ DAMDAMĀ SĀHIB, 3 km from Goindvāl, also commemorates Gurū Amar Dās who, according to tradition, used to halt

here briefly during his daily journey from Goindvāl to Khaḍūr carrying river water for Gurū Aṅgad's morning bath. The present building was constructed in the 1960's by Sant Bhūrīvale, whose followers continue to administer it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā*, Patiala, 1970
M.G.S.

GOKHŪ MAHITĀ, BHĀĪ, Bhāi Ṭoḍā Mahitā, Bhāi Totā and Bhāi Maddū, all devoted Sikhs who performed dedicated service at the time of the excavation of the sacred tank at Amritsar, once came to Gurū Arjan and begged to be instructed. The Gurū told them to sit in the *saṅgat* and recite *gurbānī*. The Gurū spoke: "Recitation of the sacred hymns cleanses the mind of sinful thought. To the listeners it gives comfort. Reflecting upon *gurbānī* with no desire other than emancipation of the soul leads to *giān* or true knowledge. Ego is thus overcome. Knowledge of the Self annihilates the sense of duality, resulting in Bliss Eternal. Assemble, therefore, in the *saṅgat* of the virtuous, recite *gurbānī*, reflect upon it, and earn release from worldly bondage." The four, writes Bhāi Manī Singh, acted upon the Gurū's advice and attained liberation (*Vārān*, XI.18).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

M.G.S.

GOLĀ, BHĀĪ, a Kukkk Jaṭṭ, was initiated into Sikhism by Gurū Arjan. The Gurū taught him to devote himself to the remembrance of God.

See GOIND KUKK, BHĀĪ

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

GOLAK or GURŪ KĪ GOLAK (the Gurū's own till). *Golak* (Sanskrit *golak*; Persian *gholak*) means, in Punjabi, a till, cash-box or any other container used for keeping money especially one used for receiving contributions for charitable purposes. It is a time-honoured Indian custom to carry an offering when going to make obeisance to one's deity. In *gurdwārās*, i.e. Sikh places of worship, a receptacle, *golak*, is usually kept in front of the sanctum into which the devotees drop their cash-offerings. Besides, the Sikhs are enjoined to keep apart for communal sharing one-tenth of their earnings. This is called *dasvandh*, lit. tithe or a tenth part. *Rahitnāmās* advise every Sikh householder to maintain a *golak* to collect his savings towards *dasvandh*. All these receipts, *dasvandh* as well as routine offerings, go to build up Gurū kī Golak — a common fund used for communal or charitable purposes. It is not essential for this pool to be physically collected at one place. Any charities dispensed in the Gurū's name, individually or collectively, are contributions to Gurū kī Golak. *Gharīb kī rasnā*, *Gurū kī golak*, goes a Sikh saying: feeding a poor man is tantamount to contributing to the Gurū's *golak*.

Gurū kī Golak has a religious as well as an historical meaning in the Sikh tradition. The founder, Gurū Nānak (1469-1539), had himself set up the institutions of *saṅgat* (holy fellowship) and *paṅgat* (commensality). The latter, a practical step towards the eradication of untouchability and caste prejudices, implied a common kitchen and refectory, *laṅgar* in Punjabi. *Laṅgar* needed resources;

hence the *golak*. At the same time, whatever the Sikhs possessed was considered God's gift or the Gurū's. Gurū Nānak said, "One who offers his body, mind and material possessions at the feet of the Lord tastes the precious elixir [of *nām*]" (GG, 918). *Laṅgar* for the Sikhs became, therefore, Gurū kā *Laṅgar* and the *golak* Gurū kī *Golak*.

Gurū kā *Laṅgar* was a necessary adjunct of Sikh *dharamsālās* and *gurdwāras*. But there was other social and philanthropic activity inaugurated by the Gurūs such as construction works, maintenance of orphanages, asylums, dispensaries, educational institutions, etc., which were also provided for by drawing upon Gurū kī *Golak*. As their following increased and their activities expanded, the Gurūs strengthened the structural aspect of the community. *Mañjīs* or preaching centres were established and *masands* or Gurū's representatives were appointed to propagate the faith and also to collect the offerings and *dasvandh* from the Sikhs and send these on to the central pool, Gurū kī *Golak*. The system worked effectively for some time, but by and by malpractices crept in. Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) abolished the system of *masands* and brought the Sikh *saṅgats* in direct touch with himself. The Sikhs continued to maintain the *golak* in which they deposited their contributions in the name of the Gurū. These were despatched to the Gurū as *saṅgats* went to visit him on festivals or other occasions. As the Gurū Granth Sāhib was invested Gurū, the *dasvandh* could be deposited at any *gurdwārā* or allied charitable institution. Separate *golaks* in Sikh homes became redundant. Since the *Gurdwārā* Reform movement of the 1920's control of a large number of *gurdwārās*, especially the historical ones, has passed on to a statutory body, the Shiromaṇī *Gurdwārā* Parbandhak Committee. Most of the other *gurdwārās* are managed by committees of the local *saṅgats*. Sealed *golaks* are maintained in most of them to receive the daily cash-offer-

ings of the devotees. Offerings in kind are used in the Gurū kā *Laṅgar* attached to the *gurdwārā*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Rahitnāme*. Amritsar, 1989
2. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990

P.S.GI.

GOMEZ, also known as Lawrence Gomez Allard, was a Portuguese. He joined the *Khālsā* army in 1842. After the Anglo-Sikh wars, he was taken by the British as adjutant in one of the police battalions raised from the disbanded Sikh soldiery. He retired in 1862.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785-1849*. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

GONDĀ, BHĀĪ, a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Har Rāi (1630-61). He was sent to Kābul to preach Gurū Nanak's word and he established there a *dharamsāl*. According to Sarūp Dās Bhallā, *Mahimā Prakāsh*, one day as he sat in contemplation concentrating his mind on the Gurū's feet, he fell into a trance. At the same moment, Gurū Har Rāi sat motionless in the *saṅgat* at Kīratpur for several hours on end. Even the call for the Gurū kā *Laṅgar* went unheeded. When he at last arose, he told the *saṅgat* how Bhāi Gondā at Kābul had kept him bound to his seat. The Gurū did not, continues the *Mahimā Prakāsh*, wish to interrupt Bhāi Gondā's meditation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1970
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

B.S.

GONDĀ, CHAUDHARĪ, one of the headmen of the village of Mūlovāl, now in Saṅgrūr

district of the Punjab, was converted to the Sikh faith by Gurū Tegh Bahādur. According to local tradition supported by old chronicles, when Gurū Tegh Bahādur visited Mūlovāl, he stopped near the village well to find it covered with bushes. The villagers explained that its water was brackish. The Gurū told them to remove the bushes covering it, and declared the water to be sweet. Not only was the old well sweetened, the Gurū persuaded the villagers to sink nine more wells. Everyone present was impressed and asked for the Gurū's blessing, but Gondā in his pride declined to receive the Gurū's benediction. He declared that his own prophet, Sultān Sakhī Sarwar, could give him what he desired and that he was already the only village head. Thereat Gurū Tegh Bahādur ignored him and bestowed *sirōpā*, or head dress of honour, on seven other notables of the village. Gondā left in a huff, but when he reached home and told his wife what had happened, the latter admonished him for not acknowledging the Gurū who had blessed the whole village and given them sweet water. Gondā recanted and came back to the Gurū to ask his forgiveness. He became a Sikh and the Gurū blessed him and made him the *chaudharī* or the principal headman of the village again.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1982
2. Trilochan Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur : Prophet and Martyr*. Delhi, 1967
3. Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giānī Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986

M.G.S.

GONDPUR, village 22 km south of Hoshiārpur (31°-32'N, 75°-55'E), in the Punjab, claims a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Ṭāhli Sāhib, dedicated to Gurū Hargobind, who came here from Pur Hīrān on his way to Kīratpur and stayed in a grove of *ṭāhli* trees. A platform was raised on the site amid the

grove as a memorial which came to be called Gurū kīān Ṭāhliān. The platform was later replaced by a *gurdwārā*. The present building, constructed in 1930, is a rectangular hall, with a sanctum at the northern end. A square room with a lotus dome above it tops the sanctum. In the adjoining compound are the Guru kā Laṅgar and rooms for the *granthī*. The Gurdwārā, affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, is managed by a local committee. Besides daily services, special assemblies are held on the first and thirteenth of every Bikramī month, on the latter especially because of the belief that it was on the thirteenth day of the month of Phāgun that Gurū Hargobind visited the place.

M.G.S.

GOPĀL was the name of the village *pāndhā* or Brāhmaṇ tutor in Talvaṇḍī Rāi Bhoē, now Nankāṇā Sāhib in Pakistan, during the childhood of Gurū Nānak (1469-1539). Bābā Kālū, the father of Gurū Nānak, had worldly ambitions for his only son and wished that he should learn how to read and write and one day take his own place as the revenue superintendent of the village. So when Nānak was seven he was led to Gopāl, the *pāndhā*, who felt happy to have with him a *pupii* so well spoken of in the village. He gave Nānak a place among his other pupils seated in a row reverentially on the ground in front of him. On a wooden slate he wrote down the first few letters of the alphabet of *Sidhōṅgāiā* or *Sindhāṅgāiā* script then in vogue among the commercial class, and gave it to Nānak to learn from. One day, as goes the legend, Nānak filled both sides of the slate with a composition written in his own hand. The teacher was surprised to see the tablet and curious to know what the child had written, he asked him to read aloud. To his amazement, it turned out to be a poem in Punjabi, a kind of acrostic which Nānak had extemporized with verses written to match the letters

of the alphabet. In it he had reflected upon questions far beyond his years. The main one he had in mind was, "Who is truly learned?" Certainly not he who knew the letters of the alphabet, "but he who arriveth at true understanding through these." Though it will remain debatable at what point of his career Gurū Nānak composed this *śabda*, it is included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib with the explanatory note *Paṭṭī Likhī*, i.e. "thus was the tablet written." Pāndhā Gopāl acknowledged Gurū Nānak's precocious genius for poetry and revelation, and considered himself fortunate in having been instructed by his pupil so marvelously gifted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
2. McLeod, W.H., *The B40 Janam-Sakhi*, Amritsar, 1980
3. Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origins of the Sikh Faith*. Bombay, 1969

Gn.S.

GOPĀL, RĀJĀ (Rāj Singh according to some sources), of Guler, mentioned in Sikh chronicles as well as in Gurū Gobind Singh's *Bachitra Nāṭak*, was one of the hill chieftains who fought against the Gurū in the battle of Bhaṅgānī in 1688. After the defeat of the rājās, Gopāl seems to have sought peace and friendship with Gurū Gobind Singh. When Husain Khān was despatched in 1696 by Dilāwar Khān, the Mughal chief, towards the hills to chastise the recalcitrant princes, Rājā Gopāl, not being able to pay the heavy tribute levied upon him, prepared to fight. He was helped by his ally, Rājā Rām Singh of Jasvān. Saṅgatiā and seven other Sikhs who had come as an embassy of peace to the court of Rājā Gopāl also took part in the battle. In the fierce action (20 February 1696) that ensued, Husain Khān was slain and Rājā Gopāl and his allies won a decisive victory. Saṅgatiā and his seven Sikhs fell fighting the Mughals. Rājā Gopāl celebrated the triumph

by making offerings to Gurū Gobind Singh and rendering him gratitude.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*
2. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Patshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
3. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1966

K.S.T.

GOPĀL, SETH, a rich businessman, received instruction at the hands of Gurū Hargobind and became a devoted Sikh (*Vārāṇ*, XI. 31).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

GOPĀL SĪNGH (1883-1941), an Akālī reformer, was born in November 1883 at the village of Sāgarī, in Rāwalpīṇḍī district, now in Pakistan. His father, Sundar Singh (d. 1895) was a small shopkeeper. Within three years of Gopāl Singh's father's death, his two elder brothers also passed away and the responsibility of looking after the family fell on him. He worked hard to see the family business flourish, and simultaneously started participating in the Singh Sabhā activity in the district. A more active phase of his career began as the Akālī agitation for the reformation of Gurdwārā management picked momentum. He had been nominated a member of the first Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee constituted in 1920. He was a member of the *jathā* or band of volunteers sent to liberate the *gurdwārā* at Pañjā Sāhib from the control of the *mahants* or priests who had become the target of public censure. For canvassing support for the Gurū kā Bāgh agitation, he was arrested in 1922 and prosecuted on the charge of inciting people and spreading hatred against the British government. He was again arrested in 1923 when the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal and the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Com-

mittee were banned by the government. Totally, he spent 13 years of his life in jail. When the Shiromaṇi Akālī Dal split after the Gurdwārās Act had been passed in 1925, Gopāl Singh joined the faction led by Bābā Kharak Singh. He died in 1941, and a motion condoling his death was passed by the Shiromaṇi Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee at a meeting of its general body held on 26 October 1941.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mohinder Singh, *The Akālī Movement*. Delhi, 1978
2. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975

G.S.G.

GOPI, BHAI, a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Amar Dās. He lived at the village of Dāllā, in present-day Kapūrthalā district of the Punjab, and received initiation at the hands of Gurū Amar Dās, (*Vārān*, XI.16)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.D.

GOPI, BHAI, a Bhārdvāj Brāhmaṇ, received initiation at the hands of Gurū Arjan. Once he, accompanied by Bhāi Vesā and Bhāi Tulsīā, also Bhārdvāj Brāhmaṇs, and Bhāi Bhīārā, who had been initiated along with him, waited upon the Gurū. They were confused by the diverse incarnations in which God was worshipped. The Gurū said, "All forms and attributes are God's, yet He transcends them. You should, therefore, worship only the Absolute One. At the same time you must abjure rancour towards those who have a different way of worship." Bhāi Gopī and his companions, says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, took the Gurū's precept and were blessed (*Vārān*, XI. 20).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

T.S.

GOPI MAHITĀ, BHAI, accompanied by Bhāi Tīrath, Bhāi Natthā, Bhāi Bhāu Mokal and Bhāi Dhillī Maṇḍal, once visited Gurū Arjan. One of them, as says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, said: "Lord, Prithī Mall and Mahādev [the Guru's brothers] are also composing verses using the name of (Gurū) Nānak as *nom de plume* which makes it difficult to know the genuine from the counterfeit." The Gurū, addressing himself to Bhāi Gurdās, spoke: "Today there are many Sikhs who know which are the true compositions of the Gurūs, but tomorrow there may be none. The hymns of the Gurūs should therefore be collected and compiled into a single volume. You may straightway start working with what is available here in our household, and arrange to procure what is not. Use the Gurmukhī script in your transcription." It was in this way that the Gurū Granth Sāhib came to be compiled (*Vārān*, XI.26).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

M.G.S.

GORDON (d. 1837), often miscalled Carron, an Anglo-Indian, entered the service of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh in 1820 as an infantry instructor on a salary of Rs 500 per month. Later, he was put in command of a battalion of artillery. In July 1822, his battalion received approbation from Allard and Ventura

and was ultimately incorporated in the Fauji-Khās. Gordon was now charged with raising a new cavalry regiment to be called Akāl Regiment. In November 1829, he was reprimanded by Raṅjīt Singh and imprisoned for nine months for using insolent language at a target-practice exercise. At the end of his imprisonment, the Mahārājā offered him command of an infantry battalion. He refused to accept it, and was dismissed from service. He expressed regrets and was reinstated in 1833 as commander of the Najīb battalion. He was killed in action in the battle of Jamrūd (1837).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785 — 1849*. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

GOSHṬĀN MIHARVĀN JĪ KĪĀN, by Soḍhī Harijī (d. 1696), is a biography of the author's father, Soḍhī Miharbān, written in anecdotal style of the *janam sākhīs*. Biographical details, however, are sparse; the work mainly contains theological discourses of Soḍhī Miharbān and his interpretations of *gurbānī*, the sacred utterances of the Gurūs. The author describes Miharbān as an incarnation of Shukdeva, a mythological Hindu sage, who was reborn (as Miharbān) with the sole aim of explaining the *gurbānī*. The exposition presented is however Harijī's own and does not always conform to Sikh principles and beliefs. There are 45 *goshṭīs* or discourses in all. A poetic composition at the end, a panegyric on Soḍhī Miharbān, probably by Harijī himself, is described as 46th *goshṭī* in some manuscripts. The language of the *Goshṭān* generally is a mixture of Hindi and Punjabi, though at places one does come across good specimens of chaste Punjabi prose of the time. The work has not so far been published. Two copies in manuscript form are preserved, one each in Central Public Library of Paṭiālā, (catalogue No. 2527) and Sikh Reference

Library, Amritsar (catalogue No. 3510). The latter manuscript was, however, lost in cataclysmic events of 1984.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kirpāl Singh, ed., *Janam Sākhī Paramprā*. Patiala, 1969
K.K.B.

GOSHṬĪ, from Sanskrit *goṣṭha* (*go* = cow + *stha* = place, i.e. cow-pen) means, secondarily, an assembly of people engaged in a discourse or debate on some metaphysical, theological or ethical point, thereby seeking to expound their respective views or tenets and revealing in the process their dialectical prowess and learning. The first recorded *goshṭī* in Punjabi literature is Gurū Nānak's *Sidha Goṣṭī* ("A Dialogue with the Siddhas"), included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib in *rāga Rāmkalī*, a musical measure favourite of the yogis. This dialogue in verse brings out the quintessence of Gurū Nānak's teaching, viz. how life lived in the world cherishing the Name of the Lord is to be preferred to *sannyāsa*, renunciation, or *haṭh yoga*, the practice of austerities. The scope of the *genre* was broadened in the seventeenth century to include, besides dialogue, a recital of the events of the life of a saint or mystic. This form was popularized by Manohar Dās Miharbān (AD 1581-1640) and his sons, Harijī and Chaturbhuj, who recorded *goshṭīs* while narrating the life-story of Gurū Nānak in their works *Pothī Sach Khand* and *Pothī Chaturbhuj*. The Gurū is presented in these *goshṭīs* in converse with a variety of people, saints and sinners, and with mythical characters. The object in each instance was to elucidate some aspect of his precept. The form was commonly employed to illustrate the teachings of holy men, saints and sūfis, and their lives.

T.S.

GOṢṬĪ BĀBĀ NĀNAK, lit. the discourses of Bābā [Gurū] Nānak dictated by Harijī, son of Soḍhī Miharbān, is an unpublished and

incomplete work (MS. No. 2306) preserved in the Sikh History Research Department at the Khālsā College at Amritsar, comprising 235 folios and 23 complete and two, one in the beginning and the other at the end, incomplete *goṣṭis*. The *goṣṭis* contained in this manuscript appear to be remnants of a large volume consisting of 287 *goṣṭis* presumed to have been lost for ever: the colophon appended to another manuscript (No. 427) available in the same department and since published under the title *Janamsākhī Sī Gurū Nānak Dev Jī* states that the six folios (*Sach Khaṇḍ Pothī*, *Harijī Pothī*, *Chaturbhuj Pothī*, *Kesho Rāi Pothī*, *Abhaipad Pothī* and *Prempad Pothī*) constituting the work contained 575 *goṣṭis* whereas only 228 of them, which comprised the first three of these six *pothīs*, have come down to us. None of the *goṣṭis* included in this manuscript is found among the 228 we are already familiar with. The colophon places the manuscript in 1707 Bk/AD 1650. Although the name is not mentioned, a likely conjecture is that the scribe was Kesho Dās who wrote *Harijī Pothī*, both of them having been written in the same year and in the same hand. In point of paleography, the formation of its characters resembles Bābā Mohan's *pothīs*. The two-line margin on each side of the page stands drawn without the aid of a ruler; the size of the letters is not uniform nor is there any consistency in the number of lines per page. The ink used is also of inferior quality and lacks brilliance. The paper is thick, greyish in colour and at places worm-eaten. The first nine folios, which contained a good part of the first *goṣṭi*, are missing, as also folios 145, 146 and all after folio No. 235. The *goṣṭis* included in this manuscript are exegetical in character and follow the Miharbān style: Gurū Nanak is shown sitting at his place in Kartārpur, a number of seekers come to him, the usual salutations follow and then questions on matters spiritual are asked which the Gurū answers

readily, of course, with reference to hymns of his own.

The hymns dealt with in the present collection, come from Rāga Gauṛī, Prabhātī, Sūhī, Mārū, Vaḍhaṅs, Rāmkalī, Malhār, Āsā, Gūjarī, Bilāval and Dhanāsari, and have been chosen mainly to explain the nature of God, soul and the world, man's aim in this life, the true path leading to its fulfilment, and the role of a true preceptor. Of unusual interest are, *goṣṭis* 12 and 18. The former takes the form of a dialogue between Jaidev and Gurū Nānak in which both explain their viewpoints about the Supreme Reality and the way in which union with Him can be achieved. Both rely on their own compositions. The latter gives the exegesis of one of his own compositions called *Alāhṇiān* (doleful songs, the elegies). Also of special interest are a number of hymns and *ślokas* from the pen of Sodhī Miharbān and his son, Harijī. They figure between *goṣṭis* numbered 17 and 18. One of the hymns by Miharbān is in imitation of Bhakta Dhannā's *Āratī*. Each of the *goṣṭis* ends with a *śloka* by Miharbān, providing thereby a sort of epilogue to the discourse concerned.

P.S.

GOUGH, SIR HUGH (1779-1869), commander of the British armies in the first and second Sikh wars, was born on 3 November 1779, at Woodtown, Limerick, Ireland. He joined British army service in 1793 and served at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the Peninsular wars under the Duke of Wellington. He came to India in 1837, and, after serving in the army in various capacities, became the Commander-in-Chief in 1843.

In spite of his experience as a soldier and his qualities of courage and resolution, Lord Gough did not prove the favourite of any of the three Governors-General under whom he served. Viscount Hardinge, in spite of having gallantly offered to serve

under him in the first Sikh war, was highly critical of Gough's conduct of operations at Alivāl, Ferozeshāh and Sabhrāoñ. Lord Dalhousie fought a private war with him during the Punjab campaign of 1848-49. He complained to the British cabinet that his wishes had been ignored, when, in August 1848, Gough's command had been extended on the advice of the Duke of Wellington. Dalhousie strongly disapproved of the movement of European troops to Ambālā and Fīrozpur in May 1848. Herbert Edwardes' investment of Multān and Frederick Currie's acquiescence in the movement of a British column to support him incensed Dalhousie. Lord Gough's refusal to dismiss General Whish for raising the ineffective siege of Multān greatly displeased him. Further annoyance came from the actions at Rāmnagar, Sadullāpur and Cheliāñvālā. Dalhousie openly charged the Commander-in-Chief with incompetency, and blamed him for incomplete actions and enormous losses.

Gough was responsible for the steady build-up on the Sutlej, but, unlike the political officers, he discounted the apprehension of a large-scale invasion of the British territories by the Sikhs. As the hostilities broke out, Gough moved forward towards Fīrozpur, ordering General Wheeler at Ludhiāñā to join the Army of the Sutlej. He fought an indecisive action at Mudkī on 18 December 1845 and advanced on Fīrozpur. On 21-22 December, Gough fought the Sikhs strongly entrenched at the village of Firozeshāh. It turned out to be one of the most fiercely contested battles in the annals of British warfare in India. The British loss amounted to 694 killed and 1,721 wounded. The British army, having sustained heavy losses in previous actions, was unprepared to launch an attack. It was short of men, food, ammunition and heavy guns, and shocked by the Sikh force, it lay badly mauled. On 8 February 1846, the convoy of mercy, with

reinforcements, men, stores, ammunition and heavy guns, arrived from Delhi. Two days later, Gough, in one of the fiercest battles, defeated the Sikh army, sustaining 2403 casualties.

In the second Sikh war (1848-49), Lord Gough crossed the Rāvī with an army of 24,404 men and 66 guns. Entering rapidly into the Rachnā Doāb, he fought an incomplete action at Rāmnagar on the banks of the Chenāb with the Sikhs under Sher Singh. The battle was neither brilliant nor complete. Dalhousie pronounced it "a sad affair with distressing result." At Cheliāñvālā (13 January 1849), the British army courted disaster when two of its cavalry brigades were almost wiped out by the Sikh *ghorcharhās*.

The British reverse at Cheliāñvālā raised a storm in England. Dalhousie called his Commander-in-Chief incompetent and accused him of fleeing the field from timidity. Within 24 hours of receiving his report, the Home Government appointed Sir Charles Napier to command the Indian army. But on 21 February, Lord Gough won a resounding victory at Gujrāt. Soon afterwards he resigned his command. On return to England, he was made a viscount. In 1862, he was given the rank of Field Marshal. He died at St. Helens, near Booterstown, West Dublin, on 2 March 1869.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gough, Sir C., and A.D. Innes, *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*. London, 1897
2. Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to Anglo-Sikh Wars*. Amritsar, 1955
3. _____ *The British Occupation of the Panjab*. Patiala, 1956
4. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1956
5. Cook, H.C.B., *The Sikh Wars 1845-49*. Delhi, 1975
6. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Princeton, 1966

GOULD, JOHN (d. 1842), an English soldier of fortune who arrived at Lahore with his brother-in-law Colonel Van Cortlandt. He took up service under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh in 1834. He commanded a battalion of the Sikh army and remained in service for eight years till his death in 1842 at Fīrozpur.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785-1849*. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

GOVIND, BHĀĪ, a Bhaṇḍārī Khatrī, embraced the Sikh faith at the hands of Gurū Aṅgad Dev. Bhāi Gurdās, in *Varāṇ XI.15*, calls him *gun-gāhak*, i.e. buyer of virtue alone.

See KHĀNŪ, BHĀĪ

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhāṇ dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāh Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.D.

GRANTH GURBILĀS PĀTSHĀHĪ 6 (*granth* = volume, book; *gurbilās* = life-story of the Gurū; *pātshāhī 6* = the spiritual-preceptor, sixth in the order of succession), is a versified account, in Punjabi, of the life of Gurū Hargobind, Nānak VI. The manuscript, preserved in the Pañjāb University Library, Chaṇḍigarh, under accession No. 1176, is of anonymous authorship. The date of its composition is also not known. The condition of the paper, the formation of the letters and the style of writing point to a comparatively recent date. The manuscript comprises 135 folios, each folio having 30 (fifteen + fifteen) lines. *Chaupāi* and *dohirā* are the metres most commonly used, with occasional interspersing of *paurī*, *rasāval nishānī* and *narāj*.

The contents of the *Gurbilās* are almost identical with those of the other *Gurbilās*,

commonly attributed to Kavi Sohan. There are many dates given in the text but most of them do not tally with those commonly accepted in the Sikh tradition. The author nowhere refers to the works he relied upon, though he does state that Gurū Hargobind's life had been presented before him in great detail and that he was narrating it only in brief. The entire volume is divided into several parts, each part dealing with some important episode from the Gurū's life.

D.S.

GRANTHĪ, from the Sanskrit *granthika* (a relater or narrator), is a person who reads the *granth*, Sanskrit *grantha* (composition, treatise, book, text). The terms are derived from the Sanskrit *grath* which means "to fasten, tie or string together, to compose (a literary work)." In Sikh usage, *granth* refers especially to the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the Scripture, and the term *granthī* is used for the officiant whose main duty it is to read the Holy Book in public.

The *granthī* is the principal religious official of Sikhism, but should not be thought of as a "priest" in the usual sense. Priestly offices of other major South Asian and Western religious systems typically rest on conceptions of a fundamental separation between their officers and those to whom they minister. Hereditary Brāhmaṇ priests are distinct in virtue of having inherited unique religious properties such as specific texts and temples, or at least a religious rank or status that sets them inherently apart from those they serve. Priests, ministers, and rabbis in the Judeo-Christian tradition are often thought of as receiving a "calling" or "election" that others have not heard, and are ritually "ordained" into a special ministerial group within the community that sets them apart from "lay" members and entitles them to special esoteric knowledge not generally accessible. But the office of Granthī is defined by common practice and

the role of Granthī in any ritual can in principle be taken by any Sikh. There is no ordination of a Granthī apart from initiation as a Sikh, and the relationship between a Granthī and any other Sikh is one of perfect equality of status and religious importance.

The Granthī is the custodian of the Holy Book in the *gurdwārā*, the Sikh place of worship. He ceremonially opens it in the morning and closes it in the evening. In addition, he performs morning and evening services, which include the recitation of specific *bānīs* or compositions from Scripture, and leads the *ardās* or supplicatory prayer. He may also perform or lead *kīrtan*, i.e. devotional singing of the hymns. He conducts the rites of passage, and performs *pāth* or complete reading of the Scripture on behalf of the *saṅgat* (local Sikh community) or individuals and families, in the *gurdwārā* or at private homes. In small villages or urban localities, he is responsible for maintaining and managing the *gurdwārā* with public donations and offerings. Larger *gurdwārās* have their local managing committees with Granthīs employed on regular salary. Since Sikhs do not have a hereditary priestly caste or class nor an hierarchical body of ordained priests and clergymen, any person competent to perform the duties and acceptable to local community can be appointed a Granthī. He should of course be a baptized Sikh of blameless character, leading a simple life of a householder according to the ideals and traditional code of Sikh conduct. Ideally, a Granthī is fundamentally an ideal for a Sikh in general stressing piety and humility. The Sikh Granthīs generally wear turbans of white, black, blue or yellow colour, long shirts or cloaks and *chūyīdār* trousers, in the manner of breeches with folds at the ankles. They carry a white sash or scarf hung loosely around the neck. Their duties and obligations are set out by example rather than by

rule or dogma.

Historically, the first Granthī of the Sikh faith was the venerable Bhāi Buḍḍhā (1506-1631), who was so designated by Gurū Arjan to attend upon the Ādi Granth (Holy Granth) as it was installed for the first time in Harimandar at Amritsar. This was the origin of the office. Since copies of the Ādi Granth began to be made immediately after the completion of the first recension and as the number of *saṅgats* increased, more Granthīs were needed for service. The office of Granthī became particularly significant after the Ādi Granth was proclaimed Gurū by Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) just before his death. The most eminent Granthī after Bhāi Buḍḍhā at Harimandar, the Golden Temple of modern days, was Bhāi Manī Singh, appointed to the exalted station by Gurū Gobind Singh's widow, Mātā Sundarī, in 1721. He met with a martyr's death in 1737. During the subsequent period of persecution and turbulence, while the Sikhs were fighting a guerilla battle for survival, hiding in hills, forests and deserts, Sikh shrines were looked after by priests of the Nirmalā and Udāsī sects who being recluse *sādhus* were spared by the persecuting Mughal and Afghān rulers. Most of these early custodians or *granthīs* were dedicated men and some of them were eminent scholars, too. But later, as large *jāgīrs* or land grants were made to these shrines by Sikh rulers, corruption crept in and the *gurdwārās* had to be freed from the hold of *mahants* (as the custodians called themselves) by launching a prolonged agitation. Ever since, the *granthīs* are by and large *amritdhārī* (baptized) Sikhs. They are addressed respectfully as *bābājī*, *giānījī* or *bhājī*. There exist several institutions for the training of Granthīs, the best known among them being the Shahīd Sikh Missionary College at Amritsar run by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, a democratically elected body legally entrusted with the man-

agement of the shrines and the conduct in general of religious affairs of the Sikhs.

M.J.L.

GRANTH SRĪ GURMAT NIRŅAYA SĀGAR by Paṇḍit Tārā Siṅgh Narotam is a pioneer work on Sikh theology and philosophy. Completed in 1934 BK/AD 1877 and published in 1955 BK/AD 1898 by Būṭā Siṅgh at the Anglo-Sanskrit Press, Lahore, the book is written in the Gurmukhī script and, in its printed form, contains at the end some tracts as well. These tracts include *Prīkhiā Prakaraṇ*, *Akāl Mūrati Darshan* and *Vāhigurū Sabadārth*. The book deals with points such as the status of the Gurū Granth Sāhib as revelation, the need of a *ṭīkā* or exegesis, the philosophy of *bhakti*, the doctrine of *avatār* or incarnation and Gurū Nānak as an *avatār*, the *rahit* or Sikh code of conduct, Sikh ethics, the relevance of rites and rituals and the importance of Gurū in the Sikh tradition. Another important point that the book makes is that Sikhism is a distinct and separate faith and not just a sect of Hinduism.

D.S.

GUĀL DĀS, BHĀĪ, son of Chhoṭe Mall and grandson of Bhāi Paiṛā, belonged to the family of Chhibbar Brāhmaṇs, originally of the village of Kariālā, Jehlum district, now in Pakistan, who served successive Gurūs from Gurū Arjan (1563-1606) onwards. According to Bhaṭṭ Vahī records, he accompanied Gurū Tegh Bahādur (1621-75) on his journey to the eastern parts in 1665-70.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Padam, Piārā Siṅgh, and Giānī Garja Siṅgh, eds., *Gurū kiān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986
2. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1982

P.S.P.

GUISE, WALTER (d. 1857), tutor to Mahārājā Duleep Siṅgh from 1850 to 1853 at Fatehgarh in present-day Uttar Pradesh to

which place the young prince had been taken by the British after the occupation of the Punjab. In contemporary records, he has been described as “a very good fellow, patient and attentive, of mild manners and gentlemanly appearance and demeanour.” Before Duleep Siṅgh was to convert to Christianity, Guise was assigned to instruct him in the gospel as well, and he was one of those who signed the register of witnesses to the baptism of Mahārājā Duleep Siṅgh. In 1853, Walter Guise received an offer from an indigo planter near Fatehgarh to take charge of his plantation as a partner. When in 1857 the Mahārājā’s house at Fatehgarh was pillaged and most inmates killed by mutineers, Walter Guise was among the Europeans who lost their lives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ganda Singh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement in the Panjab (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence)*. Patiala, 1972
2. Login, Lady, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*. Patiala, 1970

K.S.T.

GŪJARĪ KĪ VĀR MAHALĀ ੩ is one of the four *vārs* composed by Gurū Amar Dās structured in the form of a *vār* or folk poem adapted to a spiritual theme.

The *Vār*, as the title indicates, falls in the Gūjarī musical measure, fifth of the thirty-one *rāgas* in the Holy Book. This *rāga* is usually sung a little after dawn, though in the Sikh tradition considerable freedom is exercised in choosing the hour for reciting this and other *rāgas*. At the head of the *Vār* is given the direction as to the tune to which it had best be sung. The tune recommended is that of the ballad eulogizing the chivalry and physical prowess of Sikandar who attacked and vanquished Birāham (Ibrāhīm), kidnapper of the young bride of a Brāhmaṇ.

The *Vār* comprises twenty-two *paūṛīs* or

stanzas of five rhyming lines each. Each of the *paṁṁ*s is preceded by two *ślokas* or couplets or double couplets constituting a quatrain. All *ślokas* are of Gurū Amar Dās's composition too, except one, preceding the fourth *paṁṁ*, which is by Bhakta Kabīr and which is also repeated among his 243 *ślokas* recorded towards the close of the Scripture under the title "Salok Bhagat Kabīr Jiu Ke" (*ślokas* of Bhakta Kabīr). As in the case of other *vārs*, the *ślokas* were added to the *paṁṁ*s by Gurū Arjan at the time of the compilation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib.

The technique of composition of *vārs* demands collocation of opposites of many types, some side by side, others successively in different units of the composition. Confrontation of ideas, emotions and persons is presented again and again to reinforce the polarization in the mind of the reader. *Gūjarī kī Vār* maintains throughout a contrasted parallel to wean the mind of the seeker from *māyā*, illusory pursuits, and turn it towards devotion. The pairs of opposites here may be formulated in a variety of ways. These may be visualized as contrasted characters of *gurmukh* and *manmukh* or as contrasted attitudes towards truth and falsehood, good and evil, the material and the spiritual. The interrelationship of the forces surrounding both the positive and the negative poles constitutes the central theme. Around the positive pole revolve love of God's feet, practice of God's Name, possession of God's grace, reflection on Gurū's word, obedience to Gurū's will, true way of life, everlastingness, and the *gurmukh*, whereas the negative pole is surrounded by love of *māyā*, otherness, uncertainty, worldliness, obliquity, sleep, i.e. ignorance, suffering, futility of life, and the *manmukh*. All the items/forces surrounding each pole are related to one another and some of them are in a symbolic garb and inwardly mean the same thing as some other items. The positive and similar other items could be

subsumed under the concept of truth and the negative ones and their correlates under falsehood.

This universe came into being under the Will of God. Initially, there was complete vacuum and the only existence then was that of the Lord alone who Himself was *niraṅkār*, i.e. without form. He created this world along with *māyā* and its triple progeny, the three *guṇas*, and made man attached to it. However, man can see through the illusory *māyā* and achieve union with the Lord provided he meets the true Gurū with the grace of God, and under instruction of the Gurū sheds his ego and constantly meditates on the Lord's Name. This theme has been brought out with the help of pairs of opposites — two contrasted characters, *gurmukh* and *manmukh*, and two contrasted attitudes relating to truth and falsehood.

Hukam, God's command, which caused the creation of this Universe of *māyā* and its triple progeny, is also His own creation: in fact, it is an aspect of Him. It is under His *hukam* that man takes either to *māyā* and forgets his Creator or to his spiritual Preceptor who enables him to become worthy of acceptance at the Divine portal. The former are called *manmukh* and the latter *gurmukh* and the text points to the contrast of their moral conduct and psychological motivations. Since both of them are equally subject to His *hukam* which in due course brings all men under Divine grace and liberates them, the former do not stand condemned eternally. *Hukam* which causes this polarity abolishes it as well.

The Sikh way of life as expounded in this *Vār*, as also in the rest of the *bāṇī* in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, expects of the seeker to keep constant guard over the evil propensities. He is told that the most potent weapon to fight ego and its progeny — lust, greed, anger, pride, infatuation — is the Name of God. Constant remembrance of His name prepares man both intellectually and emotionally for

submission to His *hukam* willingly and spontaneously which, in turn, leads him to the realization of Truth.

A special feature of the *Vār* is the sustained expression in it of wonder at the Divine sublimity which helps arouse emotions of awe in human mind not only with regard to God but also with regard to everything relating to Him. The true Gurū who shows the way to God, the way itself, the man who treads this path and the fruits of his labours are all sources of wonder. The emotion of awe has two dimensions. When man experiences it, the objective reality that stimulates it is magnified immeasurably; on the other side, the subjective self undergoing it is felt to be diminished in an inverse ratio. The expression of this emotion is intended to arouse in man feelings of humility. Without humility which implies shedding of ego and surrendering oneself completely to the Will of God, neither the greatness of God's *hukam* is realized nor human action subordinated to it. Every quality of God is the expression of His *hukam* which is beyond human comprehension. The infinity of God is in fact the infinity of His *hukam* and the experience of awe is an experience of the immensity of *hukam* and its manifestation and nature and humanity. Humility and obedience to *hukam* are also related as means to an end: humility leads to *hukam* and *hukam* to Truth.

Absence of humility, or its reverse, i.e. the presence of pride or ego, renders man incapable of having faith in a Gurū. He fails to break his own shell and come out into the vast open world. Such an ego-ridden person always regards his own limited self as overwhelmingly important and fails to be impressed by the infinity and immensity of the Lord Creator. Man must liberate himself from what in the Sikh tradition are called five vices as well as from their common source, *haumai*, which, in turn, results from attachment to *māyā*. A *manmukh* re-

sponds negatively to the urge of his *ātman*, which is part of the Eternal, and suffers. He is content to remain bound down to the five vices which lead him from one crisis to another in his life. Only by developing humility and surrendering himself to God's Will, he breaks out of his obstinacy and becomes the object of His grace. It is the guidance of the true Gurū and His grace which enable him to swim across this world-ocean triumphantly.

The language used in *Gūjarī kī Vār*, as elsewhere in the compositions of Gurū Amar Dās, is simple Punjabi of the Mājāhā (central) tract of the Punjab — a region where he spent almost all of his creative life. It certainly has some influence of the Sant Bhākhā, but the text is almost free from words of other languages which were not by then completely assimilated into the Punjabi idiom. The subtlety of thought nowhere hinders the lucid flow of poetry. The symbol as well as image used is traditional, but they both do enrich the poetic quality of the *Vār* which eloquently sums up the Sikh way of life as enunciated by Gurū Nānak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kohli, Surindar Singh, *A Critical Study of Adī Granth*. Delhi, 1961
2. Talib, Gurbachan Singh, *Bani of Guru Amar Das*. Delhi, 1979
2. Bishan Singh, Giānī, *Bāī Vārānī Saḥīk*. Amritsar, n.d. Rm.S.

GŪJARĪ KĪ VĀR, a composition in the form of folk balladry or a *vār*, by Gurū Arjan included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib under *Gūjarī rāga*, one of the thirty-one musical measures into which hymns in the Scripture are cast. The poem comprises twenty-one *pauṛīs* or stanzas, with two *ślokas* preceding each. The *pauṛīs* as well as the *ślokas* are of the composition of Gurū Arjan. Whereas all the *pauṛīs*, except the 20th which comprises five lines, are of eight lines each, the *ślokas*

except those preceding *paūrī* 1 and 20 and the first of the two *ślokas* added to *paūrī* 2, are of two lines each. Unlike most of the other *Vārs* in the Gurū Granth Sāhib which were composed in *paūrīs* alone and to which *ślokas* by different Gurūs were added by Gurū Arjan at the time of compilation of the Scripture, this *Vār* seems to have been composed originally in its present order.

The *Vār* lauds the God Almighty who is the Creator of all that exists. This universe is not only His creation, but also true like its Creator (1). All beings, all gods and goddesses and all scriptures sing His praises (2). Man must not forget even for a moment the Supreme Lord (4). A person whom He makes the object of His grace lives under the guidance of the true Gurū, thereby annulling his duality. All his doubts and sorrows cease and he so attunes himself to His will that he attains liberation while still living in this world. He overcomes his ego and remembers Him in the company of the holy under the guidance of the Gurū. But this becomes possible for man only through His grace (6). Man must seek the protection of the True Lord whose Will is supreme in the world. Men are prey to the Five Evils which not even ascetics and yogīs are able to repel. It is only the True Lord who helps one overcome these (15). Those who remember Him will be saved. The ego-ridden suffer on the wheel of transmigration (20). He who meditates on His Name attunes himself to His Will and attains liberation (21).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kohli, Surindar Singh, *A Critical Study of Adi Granth*. Delhi, 1951
2. Bishan Singh, Giāni, *Bāi Vārān Saṭik*. Amrītsar, n.d. R.S.J.

GUJARĪ, MĀTĀ (1624-1705), was the daughter of Bhāi Lāl Chand Subhikkhī and Bishan Kaur, a pious couple of Kartārpur, in

present-day Jalandhar district of the Punjab. Lāl Chand had migrated from his ancestral village, Lakhnaur, in Ambālā district, to settle at Kartārpur where his daughter Gujarī was married to (Gurū) Tegh Bahādur on 4 February 1633. The betrothal had taken place four years earlier when Tegh Bahādur had come to Kartārpur in the marriage party of his elder brother, Sūrāj Mall. Bishan Kaur, the mother, had been charmed by the handsome face of Tegh Bahādur and she and her husband pledged the hand of their daughter to him. After the marriage ceremony, the couple came to reside in Amrītsar. Bride Gujarī won the appreciation of everyone. "Like bridegroom like bride" records *Gurbilās Chhevin Pātshāhī*. "Gujarī is by destiny made worthy of Tegh Bahādur in every way." In 1635, Mātā Gujarī left Amrītsar with the holy family and went to reside at Kīratpur, in the Śivālik foothills. After the death of Gurū Hargobind in 1644, she came with her husband and mother-in-law, Mātā Nānakī, to Bakālā, now in Amrītsar district of the Punjab. There they lived in peaceful seclusion, Tegh Bahādur spending his days and nights in meditation and Gujarī performing the humble duties of a pious and devoted housewife. After he was installed Gurū in 1664, Gurū Tegh Bahādur, accompanied by Mātā Gujarī, went on a visit to Amrītsar, travelling on to Mākhovāl, near Kīratpur, where a new habitation, named Chakk Nānakī (later Anandpur) was founded in the middle of 1665. Soon after this, Gurū Tegh Bahādur along with his mother, Nānakī, and wife, Gujarī, set out on a long journey to the east. Leaving the family at Paṭnā, he travelled on to Bengal and Assam. At Paṭnā, Mātā Gujarī gave birth to a son on 22 December 1666. The child was named Gobind Rāi, the illustrious Gurū Gobind Singh of later day. Gurū Tegh Bahādur returned to Paṭnā in 1670 for a brief stay before he left for Delhi, instructing the family to proceed to Lakhnaur, now in Haryāṇā.

Mātā Gujarī, accompanied by the aged Mātā Nānakī and young Gobind Rāi, reached, on 13 September 1670, Lakhnaur where she stayed with her brother, Mehar Chand, until she was joined by her husband. An old well just outside Lakhnaur village and reverently called *Mātāji dā Khūh* or *Mātā Gujarī dā Khūh* still commemorates her visit. From Lakhnaur the family proceeded to Chakk Nānakī where Gurū Tegh Bahādur rejoined them in March 1671 after spending some more time travelling through the Mālvā region and meeting *saingals*.

At Chakk Nānakī, 11 July 1675 was a momentous day when Gurū Tegh Bahādur left for Delhi prepared to make the supreme sacrifice. She showed courage at the time of parting and bore the ultimate trial with fortitude. Gurū Tegh Bahādur was executed in Delhi on 11 November 1675, and, Gurū Gobind Singh then being very young, the responsibility of managing the affairs at Chakk Nānakī, initially, fell to her. She was assisted in the task by her younger brother, Kirpāl Chand.

When in face of a prolonged siege by hostile hill *rājās* and Mughal troops Chakk Nānakī (Anandpur) had to be evacuated by Gurū Gobind Singh on the night of 5-6 December 1705, Mātā Gujarī with her younger grandsons, Zorāwar Singh and Fateh Singh, aged nine and seven year respectively, was separated from the main body while crossing the rivulet Sarsā. The three of them were led by their servant, Gaṅgū, to the latter's village, Saheṛī, near Moriṇḍā in present-day Ropar district, where he treacherously betrayed them to the local Muslim officer. Mātā Gujarī and her grandsons were arrested on 8 December and confined in Sirhind Fort in what is referred to in Sikh chronicles as Ṭhaṇḍā Burj, the cold tower. As the children were summoned to appear in court from day to day, the grandmother kept urging them to remain steadfast in their faith. On 11 December they were ordered to be

bricked up alive in a wall, but, since the masonry crumbled before it covered their heads, they were executed the following day. Mātā Gujarī died the same day in the tower. Seth Ṭodar Mall, a kind-hearted wealthy man of Sirhind, cremated the three dead bodies the next day.

At Fatehgarh Sāhib, near Sirhind, there is a shrine called Gurdwārā Mātā Gujarī (Ṭhaṇḍā Burj). This is where Mātā Gujarī spent the last four days of her life. About one kilometre to the southeast of it is Gurdwārā Jotī Sarūp, marking the cremation site. Here, on the ground floor, a small domed pavilion in white marble is dedicated to Mātā Gujarī. The Sikhs from far and near come to pay homage to her memory, especially during a three-day fair held from 11-13 Poh, Bikramī dates falling in the last week of December.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Trilochan Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1967
2. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1982
3. Saubir Singh, *Iti Jini Kari*. Jalandhar, 1981

A.C.B.

GUJJAR, BHĀĪ, a blacksmith by profession, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Aṅgad. Once he came to see the Gurū and said, "Lord, I am a workman, always busy with my trade. How shall I be liberated?" The Gurū advised him to recite the *Japu (jī)* early in the morning and work for the poor in the name of the Gurū. Bhāi Gujjar, says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, not only engaged himself in the service of other Sikhs, but also reiterated to them the tenets of the faith.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Sri Gur Prātāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

GUJJAR SINGH (1879-1975), prominent Ghadr leader, was born in 1879, the son of Shām Singh of Bhaknā Kalān, in Amritsar district. He served in the 4th Cavalry for six years. In 1909, he migrated to Shanghai (China) and got himself enlisted in the police. In 1913, the Ghadr party's weekly, the *Ghadr*, came to Shanghai through the *granthi* of the local Gurdwārā, who handed over the packet to the police. Somehow a copy came into Gujjar Singh's hands. He read it avidly and he read it repeatedly to his friends. The *Ghadr* awakened in him the urge to serve the motherland. He collected 100 dollars and sent them to the Yugāntar Āshram in San Francisco as his contribution. He arranged to receive the *Ghadr* in a bundle through a Japanese merchant and distributed copies among fellow Indians by night.

Bhāi Sundar Singh and Dr Mathurā Singh travelled to Shanghai to activate the Indian inhabitants. Gujjar Singh, along with Bābā Vasākhā Singh, took a leading part in organizing a Ghadr group. He started addressing weekly meetings of Indians at the Shanghai Gurdwārā. The *Ghadr* paper was read to the audience and they were exhorted to help India get rid of the foreign yoke and establish a system of government based on equality, liberty and fraternity. Because of his work for the Ghadr movement, Gujjar Singh was removed from the police department.

On the outbreak of World War I, Gujjar Singh responded to the call of the Ghadr party for Indians to march to India. He bought some pistols in Shanghai and concealed them under false bottoms of buckets and boxes, and succeeded in smuggling these into India via Hong Kong and Penang. He returned to India in October 1914 in the first group which reached Calcutta after the *Komagata Maru*. He did some preparatory work for the party until the arrival of the main body of the Ghadr group from America. Their first meeting in the Mājha region was

held on 13 October 1914 under Gujjar Singh's guidance. He was elected a member of the party's central committee in India. Accompanied by Kartār Singh Sarābhā and Harnām Singh Siālkoṭī, he met Mahātmā Gāndhī and asked for help which was denied. He attended the next meeting of the party on the occasion of the amāvas fair at Tarn Tāran on 17 November 1914. He was arrested at the fair but was soon released.

He was again arrested at Chhehartā railway station. The trial court records the date of his arrest as 18 November 1914. He was coerced into revealing the details of political activities of Indians in Shanghai. He was tried in the first Lahore conspiracy case, but was acquitted, re-arrested soon after and again tried in Lahore conspiracy case II (1916). This time he was convicted and sentenced to transportation for life, with forfeiture of property. He was serving his term in Hazārī Bāgh jail in Bihār, when he in a most daring feat escaped from custody along with 17 of his comrades. He was re-arrested and kept successively in jail in Hazārī Bāgh, Madrās and Puṇe. In Puṇe jail, he sat fasting to assert his right to wearing *kachhahirā* (drawers) as prescribed in the *Khālsā* code. He made a bid to escape from jail, but did not succeed this time. From Puṇe he was shifted to Lahore and was released in 1930 on completion of his sentence. He returned to his village, Bhaknā, and continued to take part in social and political activities.

Gujjar Singh died on 6 September 1975.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Saiṅsarā, Gurcharan Singh, *Ghadr Pārṭī dā Itihās*, part I. Jalandhar, 1969
2. Jagjīt Singh, *Ghadr Pārṭī Lahir*. Delhi, 1979
3. Jas, Jasvant Singh, *Bābā Gurdīt Singh (Kāmāgātā Mārū)*. Jalandhar, 1970
4. Mohan, Kamlesh, *Militant Nationalism in the Punjab, 1919-1935*. Delhi, 1985

G.S.D.

GUJJAR SINGH BHANGĪ (d. 1788), one of the triumvirate who ruled over Lahore for thirty years before its occupation by Ranjīt Singh, was son of a cultivator of very modest means, Natthā Singh. Strong and well-built, Gujjar Singh received the vows of the *Khālsā* at the hands of his maternal grandfather Gurbakhsh Singh Roṛānvālā, who presented him with a horse and recruited him a member of his band. As Gurbakhsh Singh was growing old, he made Gujjar Singh head of his band. Soon the band was united to the force of Harī Singh, head of the Bhangī *misl* or chiefship. Gujjar Singh set out on a career of conquest and plunder. In 1765, he along with Lahiṇā Singh, adopted son of Gurbakhsh Singh, and Sobhā Singh, an associate of Jai Singh Kanhaiyā, captured Lahore, from the Afghāns. As Lahiṇā Singh was senior in relationship, being his maternal uncle, Gujjar Singh allowed Lahiṇā Singh to take possession of the city and the fort, himself occupying eastern part of the city, then a jungle. Gujjar Singh erected a mud fortress and invited people to settle there. He sank wells to supply water. A mosque was built for Muslims. The area, the site of present-day railway station of Lahore, still bears his name and is known as Qilā Gujjar Singh. Gujjar Singh next captured Eminābād, Wazīrābād, Sodhrā and about 150 villages in Gujranwālā district. He then took Gujrat from Sultān Muqarrab Khān whom he defeated under the walls of the city in December 1765, capturing both the city and the adjoining country, and making Gujrat his headquarters. Next year, he overran Jammū, seized Islāmgarh, Puñchh, Dev Baṭālā and extended his territory as far as the Bhimbar hills in the north and the Mājhā country in the south. During Ahmad Shah Durrānī's eighth invasion, Gujjar Singh along with other Sikh *sardārs* offered him strong opposition. When in January 1767, the Durrānī commander-in-chief Jahān Khān reached Amritsar at the head of 15,000

troops, the Sikh *sardārs* routed the Afghān horde. Soon afterwards Gujjar Singh laid siege to the famous fort of Rohtās, held by the Gakkhar, with the assistance of Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkīā, who was on the most amicable terms with him and who gave his daughter, Rāj Kaur, in marriage to his son, Sāhib Singh. Gujjar Singh subjugated the warlike tribes in the northwestern Punjab and occupied portions of Poṭhohār, Rāwalpīṇḍī and Hasan Abdāl.

Gujjar Singh died at Lahore in 1788.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Punjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Delhi, 1978
3. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963
4. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

GUJJARVĀL, village in Ludhiānā district, 30 km from the city (30°-44'N, 75°-43'E), has an historical shrine called Gurdwārā Gurū Sar Mañji Sāhib Chhevīn Pātshāhī. Gurū Hargobind, during his tour of the Mālvā country in 1631, halted here and put up camp near a pool. Chaudharī Phatūhī of Gujjarvāl served him with devotion. But he became proud of the service he had rendered, and returned to the Gurū in state, attended by servants and richly attired, with a hawk on his hand, and asked the Gurū if he could do anything for him. The Gurū asked him to give him his hawk. Chaudharī Phatūhī was taken aback at this unexpected demand. He prized his hawk highly and did not want to part with it. When he hesitated and began to make excuses, the Gurū told him not to bother and keep the bird. It so happened that, as Phatūhī returned home, his hawk swallowed a thong and was acutely sick. All efforts to cure him failed. Phatūhī

realized his error in denying the bird to the Gurū. He took the hawk to the Gurū and supplicated him to save his bird's life. The Gurū patted the hawk. He immediately vomitted the thong and got well. Phatūhī offered the hawk to the Gurū, who, however, declined saying that if Phatūhī had shed his pride, he need not make any further offering. The Gurū in fact bestowed a turban on Phatūhī which is still preserved by his descendants as a holy relic.

The Gurdwārā building, constructed in 1935, is in a walled compound. The *prakāsh asthān* is under the cupola of a wide dome, about 10 metres across. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in a wooden cabin, with glass panes covering its front and sides, and a handsome lotus dome and pinnacle, all covered with zinc sheets. In front of the *prakāsh asthān* is a large rectangular hall with a verandah on three sides. The square tank, Gurū Sar, is on one side of the long hall. The Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee manages the Gurdwārā through a local committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

GUJRĀT (32°-34'N, 74°-5'E), a district town in Pakistan, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind, who stayed here for some time on his way back from Kashmīr in 1620. Here he was met by the famous Muslim divine Shāh Daulā, well known to a local Sikh, Bhāi Garhīā, who also served as a *masand* in Kashmīr preaching Gurū Nānak's word. Gurdwārā Chheviṅ Pātshāhī, near the Kābulī Gate at Gujrāt, remained affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee until it was abandoned in the wake of mass migrations caused by the partition of the Punjab in 1947.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, Gujrāt district formed part of Chār Mahāl, i.e. four revenue units of Siālkoṭ, Pasrūr, Auraṅgābād and Gujrāt, which had been ceded by the Mughals to the Afghān invader Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in 1752, but had fallen to the Sikhs following the defeat of the Afghān general Shahāñchī Khān in 1797. Gujrāt was occupied by Sāhib Singh of the Bhaṅgī *misl*, who lost it to Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh in 1801. The final and decisive battle of the second Anglo-Sikh war was fought at Gujrāt. After the battle of Cheliānvālā, the Sikh forces had advanced towards the Chenāb and entrenched themselves between the town of Gujrāt and the river. The battle took place on 21 February 1849 when the Sikhs after a grim fight lost to the British.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

GULĀBĀ, a former *masand* or local *saṅgat* leader who, after the abolition of the office by Gurū Gobind Singh in 1698-99, had settled at Māchhivārā in present-day Ludhiāṇā district of the Punjab, faithfully served the Gurū and his three companions coming out after the battle of Chamkaur (December 1705). Gulābā, finding them in the forest outside Māchhivārā, brought them to his house inside the village and put them up in his *chubārā*, room on the first floor. He served them food and arranged their escape further abroad with the help of two Paṭhāns (See GHANĪ KHĀN). The site of Gulābā's house is now marked by Gurdwārā Chubārā Sāhib at Māchhivārā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1966

3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909.

P.S.P.

GULĀB CHAND, son of Bhāi Sādhū of village Mallā, in Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab, and Bībī Vīro, daughter of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), fought along with his four brothers in the battle of Bhaṅgāñī (18 September 1688), near Pāoṅṭā in present-day Himāchal Pradesh, in which two of his brothers, Saṅgrām Shāh and Jīt Mall, were killed. Gurū Gobind Singh describes Gulāb Chand, in his account of the battle in his poetical work, *Bachitra Nāṭak*, as a mighty hero "whose face lightened up at the prospect of joining action on the field of battle."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1966
M.G.S.

GULĀBDĀSĪĀS, a sect subscribing to epicurean ethics, were the followers of one Prītam Dās, originally an Udāsī *sādhū*. Prītam Dās's principal disciple was Gulāb Dās after whom the members of the sect came to be known as Gulābdāsīās. Gulāb Dās, son of Hamirā, was born in 1809 at the village of Raṭaul, near Tarn Tāran, in Amritsar district. He had served as a trooper in the army of Mahārājā Sher Singh. On the abrogation of the Sikh rule, he became a follower of Prītam Dās, succeeding him on his death as the head of the sect. He gave the sect its peculiar character and philosophy. Among his several Punjabi compositions *Updes Bilās* and *Pothī Gulāb Chaman Dī* contain his principal tenets. According to Gulāb Dās, man is essentially of the same substance as the Deity, into whom he will eventually be absorbed. He discountenanced the veneration of saints and prophets and forbade all religious customs and ceremonies, claiming pleasure and gratifica-

tion of the senses the only desirable ends. His followers wore costly dresses and freely indulged in all kinds of excesses, though they are said to have great abhorrence for lying. They dressed themselves in several different styles. Some wore white, others preserved the Udāsī garb; some clad themselves like Nirmalās, while some went shaven. The sect had only a very small following and this also began dwindling when their entry into Paṭiālā state was banned by the Sikh Mahārājā owing to their licentious ways. According to the 1891 census figures, they numbered 763 (464 Hindus and 299 Sikhs). Before the partition of the Punjab in 1947, the sect had its headquarters at the village of Chaṭṭhe, near Kasūr, now in Pakistan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Crooke, W., *The Tribes and Castes of the North Western India*. Delhi, 1974
2. Ibbetson, Denzil, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*. Patiala, 1970

Jg.S.

GULĀB KAUR, RĀÑĪ (d. 1838), daughter of a landlord of Jagdeo in Amritsar district, was married to Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh by the rite of *chādar andāzī*, marriage by permanently knotting lady's scarf.

Raṅī Gulāb Kaur died in 1838.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ganda Singh, ed., *Maharaja Ranjit Singh (First Death Centenary Volume)*. Amritsar, 1939

S.S.B.

GULĀB RĀI and his brother Shyām Singh, sons of Dīp Chand, grandsons of Sūraj Mall and great-grandsons of Gurū Hargobind, resided with Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) at Anandpur. At the time of the evacuation of Anandpur in 1705, the Gurū sent them with a letter of introduction to the Rājā of Nāhan, who gave them a village for

their maintenance. When the situation so permitted, they returned to Anandpur, Gulāb Rāi purchasing the town from the Rājā of Bilāspur. Gulāb Rāi restored the place to its former position as a centre of Sikh faith, but he started pretending to be the Gurū. Sitting at the place where Gurū Gobind Singh used to sit with the *saṅgat*, he accepted obeisance and offerings of the devotees. Gurbakḥsh Udāsī, whom Gurū Gobind Singh had left behind in Anandpur to look after the shrines and who was now staying at the one sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur, taxed him in vain with heresy and, according to Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, cursed him with the discontinuance of his line. Gulāb Rāi's four sons predeceased him and he himself died of grief. His wife managed the *gaddī* or seat for some time but soon died having bequeathed the *gaddī* to Surjan Singh (d. 1815), a grandson of Shyām Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārikh Gurū Khālsā* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
3. Macauliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909
M.G.S.

GULĀB SĪNGH (d. 1759), founder of the Dallevālīā clan, was born the son of Shardhā Rām at the village of Dallevāl, near Derā Bābā Nānak on the left bank of the River Rāvī, 50 km northeast of Amritsar. In his younger days, he ran a grocery shop in his village and was known as Gulābā Khatri. Having heard tales of heroism of the Sikhs, he came to Amritsar, waited upon Nawāb Kapūr Singh, and volunteered to become a Sikh. He was advised to grow long hair, practise horsemanship, archery and the use of sword and to come again after an year. Gulābā returned home, won over a small number of young men as companions and

commenced a career of adventure. He came to Amritsar on the occasion of Dīvālī accompanied by his band, many of whom were on horseback. Nawāb Kapūr Singh was highly impressed and, administering initiatory rites to him, named him Gulāb Singh. At the formation of the Dal Khālsā in 1748, Gulāb Singh, who had already fought bravely against Nādir Shāh in 1739 and in the Chhoṭā Ghallūghārā in 1746, was declared the head of the Dallevālīā *misl*. Later the Dallevālīā and the Nishānānvālī *misls* were stationed at Amritsar to protect the holy city. In 1757 when Ahmad Shāh Durrānī was returning homeward laden with the booty from Delhi, Mathurā and Āgrā, Gulāb Singh made frequent night attacks on his baggage train. At the fords of Rāvī and Chenāb, Gulāb Singh with several other Sikh *sardārs* captured a large number of Afghān horses. Commanding a *jathā* of 400 men, Gulāb Singh plundered Pānīpat, Rohtak, Hānsī and Hissār.

Gulāb Singh died fighting, in 1759, against Ambo Khān of Kalānaur, 27 km west of Gurdāspur.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Delhi, 1978
3. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Punjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.
4. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
S.S.B.

GULĀB SĪNGH (d. 1800) succeeded his father, Desū Singh, to the chiefship of the Bhaṅgī *misl* or principality after the latter's death in 1782. Gulāb Singh retained Amritsar as his seat and raised several buildings and gardens to beautify the city. He defeated Paṭhān chiefs of Kasūr, Nizām ud-Dīn and Qutb ud-Dīn, and made them his tributaries. Gulāb Singh's military strength

in 1798, at the time of Shāh Zamān's last invasion, was put at 6,000 and four pieces of cannon. His territory yielded him about ten lakh of rupees as annual revenue. At the fall of Lahore into the hands of Raṅjīt Singh, Gulāb Singh sensed a danger to himself and formed a cabal against him. Besides Gulāb Singh, the cabal consisted of Sāhib Singh Bhaṅgī of Gujrat, Jassā Singh Rāmgarhiā and Nizām ud-Dīn of Kasūr. The allied troops marched to Bhasīn, a few miles east of Lahore where Raṅjīt Singh also arrived with force. At Bhasīn the two armies lay encamped for about two months, but neither of them dared take the initiative. As the stalemate continued, Gulāb Singh was suddenly taken ill and died. This happened in 1800.

Gulāb Singh was succeeded on his death by his ten-year old son Gurdit Singh whose mother, Māi Sukkhān, conducted the affairs of the *misl* as his guardian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Sectal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Punjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.

S.S.B.

GULĀB SINGH (d. 1844), commandant in the Sikh army, nicknamed Calcuttiā for having visited Calcutta in 1834 as head of the escort of a Lahore mission led by Gujjar Singh Majiṭhiā to the British Governor-General. After Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's death, he supported the Ḍogrā faction against the Sandhānvālīā collaterals of the Mahārājā. In May 1844, Gulāb Singh was sent to the *derā* of Bābā Bīr Singh of Naurāṅgābād, where Atar Singh Sandhānvālīā, a rival of the Ḍogrās, had taken shelter, with a view to inducing the Sandhānvālīā Sardār to surrender. While the negotiations were on, the troops accompanying Gulāb Singh start-

ed firing on the *derā* and, in the confusion that followed, Gulāb Singh was shot dead by Atar Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *History of the Panjab*. Delhi, 1964
3. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1975

G.I.S.

GULĀB SINGH, a *jāgīrdār* of Talvaṇḍī in Hoshiārpur district of the Punjab, who joined, at the village of Zahūrā, Bhāi Mahārāj Singh, the leader of the rebellion of 1848-49. At Mahārāj Singh's behest, he wrote an appeal to the Sikhs of Mālvā region of the Punjab to join the revolt. He also roamed with him the Doābā area exhorting the people to be prepared to rise at the leader's call.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abluwalia, M.L., *Bhai Maharaj Singh*. Patiala, 1972

M.L.A.

GULĀB SINGH (1792-1857), an influential courtier of the Sikh State of Lahore who was created the Rājā of Jammū, was born on 17 October 1792, the eldest son of Miān Kishorā Singh Ḍogrā. Gulāb Singh joined Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's army in 1809 as a trooper on a daily allowance of three rupees. He soon won the approbation of the Mahārājā and was given a *jāgīr* worth 12,000 rupees, with a command of 90 horse. The family's fortunes suddenly rose when his father, Kishorā Singh, was named, by the Sikh sovereign, chief of Jammū in 1820. Gulāb Singh was allowed to remain with him looking after the administration. On the death of Kishorā Singh in 1822, Raṅjīt Singh conferred the title on Gulāb Singh and presided at the installation ceremony held at Akhnūr, near Jammū, on 16 June 1822. Gulāb Singh proved a firm and successful

ruler and extended his authority over the neighbouring Rājput principalities. He was a fine soldier as well and he served his master in various campaigns in the Punjab hills and in Kashmīr. The official Lahore diarist, Sohan Lāl Sūrī, records the bounties and favours bestowed upon him by the Mahārājā from time to time in appreciation of his services. Besides the hill country, Gulāb Sīng held territory lying between the Chenāb and the Jehlum on farm for 25,45,000 rupees. In addition to his *jāgīrs*, amounting totally to 7,37,237 rupees, he had monopoly of the salt mines leased out to him for 8,00,000 rupees. Financially, he was the most highly favoured vassal and tributary of the Sikh State. Yet he remained humble and subservient during the lifetime of the Mahārājā, relying more on his brother, Rājā Dhiān Sīng, to promote the interests of the family. He had misappropriated the revenues of 22 districts assigned to him, and had usurped several of the hill states tributary to the Sikhs and had his eyes on Kashmīr since 1836. His designs against the Chinese Tartary were not encouraged by the British, though they countenanced him as a force countervailing the Sikhs. In 1841, Gulāb Sīng became the custodian of the *jāgīrs* of Khaṛak Sīng's widow, Chand kaur, and carted away to Jammū all of the Mahārānī's jewellery and valuables which he misappropriated. His intrigues against the Lahore government so infuriated the Khālsā army that in 1845 a force 35,000 strong was sent against him to Jammū. He was brought to Lahore as a hostage and was allowed to return to Jammū as he agreed to pay a fine of 68,00,000 rupees, with a promise of future good behaviour.

Gulāb Sīng retained liaison with the British and passed on military intelligence to Brigadier Wheeler at Ludhiānā on the eve of the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46). The British rewarded him obviously for his secret help during the war, and by the treaty of

Amritsar, 16 March 1846, they made over to him and his heirs all the hill country with its dependencies situated eastward of the River Indus and westward of the River Rāvī, being part of the Sikh territory ceded at the end of the war to the British by the treaty of Lahore, 9 March 1846. For this Gulāb Sīng also became, according to another article of the treaty, a vassal of the British whose supremacy he acknowledged.

Gulāb Sīng died at Jammū on 30 June 1857.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1957
3. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *History of the Punjab*. Delhi, 1964
4. Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh : Maharajah of the Punjab*. Bombay, 1962
5. Hasrat, Bikramajit, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*. Nabha, 1977
6. Charak, Sukhdev Singh, ed., *Gulabnama of Diwan Kirpa Ram*. Delhi, 1977

K.J.S.

GULĀB SĪNGH (d. 1882), son of Mīhān Sīng, belonged to the village of Bhāgōvāl in Gurdāspur district. He entered the service of Lahiṇā Sīng Majīṭhīā as a gunner in 1828, and was made a commandant in 1835. Up to the death of Mahārājā Ranjīt Sīng, Gulāb Sīng had been a feudal retainer of the Majīṭhīā Sardār, but, on the accession of Mahārājā Sher Sīng in 1841, he entered the regular army. He was made a colonel in the artillery with a command of eleven guns. Under Rājā Hīrā Sīng, he was promoted general. In 1853, Gulāb Sīng left the Punjab with Lahiṇā Sīng Majīṭhīā for Banāras, returning home the following year. In 1863, he was appointed guardian of Lahiṇā Sīng's only son, Dyāl Sīng. He acted for a short period as manager of the Darbār Sāhib at Amritsar.

Gulāb Sīng died in 1882.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

GULĀB SĪNGH AṬĀRĪVĀLĀ (d. 1887), the second son of Chatar Singh Aṭārīvālā, was appointed, along with his brother Rājā Sher Singh, to look after, during his minority, Mahārājā Duleep Singh who had been betrothed to their sister, Tej Kaur, and to manage the palace household. In 1848, when Rājā Sher Singh had moved out of Multān to join his father against the British, Gulāb Singh was at Lahore. As he was suspected of preparing to leave Lahore with a view to joining his father and brother, he was arrested on 17 September 1848 and detained in custody up to the end of the second Anglo-Sikh war. During the uprising of 1857, he volunteered his services to the government. He was given the honorary rank of captain, and a grant of *zamīndārī* in Oudh. In 1872, he was permitted to return to the Punjab. In 1878, he took up his residence in Amritsar. In 1884, he was gazetted as a magistrate and was the same year attached to the staff of the Viceroy as aide-de-camp on the occasion of the visit of Lord Ripon to Lahore. Two years later, he was made a counsellor to the Mahārājā of Jammū and Kashmir. He died in 1887, leaving an only son Nihāl Singh, aged four years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

GULĀB SĪNGH BAKHSHĪ (d. 1716), originally a tobacco-seller Bāṇia known by the name of Gulābū, impressed with Bandā Singh's armed victories, converted a Sikh, joined him as a soldier and rose to be paymaster of his army. He took part in various

battles under his command. In the siege of Lohgarh in December 1710, Gulāb Singh decided to sacrifice his life to save the life of Bandā Singh. Since he had a striking physical resemblance with him, he dressed himself in his fine garments and seated himself in his place. Bandā Singh made his way through the imperial camp in the disguise of a Mughal soldier and fled towards Nāhan in the mountains. When on the morning of 11 December the royal troops entered the fortress, they took Gulāb Singh for Bandā Singh and made him a prisoner. There were great rejoicings, but soon it was discovered that the real Bandā Singh had in fact escaped. In the words of Khāfi Khān, "the hawk had flown and an owl had been caught." Gulāb Singh was put in an iron cage and sent to Delhi where after several years of incarceration he was executed on 9 June 1716 along with Bandā Singh and the last batch of his men captured at Gurdās-Naṅgal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Deol, G.S., *Banda Bahadur*. Jalandhar, 1972
2. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*. Amritsar, 1935

G.S.D.

GULĀB SĪNGH GHOLĪĀ, SANT (1853-1936), Sikh saint and scholar, was born in 1853 to Bhāi Dal Singh and Dharam Kaur of Bhaṭṭīvālā, a village 6 km south of Bhavānīgarh, in the present Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab. He received his early education in the village *dharamsālā*, and then spent five years at the *ḍerā* of Bhāi Rām Singh, at Māṇūke, in Farīdkoṭ district, learning *kīrtan* and studying the Sikh texts. Realizing that, to properly comprehend and interpret certain theological terms used in the Scripture, knowledge of Sanskrit was essential, he shifted, in 1873, to the village of Dhapālī (now in Saṅgrūr district), where he apprenticed himself to Giānī Anokh Singh. He studied Sanskrit and Vedānta with him for ten long years.

But his thirst for knowledge was still unquenched, and he went to Rishikesh to read further in the classics under Paṇḍit Nihāl Singh and Paṇḍit Advaitānand. He also acquired knowledge of Indian medicine. The Singh Sabhā reform was already under way and there was great enthusiasm among the Sikhs to spread the correct Sikh doctrine and practice. Sant Gulāb Singh decided to devote himself to preaching the Gurū's word. He travelled extensively in pursuit of his mission. Once, in 1890, Mahārājā Hīrā Singh, ruler of the princely state of Nābhā, met him at Prayāg (Allāhābād) and invited him to settle down in his state, but he declined the offer. Likewise, he declined to take over the *ḍerā* at Māṇūke, after the death of Bhāi Rām Singh. He eventually moved to Gholiā Khurd, 5 km north of Māṇūke, where, in 1907, he established a *gurdwārā* which henceforth became the centre of his activities. His active participation in the Gurdwārā Reform movement commenced in 1914 with the Gurdwārā Rikābgañj agitation. Later, he was elected, unopposed, a member of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and was nominated to its religious sub-committee. He was one of the Pañj Piāre who inaugurated *kār-sevā* at the Amṛitsar pool on 4 Hār 1980 Bk/17 June 1923.

In his old age, Gulāb Singh Gholiā built a *gurdwārā*, Anand Bhavan, at Mogā where he died on 3 July 1936.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Viśākhā Singh, Sant-Sipāhī, *Mālwa Itihās*, vol. II. Kishanpura Kalan (Firozpur), n.d.

Jg.S.

GULĀB SINGH PAHUVIṆḌĪĀ (d. 1854), a general in the Sikh army, was the son of Karam Singh, who along with his three brothers had taken possession of the country between the rivers Satluj and Beās in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Karam Singh's brothers dying heirless, the estate passed on

to his only son Gulāb Singh. When in 1806 Mahārājā Rañjīt Singh took possession of the Doāb, Gulāb Singh entered his service as an adjutant, soon becoming commandant. After the capture of Multān in 1818, he was promoted colonel and in this rank he took part in various actions that took place against the Afghāns in the Peshāwar valley. In 1826, he was given command of 3 infantry and 2 cavalry regiments with a troop of artillery. In 1839, he was promoted to the rank of general and in 1847 appointed governor of Peshāwar. During the second Anglo-Sikh war, General Gulāb Singh and his son, Colonel Ālā Singh, were kept under restraint by the Sikh troops for their sympathy with the British. After the annexation of the Punjab, the British rewarded him confirming him in his *jāgīrs* worth 17,500 rupees.

General Gulāb Singh died in 1854.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Uṇḍāt-ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Chopra, B.R., *Kingdom of the Punjab*. Hoshiarpur, 1969

G.I.S.

GULĀB SINGH, PAṆḌIT, was a Nirmalā scholar, the prefix *paṇḍit* denoting his pre-eminence in Sanskrit letters rather than his caste. He was born in a peasant family in 1789 Bk/AD 1732 in the village of Sekham, in Lahore district, now in Pakistan. He was initiated into Sanskrit studies by Paṇḍit Mān Singh Nirmalā to whom he has expressed his indebtedness at many places in his writings. As a small boy, he learnt Gurmukhī from a *sādhū* in his own village and read with him the Gurū Granth Sāhib. But this was not the end of his ambition. Receiving from his teacher the robes of an ascetic, he secretly left home and reached Vārāṇasī to study Sanskrit. When his teacher there discovered that he was not a Brāhman, but a Jāt, he turned him out of his seminary with the rebuke that, being a *śūdra*, he had no right to Sanskrit

and Vedic education. But his family, for whom Gulāb Sīngh had been like a domestic servant, persuaded him to search for him and bring him back. Gulāb Sīngh was found sitting on the bank of the Gaṅgā in a desolate state. Back in the *pāṭhshālā* Gulāb Sīngh worked diligently and patiently, memorizing lengthy Sanskrit works to circumvent the injunction about caste restrictions. Thus he acquired an amazingly high degree of proficiency in Sanskrit and Braj Bhāṣā and became a reputed scholar and writer.

All of Gulāb Sīngh's works are in Braj Bhāṣā, written in the Gurmukhī script. His *Adhyātam Rāmāin* and *Prabodhchandra Nāṭak* are in fact translations of old Sanskrit texts. *Bhāvarasānmrit* and *Mokhpanth* are original compositions. Besides these, there are some minor works such as *Swapan Adhyāi*, *Karam Vipāka*, and *Rām Ridā*. The last one is a part of the *Adhyātam Rāmāin*, but is available in manuscript form separately written by various scribes. PaṇḌits felt jealous of his success and, obtaining from Mān Sīngh his manuscripts, sunk them into a river. The four major works that now survive were not then in his teacher's custody. Gulāb Sīngh kept his composure when he learnt what had happened, though he wrote nothing more thereafter.

PaṇḌit Gulāb Sīngh's works remained in manuscript form for more than a century before they were published. From among them the *Bhāvarasānmrit* contains preachings about rationalism and detachment. The text begins with the praise of Gurū Nānak and Gurū Gobind Sīngh, followed by verses in honour of the author's teacher, Mān Sīngh. Prayer, *nām*, love of the Divine, good deeds, detached living, *karma*, good company, service, heroism and *dharma* are among the subjects dilated upon. Although the author is deeply rooted in Vedāntic lore, the final touchstone for him is the teaching of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. This work, in Braj verse, with abundant use of Sanskrit vocabulary in *tatsama* form, was

completed in 1834 Bk/AD 1777 and published in 1959 Bk/AD 1902. The author records in the epilogue: "The book is completed on this day which is a Sunday. It is the night of full moon. The sky is overcast with clouds. A cool breeze is blowing. It is drizzling."

The *Mokhpanth* also called *Mokhpanth Prakāsh* is another of PaṇḌit Gulāb Sīngh's important works. '*Mokhpanth*' literally means 'the way to release', 'the way to the ultimate goal of life'. This is a philosophical work dealing with the principles of the major schools of Indian philosophy, including Yoga, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta. There are some autobiographical references towards the end of the book in which the poet tells us about his parents and his birthplace. Concerning his own faith, he says: "I am a follower of Gurū Gobind Sīngh."

The book, divided into five parts, contains 1984 stanzas. It was completed at Amritsar in 1835 Bk/AD 1778, and was published in AD 1912.

The *Adhyātam Rāmāin*, a free translation in Braj Bhāṣā of a Sanskrit work, was completed in 1839 Bk/AD 1782. The original work, in Sanskrit, bears the same title and is a part of the *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*. It describes the story of Rāma in a philosophical setting. The book was published in AD 1880. PaṇḌit Gulāb Sīngh adds an epilogue paying homage to the Ten Gurūs.

The *Prabodhachandrodai* or *Prabodhachandra Nāṭak* was again a translation in Braj verse of a Sanskrit text. The original was the work of one PaṇḌit Krishna Mīśra who completed it in the sixties of the eleventh century. It is believed that he wrote the *Nāṭak* for the instruction of his son. In this book, the vices and virtues have been personified. *Kām* (lust), *krodh* (anger), *lobh* (greed), *moh* (attachment), *ahankār* (ego) are shown at war with *vivek* (wisdom), *sat* (truth), *santokh* (contentment), *tarak* (reason), *śardhā* (faith) and *bhakti* (devotion). The latter eventually

come out victorious.

Among other works attributed to Paṇḍit Gulāb Sīngḥ are *Svapana Adhyāi* or *Svapana Birtānt* and *Karam Vipāk*. The first is a brief text dealing with the interpretation of dreams. Only two copies in manuscript form have so far come to light. It consists of ten hand-written sheets, with nine lines to a page. The writing is clear and correct but, the last pages of the manuscript being missing, the date of its composition is not ascertainable.

The *Karam Vipāk* is a mythological narration in verse in which *sūrya* (the sun) preaches the philosophy of *karma* (action) to Arun, his coachman. The *Rāma Gītā*, *Rām Rīdā* or *Rām Rīdai Stotar* or *Ram Hridā* is still another composition which contains Rāma's exhortation to Hanūmān. It is, in fact, a chapter of the *Adhyātama Rāmāiṇ*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Dayāl Sīngḥ, Mahant, *Nirmal Panth Darshan*. Delhi, n.d.
2. Dharamānant Sīngḥ, *Vedic Gurnat*. Jalandhar, 1965
3. Balbir Sīngḥ, *Foundations of Indian Philosophy*. Delhi, 1971
4. Mohan Sīngḥ, *A History of Punjabi Literature*. Amritsar, 1956

Gr.S.

GUL BAHĀR BEGAM (d. 1863), a dancing girl from Amritsar, was married to Mahārājā Ranjīt Sīngḥ in 1832. Gul Begam had danced before the Mahārājā's English guests at the time of his meeting with British Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, at Ropar in October 1831. Ranjīt Sīngḥ thereafter grew very fond of her, and eventually admitted her into his harem as a wedded wife. He subsequently visited the Golden Temple in an act of contrition for marrying a lady whose status did not match his own. Sohan Lāl Sūrī, the court diarist, recording on 27 September 1832 the marriage in his chronicle, writes: "The Mahārājā put on saffron garments, decorated himself with ornaments

and jewellery... Gul Begam was dressed in yellow garments, with her hands and feet decorated with henna and bedecked with jewelled gold ornaments from hand to mouth... the Mahārājā took his seat in a chair and made Gul Begam sit in another. Garlands of roses interwoven with pearls were tied around the forehead of the Mahārājā and a gold nose ring with a pearl was fixed in the nose of Gul Begam and lovely words of congratulations filled the heart of the audience with pleasure." Renamed Gul Bahār Begam, she rode with the Mahārājā on the same elephant, sat in the *darbār* without veil and dwarfed the influence of other wives on the Mahārājā. Popularly styled as Ahl-e-Nishāt (lit. *fille de joie*), Gul Bahār Begam is stated to have the finest figure, the fairest hair and the darkest eyes. Having no issue of her own she adopted a Muslim boy, whose progeny still lives in Lahore. She also built a mosque, which is still extant.

Gul Bahār Begam survived the Mahārājā and was awarded an annual pension of Rs 12,380 by the British.

Gul Bahār Begam died at Lahore in 1863.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twāriḥh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Waheed-ud-Din, Faqir Syed, *The Real Ranjīt Singh*. Karachi, 1965

S.S.B.

GULZĀR SĪNGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1737), a devoted Sikh, received the vows of the *Khālsā* at the hands of Gurū Gobind Sīngḥ. He was among the five Sikhs sent along with Bhāi Manī Sīngḥ to Amritsar in 1700 to manage the shrines there. In the days of severe persecution by the Mughal authority, Bhāi Gulzār Sīngḥ was skinned to death at Lahore at the same time as Bhāi Manī Sīngḥ was hacked to pieces (1737). A *samādḥ* or memorial shrine in his honour was raised in Lahore near that of the latter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī* 10. Patiala, 1968

P.S.P.

GUNIKE, village 12 km south of Nābhā (30°-22'N, 76°-9'E), in Paṭiālā district, has a historical Gurdwārā, dedicated to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. Situated on the southeastern outskirts of the village, the Gurdwārā marks the site where the Gurū once stayed on the bank of a pond called Siddhān Vālī Dhāb, and where a commemoration platform was later constructed by his devotees. A proper Gurdwārā was constructed on this spot by Rājā Bharpūr Singh of Nābhā (1840-63) in 1860. It consists of a square flat-roofed sanctum opening on a small rectangular hall. This building still stands, but the village *saṅgat* constructed, in 1975, a new hall in front of it. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is now seated in this hall. The Gurdwārā is managed by a village committee.

M.G.S.

GUNVANTĪ, lit. a woman of becoming qualities, is the title of one of Gurū Arjan's compositions, in measure Sūhī, in the Gurū Granth Sāhib (GG, 763). It follows Gurū Nānak's *Kuchajī* (lit. an awkward, ill-mannered woman) and *Suchajī* (lit. a woman of good manner). The term *gunvantī* is figuratively used for a true, meritorious devotee. Like the hymns of Gurū Nānak, this one too is uttered in the first person, and by implication, it sums up qualities characteristic of a true and pious Sikh. These qualities are: humility, reverence for those who are true Sikhs of the Gurū, desire for the company of those who can lead you to the true Gurū, abandonment of pride and temptation, and subservience to the will of the Gurū. This, according to Gurū Arjan's composition, is the path of righteousness. He who follows it, will never be grieved; he will be rid of all temptations and cravings. He will receive the treasure of *bhakti* (devotional love), and at-

tain the vision of God.

T.S.

GUPĀLĀ, BHĀĪ, a learned Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan who distinguished himself also as a warrior under his successor, Gurū Hargobind. Once, as Gurū Hargobind was encamped at Ruhelā, renamed Sri Hargobindpurā, a Sikh, Sabhāgā by name, presented him with five handsome horses. The Gurū immediately distributed three of them, one each to Bābā Gurdittā, Bhāi Bidhī Chand and Paindā Khān. The remaining two were retained in the Gurū's personal stables. While sitting among the *saṅgat* one day, Gurū Hargobind asked the question: "Who among you can recite *gurbānī* faultlessly, pronouncing perfectly every vowel and consonant?" Many said with folded hands that they had learnt a large portion of *gurbānī* which they regularly recited. The Gurū thereupon declared: "Whoever recites correctly, in our presence, the *Japu* (*jī*) shall receive his desired reward." Bhāi Gupālā humbly said, "O beneficent one! if you would permit me and bestow upon me your grace, I shall try." As Bhāi Gupālā proceeded with the recitation, Gurū Hargobind was so moved, records Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, that he would have conferred gurūship on him as a reward. However, just at the concluding stanza, Bhāi Gupālā was distracted by the thought of the promised reward, and his mind ran to the prized horses presented by Bhāi Sabhāgā. He expressed his heart's desire and was happy to get his coveted prize along with costly trappings and some money. The Gurū impressed upon the *saṅgat* the importance of correct recitation of *gurbānī*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevin*. Patiala, 1970

T.S.

GURBACHAN SINGH KHĀLSĀ BHINḌRĀNVALE, SANT GIĀNĪ (1903-1969), holy man, preacher and exponent of the Sikh sacred texts, was born on 12 February 1903, the son of Rūr Singh of the village of Akhārā, 6 km south of Jagrāoñ, in Ludhiānā district of the Punjab. He learnt to read and write Gurmukhī at the village *gurdwārā* and helped his father in farming. He was married at the age of 18 and had two sons born to him, but his dedication to Sikh learning led him to join Gurdwārā Śrī Akhaṇḍ Prakāsh, a seminary established by Sant Sundar Singh at the village of Bhiṇḍar Kalāñ, 15 km north of Mogā. In due time he came to be known as the best among Sant Sundar Singh's pupils. Well versed in Sikh lore and proficient in discoursing upon the holy writ, he was chosen by the *saṅgat*, after the death of Sant Sundar Singh on 15 February 1930, to head the seminary at Bhiṇḍar Kalāñ. That is how he came to be known popularly as Bhiṇḍrāñvale Sant, though personally he preferred to be called Bhāi (lit. brother), Khālsā or at the most Giānī rather than Sant (lit. saint). He continued his predecessor's mode of combining regular teaching with itinerant preaching. Besides constructing or renovating *gurdwārās* and *sarovars* at the town of Nābhā, in Paṭiālā district, Manāvāñ in Fīrozpur district and Pañjokharā in Ambālā district, he conducted 1313 *akhaṇḍ pāths* or non-stop recitals of Gurū Granth Sāhib, delivered serialized discourses on the entire Scripture 26 times over, and administered *amrit* or Sikh initiation rites to several thousands of persons all over the country. The twenty-seventh series of discourses was in progress when Sant Gurbachan Singh breathed his last at the village of Mahitā, in Amritsar district, on 28 June 1969. His body was cremated outside Gurdwārā Patālpurī at Kīratpur Sāhib on the following day. His successor, Bhāi Kartār Singh Khālsā, constructed in his memory Gurdwārā Gurdarshan Prakāsh at Mahitā which became

the headquarters of the Bhiṇḍrāñvālā Jathā. A religious fair is held there to mark the death anniversary of Sant Gurbachan Singh on the 28th of June every year.

Sant Gurbachan Singh Khālsā wrote two books. *Śrī Gurmukh Prakāsh Granth* in verse is a biography of Sant Sundar Singh Bhiṇḍrāñvālā along with a detailed *rahit maryādā* or Sikh code of conduct, while *Gurbāñī Pāth Darshan* combines biographical sketches of the Gurūs and some Sikh heroes with elucidation of some of the hymns from the Gurū Granth Sāhib.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Khālsā, Kartār Singh, *Khālsā Jīvan ate Gurmat Rahit Maryādā*. Mahita, 1977
2. Visākhā Singh, Sant Sipāhī, *Mālvā Itihās*, vol. III. Kishanpura Kalan, n.d.

H.S.D.

GURBACHAN SINGH SANDHĀNVALĪĀ (b. 1855), the eldest of the four sons of Ṭhākur Singh Sandhāñvālīā, the prime minister of the *emigre* government of Mahārājā Duleep Singh at Pondicherry, was born in 1855 and was adopted by his uncle Partāp Singh Sandhāñvālīā. Gurbachan Singh was nominated to the Statutory Civil Service and was in 1886 working as an assistant commissioner in the Punjab. In October of that year, he accompanied his father, Ṭhākur Singh, with a small retinue of servants on a pilgrimage to Nānded, sacred to Gurū Gobind Singh. From there the party proceeded to Pondicherry, a French possession near Madrās, where Ṭhākur Singh started a campaign for the restoration of Mahārājā Duleep Singh to the throne of the Punjab. Gurbachan Singh, who had taken one month's leave extraordinary, did not report back for duty in the Punjab and was dismissed from service. In Pondicherry, he took charge of the correspondence, mainly in English, with Duleep Singh and his supporters in different parts. He also established contact with the French

authorities in Pondicherry and his letters to the Mahārājā were carried in the French diplomatic bag. After Ṭhākūr Siṅgh's death in August 1887, Gurbachan Siṅgh's *jāgīrs* were confiscated by the British and he was allowed to come to India only in October 1890. In 1899 he entered the service of Rājā of Nāhan, becoming a district judge in 1911. He died there issueless.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jagjit Siṅgh, *Siṅgh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974
2. Ganda Singh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement in the Panjab (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence)*. Patiala, 1972

K.S.T.

GURBACHAN SINGH TĀLIB (1911-1986), scholar, author and teacher, famous for his command of the English language. He was master equally of the written as well as of the spoken word. He was born in a small town, Mūṅak, in the present Saṅgrūr district, on 7 April 1911, the son of Sardār Kartār Siṅgh and Mātā Jai Kaur. His father was an employee of the princely state of Saṅgrūr. He passed his matriculation examination from the Rāj High School, Saṅgrūr, in 1927, securing a merit scholarship, and went up to the Khālsā College, Amritsar, where he received his Master's degree in English literature in 1933 topping the Pañjāb University. Soon after receiving his Master's degree he became a lecturer in his own college, starting a very spectacular scholastic career. His first class first in the M.A. examination was an unprecedented event in the annals of the University for never before had the distinction been claimed by a mofussil college. This halo won him the instant esteem of his colleagues and pupils. He took to the academic groove like fish to water. Much mythology accrued to his name. Soon he became a legendary figure in the college. Many stories became current about his exceptional diligence, his spontaneity in

the English language and the diversity of his scholarship.

He left the Khālsā College in 1940 to join the newly started Sikh National College at Lahore where he served in the Department of English as a lecturer for several years. From 1949 to 1962 he worked as principal, successively, at Lyāllpur Khālsā College, Jalandhar, Srī Gurū Tegh Bahādur Khālsā College, Delhi, Khālsā College, Bombay, Gurū Gobind Siṅgh College, Paṭnā, and National College, Sirsā. He was Reader in English at Kurukshetra University from 1962 to 1969, and Professor of Sikh Studies in the Gurū Nānak Chair, Pañjāb University, Chanḍīgarh, from 1969 to 1973. In 1973, he translated himself to the Punjabi University, Paṭiālā, where he began the most productive years of his career. He took over at Banāras Hindu University the Gurū Nānak Chair of Sikh Studies, but had to leave soon for reasons of health. Back at Paṭiālā, he was made a fellow of the Punjabi University in 1976 and he launched upon the stupendous project of rendering the entire Gurū Granth Sāhib into English. In 1985, he received the Government of India award Padma Bhūshan. He resigned the Punjabi University fellowship in 1985 to take up the National fellowship offered by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi. He suffered a massive heart attack in July 1976 which he survived; the second one on the morning of 9 April 1986 however proved fatal.

Professor Gurbachan Siṅgh Tālib was a prolific writer both in English and Punjabi, though he knew Persian and Urdu very well, too. Among his best-known books in Punjabi are: *Aṇapachhāte Rāh* (1952); *Ādhunik Punjabi Sāhit* (Punjabi Kāv) (1955); *Pavittar Jīvan Kathāvān* (1971); *Bābā Shaiikh Farīd* (1975), and in English *Muslim League Attack on the Sikhs and Hindus in Punjab, 1947* (1950); *The Impact of Guru Gobind Singh on Indian Society* (1966), *Guru Nanak: His Personality and Vi-*

sion (1969), *Bhai Vir Singh: Life, Times and Works* (1973); *Baba Shaikh Farid* (1974); *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Background and Supreme Sacrifice* (1976); *Japuji: The Immortal Prayer-chant* (1977); and his classical translation in English of the *Ādi Granth* (four volumes). Besides these books, he kept up an unending flow of articles and papers contributed to different learned journals,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jodh Singh, *Gurbachan Singh Tālib : Jivan te Rachnā*. Patiala, 1988

M.G.S.

GURBAKHS, an Udāsī saint contemporary with Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708), who was at the time of the evacuation of Anandpur directed by the Gurū to stay behind to look after the local *saṅgat* and the sacred shrines. Years later, when Gulāb Rāi, a great-grandson of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), occupied the seat where Gurū Gobind Singh used to hold assembly and, pretending to be Gurū, started accepting offerings from Sikh devotees, Gurbakhsh remonstrated with him and finding him adamant and unrepentent cursed him with an early death, with no progeny to continue his line. Gulāb Rāi soon died childless and it was the descendants of his brother, Shyām Singh, who flourished in Anandpur.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārikh Gurū Khālsā*. Patiala, 1970
P.S.P.

GURBAKHS, BHĀI, Gurū's *masand* or *saṅgat* leader at Delhi, served Gurū Har Krishan (1656-64) with devotion when the latter was in the city in March 1664 at the summons of Emperor Aurangzīb. The Gurū

had a sudden attack of smallpox and lay critically ill. Bhāi Gurbakhsh, seeing the end near, gently begged him to nominate a successor. Gurū Har Krishan could barely utter the words: "Bābā Bakālē," referring to Gurū Tegh Bahādur, who lived at Bakālā, as the future Gurū. According to Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, Bhāi Gurbakhsh later went to Bakālā, made his obeisance to Gurū Tegh Bahādur and gave him an account of Gurū Har Krishan's last days in Delhi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Satībīr Singh, *Ashtām Balbīrā*. Jalandhar, 1982

B.S.

GURBAKHS, BHĀI, contemporary of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, was the Sikh representative at Jaunpur, in Uttar Pradesh. He was an accomplished musician and sang the sacred hymns with great love and devotion. In the course of his travel across the eastern parts in 1666, Gurū Tegh Bahādur halted briefly at Vārāṇasi. Bhāi Gurbakhsh led the Jaunpur *saṅgat* to the Gurū's presence to pay homage to him. The Gurū, pleased with his recital of *kīrtan*, blessed him and bestowed on him a *mridaṅg*, a double-sided Indian drum. From that day, the *saṅgat* at Jaunpur came to be known as Mridaṅgvālī Saṅgat. In 1670, travelling from Paṭnā to Delhi Gurū Tegh Bahādur passed through Jaunpur where he stopped for a few days with Bhāi Gurbakhsh. Till the beginning of the present century, the *mridaṅg* gifted by the Gurū was said to have been preserved as a sacred relic, but it is no longer traceable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1982
2. Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giānī Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kīān Sākhān*. Patiala, 1986

M.G.S.

GURBAK̄HSH SINGH, one of the Chhibbar Brāhmaṇ family of Kaṛiālā in Jehlum district, now in Pakistan, which had been managing the household affairs of the Gurūs since the time of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), was the son of Dharam Chand, treasurer to Gurū Gobind Singh. Subsequent to the evacuation of Anandpur in 1705, Gurbak̄hsh Singh remained in the service of Mātā Sundarī and Mātā Sāhib Devān at Delhi. After the *jāgīr* or estate of Gurū Chakk, i.e. Amritsar, was restored to Mātā Sundarī by Emperor Bahādur Shāh in 1711, she sent him to Amritsar along with Kirpāl Singh Subhikkhī as *dāroghah* or manager. According to his son, Kesar Singh Chhibbar, the author of *Baṅsāvalīnāmā*, Gurbak̄hsh Singh's duties included the supervision of *gaūkhānā* (cattleshed), *kārkhānā* (work centre), *khazānā* (treasury) and the running of Gurū kā Laṅgar or community kitchen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chhibbar, Kesar Singh, *Baṅsāvalīnāmā Dasān Pātshāhīn Kā*. Chandigarh, 1972

P.S.P.

GURBAK̄HSH SINGH (also referred to as Bak̄hshash Singh) and Bak̄hshish Singh, Kalāl Sikhs of Bharovāl village in Amritsar district, were among the *saṅgat* or batch of Sikhs which led by Dunī Chand came from the Mājha in pursuance of Gurū Gobind Singh's call to attend the historic assembly convened at Anandpur on 30 March 1699. They received, on that occasion of the creation of the *Khālsā*, *pāhul* or initiatory vows. Both Gurbak̄hsh Singh and Bak̄hshish Singh remained at Anandpur to serve the Gurū and took part in the battles of Lohgarh and Nirmohgarh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kuיר Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968

M.G.S.

GURBAK̄HSH SINGH (d. 1776) of Wazirābād, son of Rām Singh, was a follower of Chaṛhat Singh Sukkarchakkīā. He participated in the assault on Amritsar resulting in the capture of the Bhaṅgī tower situated between the Rāmbāgh and Chāṭivīṇḍ gates. After the conquest of northern parts of Gujraṅwālā district by Chaṛhat Singh, Wazirābād was claimed by Gurbak̄hsh Singh. Gurbak̄hsh Singh married his daughter, Desān, to Chaṛhat Singh, his leader, and gained further influence by this matrimonial alliance. He died in 1776, his son Jodh Singh succeeding to *jāgīr*s worth over a lakh of rupees.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Punjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

GURBAK̄HSH SINGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1764), founder of the Bhāī family of Kaithal, was great-grandson of Bhāī Bhagatū of revered memory. His grandfather, Bhāī Bhagatū's elder son, Gaurā, was a brave warrior who became the chief of Viṅjhū, near Baṭhiṇḍā. His father, Diāl Dās, on the other hand was known as a saint of wide sanctity. Gurbak̄hsh Singh himself was an enterprising warrior. He developed friendship with Bābā Ālā Singh, founder of the princely house of Paṭiālā, and together they made many conquests. In 1754, Bhāī Gurbak̄hsh Singh led an expedition against Sardār Jodh Singh of Baṭhiṇḍā, but finding his forces inadequate to reduce the territory he sought Ālā Singh's help. The latter sent a considerable body of troops, but Jodh Singh withstood the attack. Ālā Singh summoned help from some of the trans-Sutlej Sikh *sardārs*. Jodh Singh was defeated and his territories pillaged. The combined force retired leaving the Bhāī master of Baṭhiṇḍā and the

surrounding district. Two years later Gurbak̄sh Singh joined Bābā Ālā Singh in the latter's successful expedition against Ināyat Khān and Wilāyat Khān, Rājput chiefs of Buhāi and Bulodā. As a result Bhāi Gurbak̄sh Singh got possession of the district of Bulodā.

After his death in 1764, the territories of Bhāi Gurbak̄sh Singh were divided among his five sons. His second son, Bhāi Desū Singh, conquered Kaithal where he established himself as an independent ruler. One of his brothers, Buddhā Singh, seized a part of Thānesar which, however, he later lost to Bhaṅgā Singh. Another brother Sukkhā Singh established a separate branch of the family at Arnaulī, now in Haryāṅā. Other descendants of the family of Bhāi Gurbak̄sh Singh are living in and around Bhuchcho in Bathiṅḍā district.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, *The Rajas of the Punjab* [Reprint]. Delhi, 1977
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Delhi, 1978
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Garb Gañjanī Tikā*. Lahore, 1910

M.G.S.

GURBAK̄SH SINGH, BHĀI (1688-1764), also known as Gurbak̄sh Singh Nihaṅg or Shahīd, hailed from the village of Līl, in Amritsar district. According to an old manuscript which was preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, until it perished in the Army action in 1984, and which is quoted by Singh Sāhib Giānī Kirpāl Singh, he was born on Baisāk̄h vadī 5, 1745 BK/10 April 1688 (father Bhāi Dasaundhā, mother Māi Lachchhamī). In 1693, the family shifted to Anandpur where Gurbak̄sh Singh took pāhul of the Khālsā on the historic Baisāk̄hī day of 1699. He completed his religious education under Bhāi Manī Singh. He later joined the Shahīd *misl* under Bābā Dīp Singh

and, after the latter's death in 1757, organized his own *jathā* or fighting band. In the battles against the Durrānīs and the Mughals in the eighteenth century, his *ḍerā* or small group usually formed the vanguard carrying the banner, and won renown for its acts of gallantry. When in November 1764 Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, at the head of 30,000 men, invaded India for the seventh time, Bhāi Gurbak̄sh Singh happened to be stationed at the holy shrine at Amritsar. The Durrānī advanced up to the town virtually unopposed and entered the partially reconstructed Harimandar, which he had demolished two years earlier. Bhāi Gurbak̄sh Singh, who had already evacuated from the precincts women, children and the aged, had with him only thirty men. According to Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*, "Bhāi Gurbak̄sh Singh, with garlands around his neck and sword on his shoulder, dressed himself as a bridegroom, his men forming the marriage party, waiting eagerly to court the bride-death." As soon as they saw the Afghān king and his hordes, they swooped down upon them. This was an unequal flight — thirty pitted against thirty thousand. All thirty Sikhs were killed before Gurbak̄sh Singh, though throughout in the forefront, also fell. Giving an eye-witness account of the action, Qāzī Nūr Muhammad, the chronicler who was in the train of the invader, writes in his *Jaṅgnāmah*:

When the King and his army reached the Chakk (Amritsar), they did not see any [infidel] there. But a few men staying in a fortress were bent upon spilling their blood and they sacrificed themselves for their Gurū.... They were only thirty in number. They did not have the least fear of death. They engaged the Ghāzīs and spilled their blood in the process. Thus all of them were slaughtered and consigned to the seventh [hell].

This happened on 1 December 1764. Bhāi Gurbak̄sh Singh was cremated behind

Takht Akāl Buṅgā. Later, a tomb was built on the site which is now known as Shāhīd Gañj.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914
2. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Panth Prakāsh* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
3. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *History of the Panjab*. Delhi, 1964
4. Prinsep, Henry T., *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Panjab*. Calcutta, 1834
5. Sar, Sardār Singh, *Paruphāñī Hīre*. Amritsar, n.d.

G.S.N.

GURBAK^hSH SINGH, BHĀI, a holy man attached to the court of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh, was often entrusted with diplomatic missions, especially before the rise to power of the more renowned Bhāi Rām Singh. Bhāi Gurbak^hsh Singh exercised great influence over the soldiery and this accounted for his popularity with Mahārājā Sher Singh. Prince Pashaurā Singh was his ardent disciple and admirer. When he suddenly appeared at Lahore in January 1845 to stake his claim to the throne after the removal of Rājā Hirā Singh from the scene, he stayed with him (Bhāi Gurbak^hsh Singh). Rānī Jind Kaur used the Bhāi's good offices to prevail upon the Prince to leave Lahore when his presence there was proving detrimental to her son's position on the throne.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lal, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Smyth, G. Carmichael, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*. Patiala, 1970

J.S.K.

GURBAK^hSH SINGH KALSĪĀ (d. 1785), a leading figure in the Karoṛsinghīā *misl* of the Sikhs, was a Sandhū Jaṭt, belonging to the village of Kalsīā in Lahore district. He received Sikh initiatory rites at the hands

of the revered Bhāi Manī Singh at Amritsar in the time of Nawāb Zakariyā Khān of Lahore. As a mark of mutual friendliness, he exchanged turbans with Karoṛā Singh, the Karoṛsinghīā *misl* chief, and participated in several expeditions of the Dal Khālsā. At the time of the conquest of Sirhind in January 1764, he seized the *parganah* of Chhachhraulī, now in Jagādharī *tahsīl* of Haryāṇā, comprising 114 villages, and founded an independent principality called Kalsīā after the name of his native village. He captured Bambelī *parganah* in Hoshiārpur district and collected immense wealth from different places in Haryāṇā and Rājasthān. Some of his villages had been seized by Rājā Amar Singh of Paṭiālā which he later recovered. Along with several other Sikh chiefs, he attempted to form an alliance with the English against Mahādji Scindia in 1785.

Gurbak^hsh Singh died in 1785.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Panjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Panjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.

S.S.B.

GURBAK^hSH SINGH KANHAIYĀ (1759-1785), son of Jai Singh, head of the Kanhaiyā family, was born in 1759. He was first married to the daughter of Rājā Hamīr Singh of Nābhā and then to Sadā Kaur, daughter of Dasaundhā Singh Gill. Sadā Kaur, who became Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's mother-in-law, acquired great fame during her son-in-law's early days. Gurbak^hsh Singh who accompanied his father in his various campaigns of conquest won reputation as the conqueror of the Kāṅgrā Fort which he seized from its Afghān occupant in 1783. Gurbak^hsh Singh was killed in February 1785 while assisting his father in a battle fought against the allied forces of Mahān Singh Sukkarchakkīā and

Rājā Saṅsār Chand of Kāṅgrā, near the town of Baṭālā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel; and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Punjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.

S.S.B.

GURBAK̄SH SINGH, SANT (1871-1939), better known as Sant Gurbak̄sh Singh of Paṭiālā, scholar and preacher, was born in 1871 at Chūniān in Paṭiālā district. His father, Bhāi Shām Singh, and his family shifted to Hānsroñ, near Navāshahar in Jalandhar district, as the repression was let loose by government on the Nāmdhārīs. He served as *granthī* in the village *gurdwārā*. Gurbak̄sh Singh received his early education in a *ḍerā* at Fatehābād, near Khaḍūr Sāhib. He had a religious inclination from the very beginning and was drawn into the company of Nirmālā saints while still very young. With a group of them he travelled first to Jhānsī and then to Vārāṅasī— two centres of Nirmālā learning. At these places he acquired proficiency in Sanskrit grammar, Vedānta, Nyāya and Mīmāṅsā. He came to be reckoned as a powerful logician and was sent to Prayāg, Haridvār, Paṭiālā, Amritsar, and other Nirmālā centres to participate in learned debate. His skill as a logician was put to test especially in the religious polemics which raged in the Punjab towards the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth. Gurbak̄sh Singh had by now been converted to Singh Sabhā ideology which he preached with zest and vigour. He revelled in discourse with the Āryā Samājists and won for his powers in argument the title of Sabhā Jitt Paṇḍit, i.e. Paṇḍit or scholar victor in debating forums. He was named adviser for religious affairs to the Chief Khālsā Dīwān, Amritsar. In 1908 he took over as editor of the *Paṭiālā State Gazette* which had

then started appearing in Punjabi under the orders of Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh (1891-1938). This appointment and his close association with the Singh Sabhā of Paṭiālā linked his name with Paṭiālā for ever. He was nominated along with Bābū Tējā Singh of Bhasaur, Bhāi Vir Singh and Dr Bhāi Jodh Singh, a member of the committee, constituted by the Chief Khālsā Dīwān on 20 October 1910, to work out the draft of a Sikh code which was published under the title *Gurmat Prakāsh: Bhāg Saṅskār*. Unmatched in platform oratory, Sant Gurbak̄sh Singh spent his last years in comparative oblivion.

He died in 1939.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Khālsā Samāchār*. 23 April 1953
2. *Singh Sabhā Patrikā*. April 1980
3. Visakhā Singh, *Mālwa Itihās*. Kishanpura, 1953

S.S.A.

GURBAṂSĀVALĪ, by Saundhā (variously Saundhā Singh), is a chronology in verse of the Gurūs and of their families. The author, a contemporary and for some time an employee of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, was a Sandhū Jaṭṭ of the Lahore district. His father was Chaudharī Hem Rāj, and his elder brother, Hirā Singh, was the founder of the Nakaī family. Among his other works are *Amrit Mahimā*, *Gur Ustatī*, *Parsaṅg Pātshāhī Dasvīñ* and *Hātīmñāmā*, besides several independent poems.

The *Gurbansāvalī* which is more a good piece of literature than a document of historical information starts with homage to the Gurūs. The author records that Gurū Nānak, son of Kālū Mehtā and Mātā Triptā, was a Bedī Khatrī. The Gurū had two sons, Srī Chand and Lakhmī Dās. He lived up to the age of 70 years, 5 months and 7 days.

Gurū Nānak's spiritual successor, Gurū Aṅgad, was of the Trehaṅ sub-caste. He was married to Khivī and had two sons, Dāsū and Dātū. The author does not mention the

Gurū's two daughters, Bībī Amaro and Anokhī. His time is computed to be 12 years, 6 months and 9 days. Similar accounts are presented of the Gurūs following.

Written in simple verse, which is a mixture of Hindi and Punjabi, the work has been included, after minor editing, in *Gurpranālīkā* published by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1964.

B.S.

GURBILĀS BĀBĀ SĀHIB SĪNGH BEDĪ, by Bhāi Sobhā Rām belonging to the Sevāpanthī order, is a versified account of the life of Bābā Sāhib Sīngħ Bedī, a descendant of Gurū Nānak. The voluminous work, four manuscript copies of which — one each at the Gurū Nānak Dev University, Amritsar; Punjabi University, Paṭiālā; Motī Bāgh Palace, Paṭiālā; and Punjab Archives Department, Paṭiālā — are known to exist, has since been published (1988) by the Punjabi University.

Sāhib Sīngħ Bedī is presented in this work as a saint, profound scholar, warrior, statesman, social reformer, and a religious leader. The tone generally is hagiographical, and much store is set by the Bābā's supernatural powers. The poet, in fact, endeavours to cast him as the incarnation of Gurū Gobind Sīngħ, and appropriates some of the incidents from the life of the Gurū to embellish the career of his hero. The *Gurbilās* makes up for its lapses as a work of history by the wealth of detail it accumulates about the social life of the Punjab of that day. Worthy of special notice are the poet's descriptions of marriage ceremonies, songs and feasts and of the dowry system then prevalent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Nārā, Iṣhar Sīngħ, *Rājā Jogī arthāt Jīvan Itihās Sī Bābā Sāhib Sīngħ Jī Bedī*. Delhi, n.d.
2. Gurmukh Sīngħ, ed., *Gurbilās Bābā Sāhib Sīngħ Bedī*. Patiala, 1988

Gm.S.

GURBILĀS CHHEVĪN PĀTSHĀHĪ, lit. the (life)-play of the Sixth Gurū, is a versified biography of Gurū Hargobind in language more akin to Braj, written in the Gurmukhī script. The author is anonymous, though the colophon mentions 1775 Bk/AD 1718 as the year of the completion of the work. The task, says the poet, took him fifteen months to accomplish. Certain anachronistic references to events of post-1718 period make this date suspect. Another date suggested by a modern scholar is AD 1843. Two versions of the work are available in print, one edited by Giānī Indar Sīngħ Gill and published in 1968 by Jīvan Mandar Pustakālīā, Amritsar, and the other published in 1970 by the Languages Department, Punjab. Both editions comprise twenty-one cantos of unequal length, the former edition containing 8,131 stanzas and the latter 7,793.

Written mostly in the poetic metres of Chaupāi and Dohirā, the narrative begins with the poet invoking Bhagautī and adoring the Ten Gurūs of the Sikh faith to seek their blessings in the task he is launching upon. The circumstances which led to the composition of the epic are also explained. The poet claims to have versified the biographical details of Gurū Hargobind's life as narrated to him by his literary mentor, Dharam Sīngħ, who happened to be present at Nānaksar, present-day Nankāṇā Sāhib, where Bhāi Manī Sīngħ, scholar and martyr, on the request of a devout Sikh named Bhagat Sīngħ, recounted in successive sittings the memorable events relating to Gurū Hargobind's life. To lend authenticity to his account, he says that Manī Sīngħ's information was based on what he heard from Bhāi Dayā Sīngħ, one of Gurū Gobind Sīngħ's Pañj Piāre, who, in turn, had these details from the Gurū himself.

The *Gurbilās* covers events such as the birth, childhood and early education of Gurū Hargobind (cantos 1-3); his marriage (canto 5); compilation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib by

Gurū Arjan (canto 4) and his martyrdom (canto 7); construction of Akāl Takḥt (canto 8) and the digging of Babeksar (canto 9); battle of Amritsar (canto 10); marriage of Bībī Vīro (canto 11) and of Sūraj Mall (canto 17); liberation of Kaulāñ (canto 12); the passing away of Bhāi Buḍḍhā (canto 16); of Bhāi Gurdās (canto 18) and Mātā Damodarī (canto 19); defeat and death of Paīndā Khān (canto 20).

The author describes at some length Prithī Chand's acts of hostility towards his brother, Gurū Arjan. Prithī Chand laid his claim to the spiritual throne of Gurū Nānak after Gurū Rām Dās on the basis of his being the eldest son of the latter. He resented Gurū Arjan's installation as successor to Gurū Rām Dās, and became openly inimical after a son was born to him (Gurū Arjan). The birth of (Gurū) Hargobind is attributed to the blessings of Bhāi Buḍḍhā, a Sikh of Gurū Nānak's own time, widely reputed for his piety. As Gurū Arjan's wife, Mātā Gaṅgā one day brought out food for him, Bhāi Buḍḍhā started eating it, simultaneously showering blessings on her, saying that a warrior son would be born to her who would crush the tyrants.

There is a detailed account given of the founding and construction of the Akāl Takḥt. Gurū Hargobind, it is stated, laid the foundation of the Akāl Takḥt on Hār 5, 1663 Bk/ 3 June 1606, allowing only Bhāi Buḍḍhā and Bhāi Gurdās to lend the labour of their hands in raising the structure. Bhāi Gurdās was named custodian of the Akāl Takḥt as Bhāi Buḍḍhā had been of the Harimandar.

The poet attributes to Gurū Hargobind the assignment of *dhunīs*, i.e. tunes, to nine of the *vārs* in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Abdul and Natthā, two contemporary bards, recited at Sikh gatherings at Akāl Takḥt the *vārs* according to the tunes set by Gurū Hargobind. Later on, with the permission of Bhāi Buḍḍhā, Gurū Hargobind is said to have these *dhunīs* added in the hand of Bhāi Gurdās in the text of the Gurū Granth Sāhib.

This is contrary to the accepted belief that this was done by Gurū Arjan himself at the time of the compilation of the Holy Book. The *Gurbilās* comes to an end with the death of Gurū Hargobind which, according to it, took place in 1695 Bk/AD 1638. This date has been proved to be incorrect as also several others given in the text.

J.S.S.

GURBILĀS PĀTSHĀHĪ 10, a poeticized account of Gurū Gobind Singh's career, was completed in 1751, forty-three years after his death. Until it was published in 1968, there were only four manuscript copies of the work known to exist. Apart from specialists, very few had heard of it. The author of this work is Kuir Singh, a resident of Mohallā Kamboāñ of a city, which, in his book, remains unspecified, but which could possibly be Lahore. He entered the fold of the Kḥālsā under the influence of Bhāi Manī Singh. He uses two *noms de plume* for himself, namely Bisan Hari/Visanu Hari and Srī Kant Hari. The practice of using in the text synonyms of the actual name was fairly common amongst medieval Hindi poets. But the terms Kuir Singh employs have no semantic relationship with his name. It is likely that he adopted the new name Bishan Singh (synonym: *Bisan Hari*) on receiving the rites of Kḥālsā baptism.

The entire *Gurbilās* is written in verse of various forms, including *arīl*, *salok*, *savāiyā*, *sirkhaṇḍī*, *sorathā*, *kabit*, *chaupaī*, *jhūlanā*, *tribhaṅgī*, *dohirā*, *bhujaṅg*, *rasāval*, *gā*, and *narāj*. Out of a total of 2,938 *chhands*, 2,901 are written in Braj Bhāṣā and the remaining 37 in Punjabi. The work has a few specimens of prose interspersed in the text which are linguistically very significant. As far his sources of information, the poet seems to have had access to two preceding works, Gurū Gobind Singh's *Bachitra Nāṭak* and Saināpatī's *Srī Gur Sobhā*. More than that, he has relied on information personally obtained from Bhāi Manī Singh.

Whereas the *Bachitra Nātak* comes down to 1696 and the *Srī Gur Sobhā* takes up the thread in a broad way from where it ends, Kuir Siṅgh's *Gurbilās* covers the entire span of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh's life. It is the first work to record details of the early years of his career, of the Sis Bheṭ episode in the creation of the *Khālsā*, and the march of the Gurū from Chamkaur to Talvaṇḍī Sābo. It also contains reference to Gurū Gobind Siṅgh passing on the spiritual succession to the Gurū Granth Sāhib which was to be the Gurū after him. Equally important is the poet's evocation of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh's image. Writing at a time when the Sikhs were engaged in a bitter struggle against the Mughal rulers, he portrays the Gurū as a liberator and warrior, and as the guardian angel of the *Khālsā* ranks. The Gurū's mission, nebulously hinted at in the *Bachitra Nātak*, is now clearly understood as the extirpation of the tyrannical rule of the Mughals and the establishment of an autonomous *Khālsā* rāj. A devotee and admirer of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, he addresses him by such terms as Prabhū (Master), Kartār (Creator), Karunāsindh (Ocean of Compassion), Dayānidh (Treasure of Grace), Kripāsindh (Ocean of Kindness), etc.

The *Gurbilās* is not, however, free from faults. Its dates are often erroneous; for instance, 1689, instead of 1699 for the creation of the *Khālsā* and 1709 instead of 1708 for the death of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh at Nāndeḍ. Figures concerning the strength of enemy forces and the casualties suffered by them are grossly exaggerated. The battles of Anandpur are divided into two rounds, the first of which is described as preceding the attacks of Dilāwar *Khān*, Husain *Khān* and Mirzā Beg, which is historically incorrect. Similarly, Gurū Gobind Siṅgh's journey to the South with Emperor Bahādur Shāh is unhistorically interrupted by long visits, lasting for years, to places like Paṭnā, Kāshī and Ayodhyā.

A notable feature of the work is the evidence it furnishes about the martyrdom of Bhāi Manī Siṅgh and his companions in 1734. Kuir Siṅgh seems to have been an eyewitness and mentions the names of some of the Sikhs who were executed along with Bhāi Manī Siṅgh. No other contemporary source contains this information.

F.S.

GURBILĀS PĀTSHĀHĪ DASVĪN, a poeticized account of the life of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh by Bhāi Sukkhā Siṅgh. The poet, a convert to Sikhism from the barber caste, was born at Anandpur in 1768 and completed the work in 1797 when he was barely twenty-nine. The poetry is more Braj than Punjabi, but the script used is Gurmukhī. Recently, the Languages Department, Punjab, has brought out an edition in Devanāgarī characters also. The oldest printed edition of the work available is the one published in 1912 by Lālā Rām Chand Mānakṭāhlā from Lahore. Comprising thirty-one cantos, the work gives a detailed account of the events of the life of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh and of the causes which led to the battles he had to fight. Beginning with an invocation to the Timeless One in the classical style, the poet goes on to narrate the dream in which he was instructed in the "Shastranām Mālā", a chapter in the *Dasam Granth*, and was inspired to delineate in verse the life of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. Bhāi Sukkhā Siṅgh claims to have had that dream while at Paṭnā where he used to deliver sermons to Sikh congregations at Takht Srī Harimandar Sāhib. He soon left Paṭnā for Anandpur where he remained until his death in 1838 and where he completed the *Gurbilās*.

Besides the information received by word of mouth from old people, Sukkhā Siṅgh seems to have relied on works such as Gurū Gobind Siṅgh's autobiographical *Bachitra Nātak*, Kuir Siṅgh's life of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, Saināpati's *Srī Gur Sobhā*, Aṇī Rāi's *Juṅgnāmā Gurū Gobind Siṅgh* and Sarūp Dās

Bhallā's *Mahimā Prakāsh*. With its wealth of detail, Sukkhā Singh's *Gurbilās* combines a rare insight into the prevailing political conditions and into the moral issues involved in the resistance Gurū Gobind Singh had launched. Elaborate detail marks the description of the Baisākhī day of 1699 when Gurū Gobind Singh introduced *khanda dī pāhul* and the pledges of the *Khālsā* fraternity; of the regal splendour at the Gurū's court at Anandpur; Rājā Bhīm Chand's visit to the Gurū and his envy of his style; his machinations at Srīnagar (Garhvāl) which converted a disciple like Fateh Chand into the enemy of the Gurū and their attack on the Gurū at Pāonṭā; and the evacuation of Anandpur by the Gurū under a prolonged siege by the hill chiefs and Mughal troops and the subsequent course of events. The last days of Gurū Gobind Singh at Nāndeḍ are described in this work in minuter detail than anywhere else. *Gurbilās*, however, is not a straight chronicle of events. Poetic imagination and pious adornment predominate over factual narration.

K.S.T.

GURCHARAN SINGH, a Kūkā leader (formally designated *sūbā*, i.e. governor or deputy, by Bābā Rām Singh) who attempted to seek help of the Russians against the British, was born in 1806 at Chakk Pirāṇā in Siālkoṭ district, now in Pakistan, the son of Atar Singh Virk. He joined the army of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh as a trooper in 1833 and served the Sikh State up to its annexation in 1849. He was initiated into the Kūkā faith about 1870 by the Kūkā *sūbā*, Jotā Singh, also of the Siālkoṭ district, and shortly afterwards was himself appointed a *sūbā*. After the deportation of Bābā Rām Singh to Rangoon in 1872, Gurcharan Singh travelled extensively preaching the Kūkā creed and making converts. He got in contact with Russians after they had firmly established themselves in the central Asian region. He

knew Pashto and Persian languages and was fully familiar with Afghanistan and the territories beyond having visited Kābul several times. He possessed a strong physique capable of undertaking long and arduous journeys. His descriptive roll as given in the police records at the time of his arrest in 1881 was: "Light complexion, large eyes, aquiline features, white beard and moustaches, height about 5 ft 11 inches, age 75 years; general appearance — a fine and handsome specimen of a Sikh."

In 1879, Gurcharan Singh carried a letter to the Russian authorities purporting to be from Bābā Rām Singh, the Kūkā leader. He reached Tash Kurghan in April 1880 where he was received by the Russian governor of Tashkent. The letter in Gurmukhī began with *salāms* to the Russian emperor, the governor-general and other Russian officers and among other things went on to say that Rām Singh was the spiritual leader of 3,15,000 Kūkās, all brave soldiers; that the tyrannical British government had imprisoned him in Rangoon; that the British were afraid of losing the Punjab to the Kūkās; that Russians would go to India to expel the English and that both the Russians and the *Khālsā* would rule over all India. The Russian authorities showed keen interest in Gurcharan Singh's mission, but they were non-committal and wished to proceed with caution. A letter was, however, given to the Kūkā leader:

Greetings from the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General to Baba Ram Singh and Baba Budh Singh. The letter was duly received from Gurcharan Singh, careful consideration was given it, and the contents were gratifying to note. Thanks for the informative communication, but it is desirable to have details, more fresh news about the affairs and situation in India. The prophecy of Guru Govind Singh and Guru Baba Nanak was noted for information. Everything will

happen according to the Will of God. The prophets know best when the hour will strike.

Gurcharan Singh reached Bhaiṇī Sāhib by a circuitous route via Peshāwar and Rāwalpiṇḍī and delivered the Russian letter with the accompanying presents to Bābā Buddh Singh for onward transmission to Bābā Rām Singh. The British government came to know about the movements of Gurcharan Singh and began to keep a strict watch upon him. He was soon arrested and sent to Multān jail. After his release in 1886, he was kept under police surveillance in his native village in Siālkoṭ district.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Fauja Singh, *Kuka Movement*. Delhi, 1965
2. Ahluwalia, M.M., *Kukas: The Freedom Fighters of the Panjab*. Bombay, 1965
3. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Kūhiān dī Vithiā*. Amritsar, 1944
M.L.A.

GURDĀS, BHĀĪ (1551-1636), much honoured in Sikh learning and piety, was a leading figure in early Sikhism who enjoyed the patronage of Gurū Arjan under whose supervision he inscribed the first copy of Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, which is still extant. He was born in a Bhallā Khatri family (father: Īshar Dās; mother: Jivānī) at Goindvāl in 1608 BK/AD 1551. Bhāī Īshar Dās, one of Gurū Amar Dās's cousins had settled in Goindvāl soon after the town was founded in 1603 BK/AD 1546. Bhāī Gurdās, who was the only child of his parents, lost his mother when he was barely three and his father when he was 12. He spent his early years at Goindvāl and Sultānpur Lodhī. At the former place, he had the opportunity of listening to many men of knowledge and spiritual attainment who kept visiting the town which fell on the Delhi-Lahore road and was then the religious centre of the Sikhs. He later proceeded to Vārāṇasī where he studied Sanskrit and Hindu scriptures. He was initiated into

Sikhism by Gurū Rām Dās in 1579. He travelled extensively visiting Āgrā, Lucknow, Vārāṇasī, Burhānpur, Rājasthān, Jammū and Chambā hills, preaching Gurū Nānak's word. After the passing away of Gurū Rām Dās, in 1581, he returned to the Punjab, visited Goindvāl and thence proceeded to Amritsar to pay his obeisance to Gurū Arjan, Gurū Rām Dās's successor. He made Amritsar his home and through his devotion and love of learning carved for himself a pre-eminent position among the Gurū's disciples. When the Gurū decided to compile the Holy Granth containing the hymns of the Gurūs and of some of the saints and sūfīs, he chose Bhāī Gurdās to be his principal helper. They worked together on the volume which was completed in 1604. The entire text was inscribed by Bhāī Gurdās. The copy written in his hand is preserved to this day in the family of the Gurū's descendants at Kartārpur, in Jalandhar district of the Punjab.

Bhāī Gurdās also contributed the labour of his hands to the excavation of the sacred pool at Amritsar (1577). He was chosen to recite the Gurūs' hymns to Emperor Akbar when he visited Kartārpur in 1596-97 on his way back from a military campaign. As the tradition goes, the Emperor had been incited by Prithī Chand and his supporters against Gurū Arjan saying that the hymns he was planning to compile into a volume had an anti-Muslim tone. As Bhāī Gurdās read out verses selected at random, the Emperor was deeply impressed with their spiritual content. When Gurū Hargobind, Nānak VI, decided to construct in front of the Harimandar, Akāl Takht, Throne of the Timeless Lord, he entrusted the task to the two most revered Sikhs of the time, Bhāī Gurdās and Bhāī Buḍḍhā, the latter blessed by Gurū Nānak himself. Bhāī Gurdās was assigned to looking after the premises. Gurū Hargobind also appointed him to teach his young son (Gurū) Tegh Bahādur ancient classics even as Bhāī Buḍḍhā supervised his training in manly arts of ar-

chery and horsemanship. Bhāi Gurdās led a batch of Sikhs to Gwālīor where Gurū Hargobind had been detained under the orders of the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr. He was present at the weddings of the Gurū's sons Bābā Gurdittā (April 1621) and Bābā Sūraj Mall (23 April 1629). He offered *ardās* at the death in 1621 of Mātā Gaṅgā, wife of Gurū Arjan, and recited Scripture and offered *ardās* at the time of Bābā Buḍḍhā's death on 17 November 1631.

Bhāi Gurdās was the bulwark of Sikhism for many years. He was the expounder and exemplar of the Sikh way of life. He was a man of wide learning especially in ancient texts and philosophy, and devoted his exceptional talents to preaching the Sikh faith. He composed verse which is valued for its racy style and for its vivid exposition of the teaching of the Gurūs. His poetry, now available in two volumes, in Punjabi *Vārān Bhāi Gurdās* and in Braj *Kabitt Savāiyye*, forms part of accepted Sikh canon and is sung along with *gurbāṇī*, the Gurūs' word, at holy congregations. Gurū Arjan put his seal of approval on it by designating it as the "key" to the Holy Scripture.

Bhāi Gurdās, who never married, died at Goindvāl on Bhādoṅ *sudī* 5, 1693 Bk/25 August 1636.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jaggī, Ratan Singh, *Bhāi Gurdās: Jivan te Rachnā*. Patiala, 1974
2. Sardūl Singh, *Bhāi Gurdās*. Patiala, 1961
3. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990
4. Darshan Singh, *Bhāi Gurdās: Sikkhī de Pahile Viākhiākār*. Patiala, 1986

R.S.J.

GURDĀS, BHĀĪ, a descendant of Gurū Arjan's renowned Sikh Bhāi Bahilo (1553-1643), was a *masand* or minister of Bābā Rām Rāi at Dehrā Dūn. When after the death of Bābā Rām Rāi on 4 September 1687 a large

number of his *masands* started grabbing his property and offerings, Bhāi Gurdās remained faithful to his widow, Pañjāb Kaur. It was he who carried Pañjāb Kaur's complaint and appeal for help to Gurū Gobind Singh, then staying at Pāoṅṅā. Several years later, he along with his younger brother, Tārā, joined the retinue of Gurū Gobind Singh, who appointed them to preach Sikhism in their native district (Baṭhiṅḍā).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Sukkhā Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Dāsvīnī*. Lahore, 1912
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Panth Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1970

Gn.S.

GURDĀS, BHĀĪ, more precisely Bhāi Gurdās II, which description distinguishes him from his predecessor, Bhāi Gurdās who calligraphed Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, under the supervision of Gurū Arjan (1563-1606), was an eighteenth century poet famous for the *vār*, i.e. poem in folk form, in Hindized Punjabi, entitled *Vār Srī Bhagautī Jī Kī Pātshāhī Dāsvīnī Kī*. The title of the poem was given as *Vār Bhāi Gurdās Jī Kī* in a manuscript (No. 1361) in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar. This poem is usually appended to the collection, *Vārān Bhāi Gurdās*, which is the work of his predecessor. Another composition entitled *Rāg Rāmkaṭī Kī Vār* is also attributed to Gurdās II, but its subject matter, diction and style bear the closest affinity to the work of the senior Bhāi Gurdās to be categorically detached from it. This would confirm the assumption that the contribution of Bhāi Gurdās II amounts to the solitary composition which is generally anthologized as *vār* 41 in *Vārān Bhāi Gurdās*. No biographical details are available about the poet.

Vār Srī Bhagautī Jī Kī is a composition comprising 28 *paurīs* or stanzas, 20 of the stanzas ending with the same line proclaiming the uniqueness of Gurū Gobind Singh. A

point especially seized by the poet is about Gurū Gobind Singh having converted the *saṅgat*, fellowship of the Sikhs, into *Khālsā*. The entire poem is a panegyric to Gurū Gobind Singh. Gurū Gobind Singh is the upholder of goodness and vanquisher of evil. He is a valiant hero and his sword, symbolizing *Kālikā*, the power of the Almighty Lord, is the guarantee against evil. Stanza 22 refers to Gurū Gobind Singh's predecessors Gurū Har Rāi, the Seventh Gurū, and Gurū Har Krishan, the Eighth Gurū. Stanza 23 alludes to Gurū Tegh Bahādur and his martyrdom. Concluding stanzas celebrate the glory of the *Khālsā*.

R.S.J.

GURDIĀL SINGH DHILLOŃ (1915-1992), parliamentarian, diplomat and statesman, was a scion of the Bhaṅgī Sardārs who had ruled over the central Punjab during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Born at Sarhālī, in Jalandhar district of the Punjab, at his *nānke*, mother's village, on 6 August 1915, the son of Sardār Hardit Singh of Pañjvar, in Amritsar district, Gurdiāl Singh was educated at the *Khālsā* Collegiate School, Amritsar, and at Government College, Lahore, from where he graduated in 1935. He took the Law degree from the University Law College in 1937 and set up practice under the apprenticeship of the well-known nationalist leader of Amritsar, Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew. He was selected for a commission in the army and, though he completed the training, he did not join the service owing to his patriotic proclivity. The pull of the nationalist sentiment proved decisive and, in spite of his aristocratic birth, he was led to join the ranks of the Indian National Congress. Soon after passing out of the university's portals, he faced his first political test. A mass demonstration by students was then rocking the Punjab and it offered Gurdiāl Singh a ready passage into activity which remained his life-long passion. For his participation in the

students' agitation he was awarded a brief spell in jail. Soon thereafter, he was participating in a much larger protest which came to be known in the annals of the Punjab as *Harsā Chhīnā morchā* and which cost him a whole year in jail. This established his reputation as a youth leader of true calibre.

After this active brush with politics, Gurdiāl Singh did a stint in journalism. He became editor of two newspapers, the daily *Vartmān* (Punjabi) and the daily *Sher-i-Bhārat* (Urdu). This gave Gurdiāl Singh an opportunity to broaden his political contacts. He earned close kinship with politicians of the weight of Ūdham Singh Nāgoke and Darshan Singh Pherūmān. At the younger level were his comrades of the vintage of Īshar Singh Majhail.

At the first general elections in Independent India, in 1952, Gurdiāl Singh was elected a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. After a brief spell as Deputy Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, he was elected Speaker. In 1965, he became a member of the Punjab cabinet holding the portfolios of transport and rural electrification and irrigation. Translating himself to Delhi, after his election as a member of the Lok Sabhā, lower house of Indian Parliament, he maintained his position as an ace parliamentarian, leading to his election as speaker of the Indian Parliament. This office he relinquished to become a member of Indian cabinet in which he was assigned to the portfolios of transport and shipping. He then carried a diplomatic assignment as India's High Commissioner in Canada.

Gurdiāl Singh Dhillon's parliamentary career was studded with the highest national and international honours. As chairman of the conference of leaders of legislative bodies of India, he attended 17 of their annual conferences, seven of which he presided. He was awarded the Medallion of the Parliament of Canada. He was a familiar, much-honoured figure in world parliaments including the

mother of parliaments, the British House of Commons. He was elected acting president of Inter-parliamentary Union Conference at Geneva in 1973 and president at Tokyo in 1974. Dr Gurdiāl Sīngh was very lively and humorous man and some of his *bon mots* continued to reverberate in parliamentary halls of the world long after he had left them.

His family house in the village of Pañjvaṛ, in Amritsar, bore the evocative name, Missal House. Missal was the term for 12 eighteenth-century Sikh chiefships into which Punjab had become divided before it was consolidated into a unitary power under Mahārājā Rajjīt Sīngh.

Gurdiāl Sīngh Dhillon valued his association with the academic forums in his own country more than anything else. He was a member of the syndicate and senate of the Pañjāb University, Chaṇḍigarh, for many years. He also served as a member of the syndicate and senate of Gurū Nānak Dev University, Amritsar. He carried a D. Litt. (*honoris causa*) from Punjabi University, Patiālā, which enjoyed pride of place on the roster of his academic honours. He was a trustee of Gurū Nānak Engineering College, Ludhiānā, and a member of the board of governors of the Punjab Public School, Nābhā. He was president of Mātā Gaṅgā Girls College, Gurū Arjan Dev College and Khālsā Higher Secondary School, Tarn Tāran. He was a member of the managing committee of Bīṛ Bābā Buḍḍhā College and a trustee of the Shahīd Pherūmān College. He was chairman of the trust sub-committee and managing committee of Jalliānṵvālā Bāgh National Memorial Trust, 1973-81.

He held doctorates from international universities such as Humbolt (Germany) and Sung Kyun Kwan (Korea). He was plied with offers of *honoris causa* degrees by universities in India such as Punjabi, Chaṇḍigarh and Kurukshetra.

This bare account of his career tells but part of the story. Much more important than

the offices he reached and held was the man himself. He was a person of great charm and wit and of great nobility of mind and purpose. Dr Gurdiāl Sīngh Dhillon throughout maintained an independent and statesman-like course. He was a man of acknowledged personal dignity and honour. He was known for his frankness and for his integrity of word and character. As a politician, he claimed the cleanest reputation.

He was much in demand in Sikh literary and social forums. He was especially attached to his *alma mater*, the Pañjāb University and remained a member of its senate and syndicate for more than three decades. He was known not to have missed a single meeting of these bodies during his long association with the university.

Sardār Gurdiāl Sīngh died at Delhi, on 23 March 1992, following a heart attack.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Fifth Lok Sabha: Who's Who*. Delhi, 1971
2. *The Tribune*. Chandigarh, 24 March 1992
3. *The Hindustan Times*. New Delhi, 25 March 1992

Iq.S.

GURDIĀL SĪNGH, JATHEDĀR (1886-1958), also known as Giānī Gurdiāl Sīngh or Sant Gurdiāl Sīngh Bhiṇḍrānṵvāle, was born in 1886 at Ādampur, near Mogā, now in Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab. He studied up to matriculation. He enjoyed the patronage of Ṭikkā (later Mahārājā) Ripudaman Sīngh of Nābhā, whom he accompanied to England in 1910. On return from abroad in 1912, he joined the seminary at Bhiṇḍar Kalān run by Sant Sundar Sīngh where he studied Sikh theological and historical texts. When the first Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee was formed in November 1920, Gurdiāl Sīngh was nominated a member. He was one of those who persuaded the Committee to take up the question of the forced abdication and dethronement of the Nābhā ruler, Mahārājā Ripudaman Sīngh, in July

1923. Consequent upon the launching of what is known as the Jaito *morchā* or agitation to protest against the government's action, the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee was outlawed and its members put behind the bars. Sant Gurdīāl Singh was arrested on 7 January 1924 and imprisoned in Multān Central Jail. While under detention he used to give discourses on *gurbāṇī* for the benefit of his jail-mates. On release in 1926, he went back to Sant Sundar Singh, who appointed him *jathedār* in charge of a newly established *gurdwārā* and missionary centre at Bopā Rāi, a village in Ludhiāṇā district. He was elected to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1945. Besides teaching regular students at the seminary, Sant Gurdīāl Singh delivered a serialized discourse on the entire Gurū Granth Sāhib spread over a whole year. He had given 23 such annual series before he died at Bopā Rāi Kalān on 28 March 1958.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ashok, Shamsher Singh, *Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Prabandhak Committee dā Pañjāb Sālā Itihās*. Amritsar, 1982
2. Dilgeer, Harjinder Singh, *Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal*. Jalandhar, 1978

H.S.D.

GURDIT SINGH was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Gobind Singh. According to Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*, he was in the retinue of the Gurū as his treasurer during his journey to the Deccan in 1708.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Sukhā Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Dasvān*. Lahore, 1912

P.S.P.

GURDIT SINGH, BĀBĀ (1861-1954), patriot of *Komagata Maru* fame, was born in 1861, into a Sandhū Sikh family of Sarhālī, a village in Amritsar district. Gurdit Singh's

grandfather had served in the Sikh army as an officer but his father, Hukam Singh, was a small farmer of moderate means. Failing monsoon in 1870 drove Hukam Singh to seek a living away from home. He migrated to Taiping, Malaysia, where he became a small time contractor. His eldest son, Pahlū Singh, joined him there later but Gurdit Singh remained in the village where, in the absence of a regular school, he learned to read and write Gurmukhī at the feet of the custodian of the local *dharamsālā*. A skilled horseman, Gurdit Singh entertained the ambition of joining the Indian Cavalry, but was turned down by the recruitment board because he failed to meet the required physical standards. In 1885, he joined his father in Malaysia where he became a successful contractor and businessman.

Gurdit Singh was married in 1885. From this marriage, he had two daughters and a son, all three of whom died. The wife herself passed away in 1904. His second wife bore him a son, Balvant Singh, who survived his father. Gurdit Singh established the Gurū Nānak Steamship Company and leased a Japanese ship, the *Komagata Maru*, renamed Gurū Nānak Jahāz, and launched it from Hong Kong in 1914 taking a batch of Indian emigrants to Canada. This was done to circumvent the new Canadian immigration ordinances which, aiming to stop the influx of Indians, prohibited entry into Canada of persons of every nationality except by a "continuous" journey on through tickets from the country of their birth or citizenship. There was no direct shipping service from India to Canada and the object of the Canadian government in passing the ordinances was specifically to debar the Indians. On the eve of the ship's scheduled departure, Gurdit Singh was arrested and, pending final clearance, a large number of the passengers, cancelled their booking so that when he was released and the ship finally left port on 4 April 1914, only 194 of the original 500 pas-

sengers were on board. Intermediate stops were made at Shanghai, Moji and Yokohama. Gurdit Singh received from Ghadr leaders, Maulawī Barkatullah and Gyānī Bhagwān Singh, revolutionary literature which was distributed among the passengers whose number grew with groups picked up on the way to 376, of whom 359 were Sikhs. The ship finally arrived in Vancouver on 23 May 1914. Canadian officials refused to allow all but a few of the passengers to disembark and the ship remained at anchor for two months while Gurdit Singh tried unsuccessfully to negotiate for the landing of his passengers. In this situation he enjoyed the full support of the Sikh community in Vancouver. Tension rose as the rations ran low. After a brief and violent confrontation in which a boatload of Canadian officials attempting to board the *S.S. Komagata Maru* were repelled, a compromise was reached. The government of Canada provided rations and fuel for the return journey.

On 29 September 1914, the *S.S. Komagata Maru* docked at Budge Budge, near Calcutta. Bābā Gurdit Singh and his Sikh companions became rebels in the eyes of the Indian government. His ship was searched for any arms he might be smuggling into India. In Calcutta, a special train was kept ready for the passengers to be transported back to their homes in the Punjab. Seventeen Muslim passengers obeyed government orders and boarded the train. The Sikh passengers refused and, forming themselves into a procession with the Gurū Granth Sāhib at the head of it, wended their way towards the city. British troops and police turned out and forced them back to the railway station where a clash occurred. Eighteen Sikhs were killed and twenty-five wounded. Police made arrests, but Gurdit Singh escaped and evaded capture for seven years, packed with adventure and drama. Finally, he gave himself up to the police at Nankānā Sāhib on 15 November 1921, the birth anniversary of Gurū

Nānak, after he had participated in religious observances at the shrine. He was imprisoned but freed in a little more than three months, on 28 February 1922. On his release, he was warmly received throughout the Punjab. He was arrested again on 7 March 1922 on charges of making seditious speeches at the Golden Temple at Amritsar and was held in jail for four years.

In 1926, he acted as president of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal during the absence in jail of Sarmukh Singh Jhabāl. At the 1926 Gauhāṭī session of the Indian National Congress, Gurdit Singh led a walk-out by 50 Sikh delegates to protest against the Subjects Committee's decision not to include in its resolutions a reference to the ruler of the Sikh state of Nābhā who had been forced by the British to abdicate and for whose sake the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal had launched a mass agitation. During the period from 1931 to 1933, Gurdit Singh was arrested three more times for his political activities. In 1937, he sought election to the Punjab Legislative Assembly as a nominee of the Indian National Congress, but lost to the Akālī candidate, Partāp Singh Kairoṇ. Bābā Gurdit Singh took part in the Sarb-Sampradāi Conference (1934) on behalf of the Akālīs.

Bābā Gurdit Singh died on 24 July 1954 at Amritsar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jas, Jaswant Singh, *Bābā Gurdit Singh (Kāmāgāṭā Mārū)*. Jalandhar, 1970
2. Dard, Hirā Singh, *Bābā Gurdit Singh dā Jīvan*. Lahore, 1923
3. Jagjit Singh, *Ghadr Pārī Lahir*. Tarn Taran, 1955
4. Sainīsarā, Gurcharan Singh, *Ghadr Pārī dā Itihās*. Jalandhar, 1969
5. Sen, S.P., *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol.II. Calcutta, 1973

J.S.J.

GURDIT SINGH MAJĪTHĪĀ (d. 1853), army general in Sikh times, was son of Amar Singh

Majīṭhīā. He entered Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's service in 1834, and rose to command 3 infantry battalions and a wing of light artillery. General Gurdit Singh was in command of the Lahore troops at Peshāwar in September 1845 when Prince Pashaurā Singh had risen in revolt. He rejected the Prince's call to throw off his allegiance to the Darbār and join him. Gurdit Singh was married to the niece of Dīwān Sāvaṇ Mall, the governor of Multān.

He died in 1853.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Smyth, G. Carmichael, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*. Patiala, 1970

B.J.H.

GURDIT SINGH NALVĀ (1807-1882), soldier and *jāgirdār* in Sikh times, was the eldest son of the famous general, Harī Singh Nalvā. He received a sum of Rs 2,200 from Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh as his share out of money left by his father. The British settled upon him an allowance of Rs 480 annually after the annexation of the Punjab. He also inherited in 1877 the *jāgīr* of his brother, Jawāhar Singh.

Gurdit Singh died in 1882.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

J.R.G.

GURDIT SINGH SANDHĀŅVĀLĪĀ, the youngest of the four sons of Ṭhākūr Singh SandhāŅvālīā, who led the campaign for the restoration of Mahārājā Duleep Singh to the throne of the Punjab and who was prime minister of the Mahārājā's *enigre* government set up in Pondicherry, was barely in

his teens when he crossed over to the French territory with his father. Of the three brothers of Gurdit Singh, Gurbachan Singh had been adopted by his uncle Partāp Singh, Bakhsish Singh had been adopted by a collateral Shamsheer Singh, and Narendra Singh (married to the daughter of Rāo Umrāo Singh of Kuṭesar) lived with his father-in-law at Meerut and was adopted by Kaṅvar Dharam Singh of Dādri. Gurdit Singh was, thus, the only legal heir to Ṭhākūr Singh. After the death of Ṭhākūr Singh, Gurbachan Singh applied for forgiveness of the government for himself and his brothers which was granted in 1890. On his return to British India, Gurdit Singh lived at MānaŅvālā, in GujraŅwālā district, and inherited a virtually bankrupt estate. His petition (jointly with his brothers) for the restoration of the *jāgīr* was rejected. At the time of the resumption of the *jāgīr*, the British government had allowed the sons of Ṭhākūr Singh an allowance of Rs 100 per mensem to be divided equally among the three brothers. After Independence, Gurdit Singh's sole surviving son, Pritam Singh, received in compensation a political sufferer's grant of Rs 6,000 from the Punjab government.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ganda Singh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement in the Punjab (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence)*. Patiala, 1972

K.S.T.

GURDITTĀ, BĀBĀ (1613-1638), the eldest son of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), was born on 15 November 1613 to Mātā Damodarī at Ḍaraulī Bhāī in present-day Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab. He had his training in religious lore and in the martial arts under the supervision of his father. He was married on 17 April 1621 to Anantī alias Natū, daughter of Bhāī Rāmā of Baṭālā, an ancient town in Gurdāspur district.

According to *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*, relations from Daraulī, Maṇḍiālī, Goindvāl and Khaḍūr Sāhib accompanied the marriage party. Bābā Buḍḍhā and Bhāī Gurdās, however, stayed behind in Amritsar to look after the Harimandar and the Akāl Takht. On returning to Amritsar, the family and the guests offered thanksgiving *ardās* and *prashad* first at Akāl Takht and then at Harimandar. From 1626-27, Bābā Gurdittā lived at Kartārpur in Jalandhar district as directed by his father. During this period he founded under his father's instructions a habitation, the present Kīratpur Sāhib, in the Śivālik foothills. He also took part in the battle at Kartārpur against Pāindā Khān who was supported by the Mughal *faujdar* or garrison commander of Jalandhar. Bābā Srī Chand, the aged son of Gurū Nānak, appointed Bābā Gurdittā to succeed him as head of the Udāsī sect he had founded. Bābā Gurdittā proved worthy of the choice, and left a permanent mark on the history of the sect. He is best remembered for having reinvigorated missionary activity to which end he established four *dhūāns* or Udāsī preaching centres.

Bābā Gurdittā died at Kīratpur on Chet *sudī* 10, 1695 Bk/15 March 1638. As the legend goes, he had resurrected earlier on that day a cow which he had inadvertently killed while out hunting. Gurū Hargobind, it is said, admonished him for thus displaying a miracle. Bābā Gurdittā, overtaken by remorse for causing annoyance to his father, quietly retired and betook himself to a lonely place outside Kīratpur where he quit the earthly frame. A *dehrā* or mausoleum now stands on the spot.

Bābā Gurdittā had two sons — Dhīr Mall and Har Rāi. The latter donned the spiritual mantle of his grandfather whom he succeeded as Gurū Har Rāi, Nānak VII, in 1644.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Chhibbar, Kesar Singh, *Baṅsāvalīnāmā Dasānī*

Pātshāhīn Kā. Chandigarh, 1972

2. *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
3. Randhir Singh, Bhāī, *Udāsī Sikhān dī Vithiā*. Amritsar, 1972
4. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963
5. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983

M.G.S.

GURDITTĀ, BHĀĪ, a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. He received instruction from the Gurū himself and repeated constantly the name 'Vāhigurū'. Thus he remained absorbed in God's remembrance (*Vārān*, XI.24).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

GURDITTĀ, BHĀĪ (1625-1675), son of Bhāī Jhaṇḍā, was a descendant of the venerable Bābā Buḍḍhā. He was one of those who, after the death of Gurū Har Krishan at Delhi in 1664, were especially summoned to Bakālā for the anointment of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. The privilege of performing this ceremony had by tradition belonged to Bābā Buḍḍhā's house. On 11 August 1664, Bhāī Gurdittā, presented to Gurū Tegh Bahādur the spiritual regalia and placed the saffron mark on his forehead. He planted, on 19 June 1665, the ceremonial sapling at the Mākhovāl mound near Kīratpur in the Śivālik foothills, where the Gurū founded a new habitation, Chakk Nānakī, later renamed Anandpur. It is not certain whether he accompanied the Gurū during his travel to the east, but, according to *Sākhī Pothī*, he was in attendance on him during his journey through the Mālvā country, probably in 1672-74. In 1675, when Gurū Tegh Bahādur decided to proceed to Delhi to court mar-

tyrdom, Bhāi Gurdittā was called upon to perform the accession ceremony, installing Gurū Gobind Singh as the Tenth Gurū of the Sikhs. The ceremony took place on 8 July 1675. Three days later Bhāi Gurdittā also set out for Delhi. He was not arrested on the way, and reached Delhi where he witnessed the martyrdom of Gurū Tegh Bahādur's Sikhs on 11 November 1675. He himself discarded his body in a divine passion the following day, 12 November 1675. According to *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*, he was cremated by the Sikhs of Delhi at Bhogal, on the bank of the River Yamunā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sakhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
2. Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giāni Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986
3. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pāshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
4. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1982

A.C.B.

GURDITTĀ BHATHIĀRĀ was, according to tradition, engaged by Chandū Shāh to torture Gurū Arjan to death. Death by torture had been ordered by Emperor Jahāngīr himself and Chandū Shāh had, out of personal rancour, taken upon himself the responsibility of carrying out the imperial fiat. Gurdittā, a poor *bhathīārā* or gram-parcher by trade, was told to heat up an iron plate placed over a big hearth. Gurū Arjan was made to sit on the red-hot plate and Gurdittā was ordered to pour hot sand over his body. The torture ended in Gurū Arjan's death. Years later, when Jahāngīr was reconciled to Gurū Arjan's son and successor, Gurū Hargobind, he had Chandū Shāh handed over to the Gurū to be dealt with according to his deserts. Chandū Shāh was paraded in the streets of Lahore and subjected to insult and shoe-beating by the people. As he was taken to the street where Gurdittā Bhaṭhiārā practised his trade, the latter, filled with contempt and anger, threw the

heavy laddle he had, under his orders, used to pour hot sand over Gurū Arjan's blistered frame, at him saying, in the words of Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, "Keep away, you arch-sinner, and do not cast your evil shadow upon me." The hot laddle hit Chandū Shāh in the stomach and killed him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā*. Patiala, 1970
M.G.S.

GURDWĀRĀ, lit. the Gurū's portal or the Gurū's abode, is the name given to a Sikh place of worship. The common translation of the term as temple is not satisfactory for, their faith possessing no sacrificial symbolism, Sikhs have neither idols nor altars in their holy places. They have no sacraments and no priestly order. The essential feature of a *gurdwārā* is the presiding presence in it of Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Ending the line of personal Gurūs, Gurū Gobind Singh, Nānak X, had installed the sacred volume in 1708 as his eternal successor. The Holy Book has since been the Gurū for the Sikhs and it must reign over all Sikh places of worship where religious ceremony focusses around it. The basic condition for a Sikh place to be so known is the installation in it of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Every Sikh place by that token is the house of the Gurū. Hence the name Gurdwārā (*gur+dwārā*= the gurū's door).

A second characteristic of a *gurdwārā* is its being a public place open to all devotees to pray individually or to assemble in congregation. Its external distinguishing mark is the Nishān Sāhib or the Sikh flag, saffron or blue in colour, that flies day and night atop the building, or, more often, separately close to it. In early Sikhism, the place used for congregational prayers was called

dharamsālā, the abode of *dharma*, different from the modern usage which generally limits the term to a resting place. According to the Janam Sākhī, Gurū Nānak wherever he went, called upon his followers to establish *dharamsālās* and congregate in them to repeat God's Name, and to recite His praise. He himself established one at Kartārpur on the bank of the River Rāvī where he settled down at the end of his extensive preaching tours. "I have set up a *dharamsāl* of truth," sang Gurū Arjan (1563-1606). "I seek the Sikhs of the Gurū (to congregate therein) so that I may serve them and bow at their feet" (GG, 73). In the time of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), *dharamsāls* began to be called *gurdwārās*. The change of nomenclature was significant. Gurū Arjan had compiled in 1604 a Book, *pothī* or *granth* (later Gurū Granth Sāhib) of holy hymns. Besides his own, he had included in it the compositions of his four spiritual predecessors and of some of the Indian saints and sūfis. "The *pothī* is the abode of the Divine," said he (GG, 1226). This first copy of the Granth he installed in the central Sikh shrine, the Harimandar, at Amritsar. Copies of the Granth began to be piously transcribed. The devotees carried them on their heads for installation in their respective *dharamsāls*. Reverently, the Book was called the Granth Sāhib and was treated as a sacred embodiment of the Gurūs' revealed utterances. The *dharamsāl* where Granth Sāhib was kept came to be called *gurdwārā*. The designation became universal after the gurūship passed to the holy Book, although the central shrine at Amritsar continued to be called Harimandar or Darbār Sāhib.

During the second half of the eighteenth century and after, as the Sikhs acquired territory, *gurdwārās* sprang up in most of the Sikh habitations and on sites connected with the lives of the Gurūs and with events in Sikh history. Most of the historical *gurdwārās* were endowed by the ruling chiefs and nobility

with liberal grants of land. This well-intentioned philanthropy, however, in many cases led to the rise of hereditary priesthood, which was brought to an end through a sustained agitation culminating in securing from the Punjab Legislative Council legislation called the Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925, providing for the management of the major historical Sikh shrines by a body known as the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee elected through adult franchise under government auspices. This kind of democratic control is a unique ecclesiastical feature. Most of the shrines not covered by the Gurdwārās Act are administered by committees chosen by local *saṅgats*. Men and women of good standing in the Sikh community may be elected to the *gurdwārā* committee and anyone, male or female, may become president. As Sikhism has no priesthood, the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee provides guidance to the community in religious matters.

The main function of the *gurdwārā* is to provide Sikhs with a meeting-place for worship. This mainly consists of listening to the words of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, singing them to musical accompaniment and hearing them expounded in *kathā*, or lectures and sermons. The *gurdwārā* also serves as a community centre, a school, a guest house for pilgrims and travellers, occasionally a clinic, and a base for local charitable activities. Apart from morning and evening services, the *gurdwārās* hold special congregations to mark important anniversaries on the Sikh calendar. They become scenes of much eclat and festivity when celebrations in honour of the birth anniversaries of the Gurūs and of the *Khālsā* take place. The aspect of Sikhism most closely associated with the *gurdwārā*, other than worship, is the institution of Gurū kā Laṅgar or free community kitchen which encourages commensality. *Sevā* or voluntary service in Gurū kā Laṅgar is considered by Sikhs a pious duty.

The *gurdwārā* and its hospitality are open to non-Sikhs as well as to members of the faith. The Sikh *rahit maryādā* or code of conduct, however, contains certain rules pertaining to them. For example, no one should enter the *gurdwārā* premises with one's shoes on or with head uncovered. Other rules in the *rahit maryādā* concern the conduct of religious service and reverence due to the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Rules also prohibit discrimination in the *sangat* on the basis of religion, caste, sex or social position, and the observation of idolatrous and superstitious practices.

Unlike the places of worship in some other religious systems, *gurdwārā* buildings do not have to conform to any set architectural design. The only established requirement is the installation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, under a canopy or in a canopied seat, usually on a platform higher than the floor on which the devotees sit, and a tall Sikh pennant atop the building. Lately, more and more *gurdwārās* have been having buildings imitating more or less the Harimandar pattern, a mixture of Indo-Persian architecture. Most of them have square halls, stand on a higher plinth, have entrances on all four sides, and have square or octagonal domed sanctums usually in the middle. During recent decades, to meet the requirements of larger gatherings, bigger and better ventilated assembly halls with the sanctum at one end have become accepted style. The location of the sanctum, more often than not, is such as to allow space for circumambulation. Sometimes, to augment the space, verandahs are built to skirt the hall. Popular model for the dome is the ribbed lotus topped by an ornamental pinnacle. Arched copings, kiosks and solid domelets are used for exterior decorations. For functions other than purely religious, a *gurdwārā* complex must provide, in the same or adjacent compound, for Gurū kā Laṅgar and accommodation for pilgrims.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Patwant Singh, *Gurdwaras in India and around the World*. Delhi, 1992
2. Arshi, P.S., *The Sikh Architecture*. Delhi, 1984
3. Madanjit Kaur, *The Golden Temple: Past and Present*. Amritsar, 1983
4. Teja Singh, *Sikhism: Its Ideals and Institutions*. Bombay, 1938
5. Cole, W.Owen and Piara Singh Sambhi, *The Sikhs: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. Delhi, 1978
6. Prakash Singh, *The Sikh Gurus and the Temple of Bread*. Amritsar, 1964
7. Pratāp Singh, Giāni, *Gurudwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975

F.S.

GUR KĪRAT PRAKĀSH, by Vīr Singh Bal, is a versified account of the lives of the first nine of the ten Gurūs or spiritual teachers of the Sikh *panth*. Written in Braj, Gurmukhī characters, the work was completed in 1891 Bk/AD 1834. The manuscript, two copies of which are available one each in the Punjab State Archives at Paṭiālā (No. 682) and the Punjabi University at Paṭiālā, has since been published (Punjabi University, 1986). The work is divided into ten chapters, here called *hulās*, each dealing with the life of one of the nine Gurūs. The opening chapter on Gurū Nānak comprises 414 *chhands* or stanzas, followed by one on Gurū Aṅgad (135 stanzas). The chapter on Gurū Hargobind is the longest, 593 stanzas. The ninth chapter on Gurū Tegh Bahādur (71 stanzas) and the tenth (45 stanzas), which deals with the life and work of the author, are the briefest. The book excludes the life of Gurū Gobind Singh which forms part of the author's larger work *Singh Sāgar*. The colophon at the end says that the author belonged to the village of Saṭhiālā in Amritsar district and spent a good part of his life at the court of the Paṭiālā ruler. It was here during the reign of Mahārājā Karam Singh (1798-1845) that he completed this work.

P.S.P.

GURMANTRA, Punjabi Gurmantar, is that esoteric formula or term significant of the Supreme Being or the deity which the master or teacher confides to the neophyte to meditate on when initiating him into his spiritual discipline. The concept of *mantra* goes back to the pre-Vedic non-Aryan tradition and to the primitive cults of magic, animism and totemism. It has since been a continuing element one way or another in the religious traditions of the world and traces of it pervade to this day among the most modern of them. The occultist and the *tāntrist* believe that *mantras* have power over the deity and can make it confer the desired boon or favour. According to the Brāhmanical tradition, the universe is under the power of the gods, the gods are under the power of the *mantras* and the *mantras* are under the power of the Brāhmaṇs. The *mantras* have power over the gods or forces of Nature, but the Absolute Reality or the Supreme Being is here excluded. The *mantras* of the occultist comprised words which, in most cases, were merely weird sounds or perversions of meaningful words. The repetition, ceaseless repetition in the prescribed manner, of these was believed to prove efficacious in producing the desired result. *Mantras* also began to be culled from scriptural texts, and were used for the purpose of propitiating the gods. Similarly, certain mystic words from Scriptures were chosen to be meditated upon to win release or liberation. *Om* is the highest *mantra* in the Hindu system.

With the initiation ceremonies of different creeds developed the concept of the *gurmantra*. In Hinduism, Brāhmaṇs were the teachers. Their *gurmantras*, *mantras* imparted by *gurūs* or teachers, were neither uncommon nor secret. The usual forms were Hari, Har, Rāma, Hare Kṛṣṇa, etc. *Sohaṅg* (That I am) and *Ahaṅg* (I am That) are the mystic *gurmantras* of the Vedāntists. What makes a *gurmantra* meaningful is that it is whispered

into the ear of the disciple by the *gurū*. The disciple repeats the *gurmantra* as he is told to do to realize the Supreme. Whereas the *mantras* of the *tāntrists* aim at gaining worldly advantages, the *gurmantra* is meant to lead one to the ultimate objective of liberation.

In Sikhism, the *gurmantra* is neither variable nor confidential. It is not whispered into the ear of the disciple, but openly pronounced. The word *Vāhigurū* has been the *gurmantra* for the Sikhs from the very beginning; *Vāhigurū* is the name by which the Supreme Being is known in the Sikh tradition. Bhāi Gurdās (1551-1636) makes the statement “Vāhigurū is the *gurmantra*; by repeating it thou hast thy ego erased,” (*Vārāñ* X111.2). In the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the *gurmantra* to be practised is referred to as *nām*, i.e. the Divine Name. Absorption in *nām*, i.e. constant remembrance of God’s Name is repeatedly recommended. “All gains— spiritual and material — flow from concentration on *nām*” (GG, 290). “Gather the riches of God’s Name; thus wilt thou earn honour in the hereafter,” (GG, 1311). “Grant me the merit (O God) of remaining attached to thy Name.” This *nām*, according to Sikh tradition, Gurū Nānak received in a mystical experience, during his disappearance into the Beīñ rivulet which is described in the *Purātan Janam Sākhī* in terms of a direct communion with the Divine Lord. “As the Lord willed, Nānak the devotee was escorted to His Presence. Then a cup filled with *amrit* (nectar) was given him with the command, ‘Nānak, this is the cup of Name-adoration. Drink it... Go, rejoice in My Name and teach others to do so... I have bestowed upon thee the gift of My Name...’ It is believed that the Name Gurū Nānak revealed was *Vāhigurū*.

The Mūl Mantra or root formula with which Sikh Scripture opens defines the Reality. The epithet *sati* (*satya* from Sanskrit *as*) in it means ever-existent, eternal. *Onkār*, the primal word in the Mūl Mantra, is for the

temporal world that wonder whose name is *sat*. Vāhigurū directly and verbally echoes the wondrous aspect of the Gurū, here the Timeless Being. Vāhigurū and Satinām thus convey an identical awareness, the former being implicit and the latter explicit in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The Supreme Being is the ultimate Gurū (GG, 357). *Gurmantra* Vāhigurū means the wonderful Ever-existent Lord, the Supreme Enlightener.

Sikhism by definition is the faith of discipleship. The Gurū is central to the system — the Ten who lived in person and the Gurū Granth Sāhib which was so apotheosized in 1708 by the last of the Gurūs, Gurū Gobind Singh. The Gurū's word is for the Sikh the Word Divine, and he is meant to live by it. He to whom the Gurū imparts *nām mantra*, i.e. *gurmantra*, alone achieves perfection (GG, 1298); he receives bliss transcending all desires, (GG, 318); he has his fear and suffering annulled (GG, 51); he has himself accepted everywhere (GG, 257); and he has his sins cancelled pierced by the arrow of truth (GG, 521). *Gurmantra* acts as panacea for all ills (GG, 1002). Accursed is he who is devoid of *gurmantra* (GG, 1356-57). *Gurmantra* fixes one's mind on Him Who pervades everywhere (GG, 1357).

The initiation ceremony in early Sikhism was known as *charanāmrit* or *charan pāhul*, i.e. baptism by water from the holy foot (*charan*). The disciple drank water touched by the toe of the Gurū who imparted the *gurmantra*. As the community grew in numbers, local *saṅgat* leaders in different parts administered *charan pāhul*. One more practice is said to have originated in the time of Gurū Arjan of placing water under the wooden seat (*mañjī*) of the Gurū Granth Sāhib and then using it as *amrit* to initiate the neophytes. While inaugurating the *Khālsā* in 1699, Gurū Gobind Singh substituted *khaṇḍe dī pāhul* or *amrit* for *charan pāhul*. At that ceremony, the neophytes quaffed five palmsful of sweetened water

churned in a steel vessel with a *khaṇḍā*, double-edged sword, to the chanting of the holy hymns. In response to the Gurū's call, each of them shouted *Vāhigurū jī kī Khālsā*, *Vāhigurū jī kī Fateh*, every time he took a draught of the elixir. He thus imbibed the *gurmantra* Vāhigurū. Initiating in this manner the first five Sikhs known as *pañj piāre*, the Five Beloved, Gurū Gobind Singh had himself initiated by them with the same rites. Since then any five Sikhs reputed for their religious devotion can initiate the neophytes and administer to them the *gurmantra*. Constant repetition of Vāhigurū with full concentration, withdrawing one's mind from the world of the senses, is practising the Sikh spiritual discipline of *nām* so reverberatingly inculcated by the Gurūs in the Holy Book.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kāhn Singh, *Gurmat Mārtaṇḍ*. Amritsar, 1962
 2. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Delhi, n.d.
- T.S.

GURMAT (*gūr-mat*, *mat*, Sanskrit *matī*, i.e. counsel or tenets of the Gurū, more specifically the religious principles laid down by the Gurū) is a term which may in its essential sense be taken to be synonymous with Sikhism itself. It covers doctrinal, prescriptive and directional aspects of Sikh faith and praxis. Besides the basic theological structure, doctrine and tenets derived from the teachings of Gurū Nānak and his nine successors, it refers to the whole Sikh way of life both in its individual and social expressions evolved over the centuries. Guidance received by Sikhs in their day-to-day affairs from institutions established by the Gurūs and by the community nurtured upon their teachings will also fall within the frame of *gurmat*. In any exigency, the decision to be taken by the followers must conform to *gurmat* in its ideological and/or conventional assumptions.

The 'gurū' in *gur-mat* means the Ten Gurūs of the Sikh faith as well as *gur-bāñī*, i.e. their inspired utterances recorded in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The instruction (*mat*) of the Gurū implies the teaching imparted through this holy word, and the example set by the Ten Gurūs in person. Direction derived from these sources is a Sikh's ultimate norm in shaping the course of his life, both in its sacred and secular aspects. The spiritual path he is called upon to pursue should be oriented towards obtaining release, i.e. freedom from the dread bondage of repeated births and deaths, and standards of religious and personal conduct he must conform to in order to relate to his community and to society as a whole are all collectively subsumed in the concept of *gurmat*.

Theologically, *gurmat* encompasses a strictly monotheistic belief. Faith in the Transcendent Being as the Supreme, indivisible reality without attributes is the first principle. The attributive-immanent nature of the Supreme Being is also accepted in Sikhism which posits power to create as one of the cardinal attributes of the Absolute or God of its conception. The Creator brought into being the universe by his *hukam* or Will, without any intermediaries. Man, as the pinnacle of creation, is born with a divine spark; his liberation lies in the recognition of his own spiritual essence and immanence of the Divine in the cosmic order. Fulfilment comes with the curbing of one's *haumai* or ego and cultivation of the discipline of *nām*, i.e. absorption in God's name, and of the humanitarian values of *sevā*, selfless service to fellow men, love and tolerance.

The way of life prescribed by *gurmat* postulates faith in the teachings of *gurbāñī*, perception of the Divine Will as the supreme law and honest performance of one's duties as a householder, an essential obligation. The first act suggested is prayer — prayer in the form of recitation by the individual of *gurbāñī*, thus participation in corporate service, or

silent contemplation on the holy Word in one's solitude. *Kirat karnī*, *vanḍ chhakṇā te nām japṇā* is the formula which succinctly sums up what is required of a Sikh: he must work to earn his living, share with others the fruit of his exertion, and practise remembrance of God's Name. *Gurmat* has evolved a tradition of observances and ceremonies for the Sikhs, mostly centred around the Holy Book, Gurū Granth Sāhib. *Gurmat* recognizes no priestly class as such. Any of the Sikhs admitted to the *saṅgat* may lead any of the services. He may lead prayers, perform the wedding ceremony known as Anand Kāraj, and recite from the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The rites of passage, viz. ceremonies connected with the birth of a child, initiation, marriage and death, all take place in the presence of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. They conclude with an *ardās* and the distribution of sacramental *kaṛāhprasād*. The recital of six stanzas from the *Anand* (lit. bliss) is well-nigh mandatory for all occasions, whether of joy or sorrow, wedding or death.

On the ethical plane, *gurmat* prescribes a code of duties and moral virtues, coupled with the distinctive appearance made obligatory for the *Khālsā*. A Sikh becomes a full member of the *Khālsā* brotherhood after he has received the rites of initiation and the vows that go with it. Violation of any part of the code (particularly the four prohibitions) of the *Khālsā* is treated as disregard of *gurmat* and renders the offender guilty of apostasy. The tribunal of Srī Akāl Takht at Amritsar has traditionally been regarded as Supreme in religious, social and secular affairs of the Sikhs and has the authority to issue edicts for providing guidance to the Panth as a whole and to excommunicate any individual who has acted contrary to its interests or who has been found guilty of attempting to overturn any established Sikh religious convention.

Directional injunctions under *gurmat* can be issued to individuals or communities by Pañj Piāre, the five elect ones. They will pro-

vide solution to problems that arise or problems brought before them. Or, one 'consults' the Gurū by presenting oneself before the Gurū Granth Sāhib to obtain in moments of perplexity his (the Gurū's) guidance which comes in the form of the *śabda*, i.e. hymn or stanza, that first meets the eye at the top of left-hand page as the Holy Book is opened at random. There are instances also of the community leaders deciding on a course of action through recourse to such consultation. The institution of *gurmatā* (sacred resolution), unanimous decision taken or consensus arrived at in the presence of Gurū Granth Sāhib, dates back to the early eighteenth century.

Some of the conventions and customs established to resolve lingering controversies have become part of *gurmat*. In regard to the wedding ceremony for instance, the custom of *anand kāraṅj* has gained universal acceptance which was not the case until the beginning of the twentieth century: any other form of the ritual will not have the sanction of *gurmat* today. As regards meat-eating, *gurmat* has not given a final verdict, both vegetarianism and non-vegetarianism being concurrently prevalent. The use of intoxicants is, however, clearly prohibited. Casteism and untouchability are ruled out in principle; any vestiges of it such as use of caste-names as surnames are generally considered against *gurmat*. The 48-hour-long uninterrupted recitation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, called *akhaṇḍ pāth*, has over the decades come to be accepted as part of the Sikh way of life.

Gurmat does not approve of renunciation. It insists, on the other hand, on active participation in life. Human existence, according to Sikh belief, affords one a rare opportunity for self-transcendence through cognizing and contemplating on the Name and through deeds of selfless service. One rehearses the qualities of humility, compassion and fraternal love best

while living in the world. A householder who works to earn his living and is yet willing to share with others the fruit of his exertion and who cherishes ever God in his heart is, according to *gurmat*, the ideal man. Even as reverence for the pious and the saintly is regarded desirable, parasitism is forbidden in *gurmat*. The cultivation of the values of character and of finer tastes in life is commended.

The writings of the Gurūs preserved in the Gurū Granth Sāhib and the Dasam Granth best interpret and elucidate what *gurmat* is. Some anecdotes recorded in the Janam Sākhīs also help explain *gurmat* principles. A systematic exposition of *gurmat* principles was for the first time undertaken by Bhāi Gurdās (d. 1636), who in his *Vārāṅ* expatiated upon terms such as *gurmukh*, one attuned to the Gurūs' teaching, *saṅgat*, fellowship of the holy, and *sevā*, humble acts of service in the cause of the community and of fellow men in general, besides evolving a framework for the exegetics of *gurbāṅī*. The process of exposition, continued by men of learning such as Bābā Miharbān (1581-1640), Bhāi Manī Singh (d. 1737) and Bhāi Santokh Singh (1787-1843) and by the writers of Rahitnāmā literature reached its culmination in the Singh Sabhā movement which produced interpreters of the calibre of Bhāi Kāhn Singh (1861-1938), Bhāi Vir Singh (1872-1957) and Bhāi Jodh Singh (1882-1981).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kāhn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurmat Mārtand*. Amritsar, 1962
2. Jodh Singh, Bhāi, *Gurmat Nirmaya*. Ludhiana, 1932
3. Caveeshar, Sardūl Singh, *Sikh Dharam Darshan*. Patiala, 1969
4. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990

W.S.

GURMATĀ, a *matā*, i.e. counsel or resolution adopted by the Sikhs at an assembly of

theirs held in the name of the Gurū concerning any religious, social or political issue. The convention grew in the turbulent eighteenth century to determine the consensus of the community on matters affecting its solidarity and survival. In those uncertain days, Sikhs assembled at the Akāl Takht at Amritsar on Baisākhī and Dīvālī days and took counsel together, in the presence of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, to plan a course of action in face of an immanent danger or in pursuit of a common objective. The final decision emerging from the deliberations was the *gurmata*. It represented the general will of the Khālsā and it carried the sanction of the Gurū, the assembly having acted by the authority of the Gurū Granth Sāhib.

The genesis of the *gurmata* is traceable to the teachings of Gurū Gōbind Singh and the earliest instances in fact go back to his own time. While inaugurating the Khālsā in 1699, the Gurū said that all members of the Panth, the Sikh commonwealth, were equal, he (the Gurū) being one of them; all previous divisions of caste and status had been obliterated. Before he passed away in 1708, he declared that wherever Sikhs were gathered in the presence of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, there was the Gurū himself present and that the counsel thus taken represented the combined will of the Khālsā.

There are at least two instances occurring in the lifetime of Gurū Gobind Singh when he let the 'general will' of the Khālsā prevail, perhaps against his own judgement. One such instance was the evacuation of Anandpur (1705). Sorely pressed for want of food and ammunition, the besieged Sikhs decided to accept the promises of safe conduct given by the besieging force in return for withdrawal from the Fort. The Gurū was not convinced of the genuineness of the besiegers' word, yet he yielded to the will of the Khālsā expressed in council in his own presence. In the battle of Chamkaur, follow-

ing the evacuation of Anandpur, most of the Sikhs in train as well as two of the Gurū's sons fell fighting against the pursuing host. The few surviving Sikhs suggested to the Gurū to leave the fortress, to which he was not agreeable. They then expressed their joint will in the name of the Khālsā calling upon the Gurū to escape. This was a *gurmata* in its nascent form. The Gurū had no option but to 'obey'.

Gurmata had emerged as a well-established democratic institution towards the middle of the eighteenth century. European travellers such as George Forster (*A Journey from Bengal to England*) and John Malcolm (*Sketch of the Sikhs*), both of whom visited the Punjab, the former in 1783 and the latter in 1805, have left vivid accounts of the functioning of the *gurmata*. According to these accounts, Sikhs gathered twice a year, on the occasions of Baisākhī and Dīvālī, at Akāl Takht to take stock of the political situation, to devise ways and means to meet the common danger, to choose men to lead them in battle, and so on. The procedure was democratic. All those who attended these assemblies of the Sarbatt Khālsā, the entire Sikh people, had an equal say in the deliberations. "All private animosities ceased" and everyone present "sacrificed his personal feeling at the shrine of general good." Everyone was actuated by "principles of pure patriotism" and considered nothing but "the interest of the religion and the commonwealth" to which he belonged. After the *gurmata* was passed, everyone, irrespective of whether he had spoken for or against it when it was debated considered it his religious duty to abide by it. The assembly met in the presence of Gurū Granth Sāhib and the *Dasam Granth*. Inaugural *ardāsā* (supplication) was said by one of those present seeking the Gurū's blessing, sacramental *karāhprasād* was distributed and proposals were put forth for discussion. *Ardāsā*, continues John Malcolm, was again recited and

all those present vowed, with the Gurū Granth Sāhib betwixt them, to lay aside all internal disputes and discords. "This moment of religious fervour and ardent patriotism" was utilized to reconcile all animosities. Proposals were then considered and an agreed *gurmatā* evolved, the whole assembly raising shouts of *sat srī akāl* together in token of acceptance.

To cite some of the historic *gurmatās*, Sikhs resolved by mutual counsel at a general assembly at Amritsar in 1726 to avenge the slaying of Tārā Singh of Vān and his companions and rise to obstruct the functioning of the government. They attacked treasuries and arsenals and chastised the officials who had been spying on them. When in 1733 an offer of a *jāgīr* and title of Nawāb was received from the Mughal governor of Lahore, Sikhs by one voice chose Kapūr Singh for the honour. Though there was no formal *gurmatā* adopted, the consensus was arrived at in a *divān* in keeping with the same spirit and procedure. A Sikh conclave took place at Amritsar on Dīvālī (14 October) of 1745 to take stock of the situation following the death of the governor of Lahore, Zakariyā Khān, who had launched large-scale persecution, and adopted a *gurmatā* extending sanction to the 25 Sikh groups which had emerged and permitting them to carry out raids on Mughal strongholds. The assembly held on the Baisākhī day (30 March) of 1747 resolved by a *gurmatā* passed to erect at Amritsar a fort which came to be known as Rām Raṇṇī.

By a *gurmatā* passed in 1748 (Baisākhī, 29 March), Sikhs decided to establish the Dal Khālsā, choosing Jassā Singh Ahlūvālīā as the leader and reducing the number of recognized *jathās* to 11 (the number having gone up to 65 by then) and providing for a record being kept at the Akāl Takht of the possessions of each group in a separate file (*misl*). A *gurmatā* in 1753 formally endorsed the system of Rākhi introduced by the ruling Sikh

clans. In 1765, a *gurmatā* was passed proclaiming the supremacy of the Sarbatt Khālsā over individual leaders. Through another *gurmatā* the same year, a coin was struck with the inscription, *Deg o tegh o fateh o nusrat be dirāṅg, yāft az Nānak Gurū Gobind Singh* (prosperity, power and unfailing victory received from Nānak and Gurū Gobind Singh), and on the reverse, "Struck at Lahore, the seat of government, in the auspicious *samvat* 1822 (AD 1765)."

To challenge Ahmad Shāh Durrānī returning from Sirhind to Lahore at the time of his seventh invasion of India (1764-65), the Sikhs made a *gurmatā*. "All the Sikhs," records Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū, *Prāchin Panth Prakāsh*, "assembled in a *divān*. Sitting in one place, they adopted a *gurmatā* that they must now confront the Shāh and match arms with him. Every second day, they say, he comes and harasses us. Without fighting him now, we shall obtain no peace. He who survives will be spared this daily suffering; he who dies attains realms divine."

Conquests up to 1767 were made by the *misls* in the name of the Khālsā, but, with personal ambition and aggrandizement gaining the upper hand over the years, the sense of a corporate Sikh commonwealth gradually wore away. In the days of Sikh rule, the institution of *gurmatā* fell into desuetude. The last semblance of a *gurmatā* was an assembly of Sikh *sardārs* called by Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh in 1805 to discuss the situation arising from the entry into Sikh dominions of the fugitive Marāṭhā chief, Jasvant Rāo Holkar, followed by British troops under Lord Lake. The word *gurmatā* was resurrected after the lapse of Sikh sovereignty, especially with the rise of the Singh Sabhā movement in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. *Gurmatā* then referred to any decision on a matter of religious or social import arrived at by common consent at a Sikh assembly in the presence of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The Akālī movement brought within

its orbit political issues as well. The word *gurmatā* is now in everyday use for a resolution adopted at a Sikh religious *divān* or political conference.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prachīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914
2. Bhagat Singh, *Sikh Polity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Delhi, 1978
3. Malcolm, John, *Sketch of the Sikhs*. Patiala, 1970
4. Forster, George, *A Journey from Bengal to England*. Patiala, 1970

K.S.T.

GURMAT GRANTH PRACHĀRAK SABHĀ, an association aiming at propagating Sikh religion through publications, was established at Amritsar on 8 April 1885 by Giānī Sardūl Singh to continue the work started by his father, Giānī Giān Singh (d. 30 March 1884), the first secretary of Srī Gurū Singh Sabhā, Amritsar, established in 1873. Āgiā Singh Hakīm of Amritsar was elected secretary of the Gurmat Granth Prachārak Sabhā. On his death in April 1887, his son, Mannā Singh Hakīm, succeeded him as its secretary. The Sabhā undertook to sponsor research and publish authentic texts of the Gurūs' compositions and of other works such as Janam Sākhīs and Gurpranālīs. Already at the initiative of Giānī Giān Singh had been published the *Gurpurb Prakāsh*, the *Gurū Parīkhiā* and the *Srī Guru Kripā Kaṭākhya*. The first publication under the auspices of the Prachārak Sabhā was *Gur-Sikkhān de Nitt Karam*, the daily duties of the Sikhs, based on the first chapter of an earlier work, *Sikh Dharam Shāstar*. Other titles published included *Sad Sidhānt* (1887), *Gurmat Sidhānt va Pañchāṅg va Prashnāvālī ke Uttar*, *Thittān Vār Bārānmāh*, *Gur Mahimā Prakāsh*, *Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī de Pāṭh dī Vidhī*, *Gurpurb Patrikā* (1893), *Gurpranālī* (1894), *Sudhāsar Satak Pachīsā*, *Gur Pranālī Vidyārthhān de Kaṅṭh Karan Vālī* (1894) and *Yatrā Hazūr*

Abchalnagar Sāhib Jī Dī (1897). The Sabhā also discovered and printed an old manuscript *Gur Bilās Dasam Patsāh Kā*, an account in verse of the life of Gurū Gobind Singh, completed by Bhāi Sukkhā Singh in 1797. Another important task undertaken by the Sabhā was the preparation, at the instance of the Amritsar Singh Sabhā, of an authentic recension of the *Dasam Granth*. Funds for the project were provided by the Sabhā secretary, Bhāi Mannā Singh Hakīm, himself. Thirty-two different recensions were collected and several prominent scholars and theologians were invited to study them. They met at the Akāl Takht at Amritsar, and held formal discussions in a series of meetings between 13 June 1895 and 16 February 1896. A preliminary report entitled *Report Sodhak* (revision) *Committee Dasam Pātsāh de Granth Sāhib Dī* was sent to Sikh scholars and institutions, inviting their opinion. A second document, *Report Dasam Granth dī Sudhāi Dī* was brought out on 11 February 1898. Basing its conclusions on a study of the old hand-written copies of the *Dasam Granth* preserved at Srī Takht Sāhib at Paṭnā and in other Sikh *gurdwārās*, this report affirmed that the Holy Volume was compiled at Anandpur Sāhib in 1698. Another point of importance taken up by the Prachārak Sabhā related to a controversy raised in 1893 regarding the administration of *amrit* of the double-edged sword to women. While the Lahore Khālsā Diwān entrusted the decision to a committee of five scholars — Bhāi Kāhn Singh of Nābhā, Giānī Ditt Singh, Giānī Thākar Singh of Amritsar, Giānī Bhagvān Singh of Paṭiālā and Bābū Tejā Singh of Bhasaur — the Gurmat Granth Prachārak Sabhā discussed the matter at its general meetings which were open to the public. As a result of these deliberations, Bhāi Mannā Singh Hakīm published in 1900 a pamphlet entitled *Māi de Jāme nuṅ Amrit Chhakāvan dī Vidhī* (Manner of administering the rites of *amrit* to

women). This was the last important publication of the Guramat Granth Prachārak Sabhā. The Sabhā fell into oblivion as two new associations, the Khālsā Tract Society (founded 1893) and the Chief Khālsā Dīwān (founded 1902), expanded the scope of their activity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jagjit Singh, *Singh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974

Jg.S.

GURMAT MĀRTANḌ, by Bhāi Kāhn Singh, is a glossary in two volumes of terms bearing on different aspects of Sikh religion, theology and belief. The author undertook this work, arranged topically as well as alphabetically, with a view to rectifying some of the misconceptions about certain Sikh theological and conceptual doctrines and notions which had crept in as a result of ignorance of some chroniclers and the general inability of Sikhs to comprehend clearly and correctly the meaning of the canonical texts. Published posthumously at first in 1938, the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee brought out another edition in 1962. The book contains entries comprehensive in their choice as well as treatment. Each subject-title has first been explained briefly with regard to its meaning and usage. This is followed by quotations from the Gurū Granth Sāhib and other Sikh canonical and other literature so as to support the preceding explanation. The author has added at places detailed footnotes to explain any historical or mythological allusions. There are also certain entries like "Khālse de Bole" which need no scriptural elucidation.

In the *Gurmat MārtanḌ*, the author follows, in the main, the style and format of his earlier works *Gurmat Prabhākar* and *Gurmat Sudhākar* published in 1898 and 1899, respectively. The author has made use of information contained in these works and

has also supplemented it where necessary with textual references. He has also supplied explanatory notes and a detailed alphabetical index.

D.S.

GURMAT PRABHĀKAR (*gurmat* = the Gurū's teaching or instruction; *prabhākar* = the sun, light, i.e. illuminator or elucidator) is a compendium of Sikh principles and of the Sikh way of life arranged topic-wise and alphabetically by the celebrated Sikh theologian and lexicographer Bhāi Kāhn Singh of Nābhā. First published in 1898, the book is dedicated by the author to "Panth Akālī" who is vowed to the welfare of the people and the country. The purpose of the author was to enable the reader locate in the voluminous Gurū Granth Sāhib verses relevant to any special occasion or to his requirements. Among the topics chosen by the author are: *amrit*, *avatār*, *ardās*, *sach khaṇḍ*, *sukh-dukh*, *nadari*, *satsaṅg*, *sevā*, *santokh*, *kartār*, *karam kāṇḍ*, *karāmāt*, *khimā*, *Gurū Granth Sāhib*, *nām*, *nimratā*, *niraṅkār*, *pāp*, *pañj piāre*, *pañj vikār*, *bhāṇā*, *marjivare*, *māyā*, *vairāg*, *lokāchār*, *varan*, *vāḍ virodh* and *vidvānā dī saṅgat*. Quotations in the book are set down in the alphabetical order, using the Gurmukhī script. The author has supplied ample comments and footnotes to correct the perspective on Sikh teaching and principles. The book takes up eight hundred and forty-three topics to illustrate his point; each topic has been elucidated with quotations from Gurū Granth Sāhib. Words requiring annotations have been explained.

The purpose of the author is to provide information topic-wise on different aspects of the Sikh faith.

The book remained out of print for many years but has been reprinted in recent years (1970) by the Languages Department of the Punjab Government.

D.S.

GURMAT PRACHĀRAK LAṚĪ (series of books to propagate the Sikh way of life) was founded in 1919 at Rāwalpiṇḍī by Giānī Sher Singh, an adept in traditional Sikh learning and an influential political leader. In this series, Giānī Sher Singh planned to publish one book every month in Punjabi and one book every quarter in Urdu on Sikh history and theology or presenting in simple translation portions of the *gurbānī*. The first book in this category was Giānī Sher Singh's own *Gurū Granth te Panth*, published in December 1919. To ensure regularity in publication, Giānī Sher Singh acquired a printing press and appointed for its management Bhāī Nānak Singh, who later rose to fame as a Punjabi novelist. For more efficient functioning, he shifted the headquarters from Rāwalpiṇḍī to Lahore, but work for the Gurmat Prachārak Laṛī could not be sustained for more than a few months. Soon after the launching of the series, the Gurdwārā Reform movement started and Giānī Sher Singh drifted into active politics.

Besides *Gurū Granth te Panth*, other books issued in the series were *Dharam Darpaṇ*, in three parts; an exposition of *Āsā dī Vār*; *Khaṇḍe dī Dhār*, a biography of Gurū Hargobind; *Deg Teg dā Mālak*, a biography of Gurū Gobind Singh; and *Nitnem Saṛīk*, exposition of the *bānīs* that every Sikh is enjoined to recite daily, namely *Japu*, *Jāp Sāhib*, *Savaiye*, *Chaupaī*, *Anand Sāhib*, *Rahrāsi* and *Kīrtan Sohilā*.

Jg.S.

GURMAT SAṄGĪT or sacred music of the Sikhs. The founder of the Sikh religion, Gurū Nānak (1469-1539), composed his religious verse to settings of Indian *rāgas* mostly from the classical tradition. Successive Gurūs followed his example and considered divine worship through music the best means of attaining that state which results in communion with God. Religious music is that musical expression which is appropriate to and pre-

sented as a definite part of a formal service of worship. Devotional music may have religious texts, but is performed primarily by individuals usually in secular surroundings. Also it need not fulfil the requirements of religious music in form and structure. *Kīrtans*, *bhajans*, *sūfiānā kalām* and *qawwālī na'at*, among others, are examples of devotional music. Vedic chant, Quranic chant, the liturgy and hymns of the Christian churches and the *śabda kīrtan* of the Sikhs are examples of religious music. A unique feature of much of the Sikh music lies in the fact that the texts therein present the teachings of the Gurūs and a large number were composed simultaneously with the music. This dignified expression of faith comes out in its full impact in the *gurdwārā* where its import and message may be fully realized by a devoted adherent to the faith. Even those who have no knowledge of the Sikh religion are impressed with the fresh and vital sounds of this music. Retention of the purity of form in performance as set down by the Gurūs more than 400 years ago makes possible this remarkable impact today.

While the Gurmat *saṅgīt* was probably influenced by devotional styles prevalent during the 15th and 16th centuries in north-western India, its main characteristics came from Indian classical music. The history of the classical idiom can be traced back to 1500 BC to the Vedic chant and its conception of the effect of the combined sound of music and the text on the individual. Vedic rites used singing accompanied by dancing and instruments to express the meaning of the verses. The "sound" was as important in certain ceremonies as the meaning of the word. In the *R̥gveda*, only two or three different pitches were intoned. For the later *Sāmaveda*, a fixed descending scale of five, six, or seven notes was the basis for *saṃgāyana*, the musical aspect of Vedic chant. However, another sort of music developed from the materials of the *saṃgāyana* sometime around

600-500 BC known as *mārga*. This art of music contained a system of new melodies and rhythms. Seven *śuddha* (pure or unaltered tones) *jātīs* formed the basis of this style and these *jātīs* can be looked upon as the first *rāgas*.

Knowledge of the historical development of classical music may be derived in part from a succession of Sanskrit treatises, each describing the musical practice of the particular time in which its author lived. One of the earliest is the *Nāradaśikṣā*, dating from the first century AD which serves as a bridge between Vedic chant and early art music. These early treatises document how very old the classical music system is. Probably one of the most complete authorities and one that is frequently referred to in modern times is Bharata Muni's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a study of dramaturgy in which music, dance and drama are treated as a single major art form. The date of its composition is controversial, but is usually placed somewhere between 200 BC and AD 200. Other texts beginning with Pāṇini (circa 500 BC) and extending to the king Harṣavardhana (AD 589-647) continue to support the use of the three arts together for court and temple performances.

For melodic purpose the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives seven *jātī rāgas* and three *grāmas* (scales): *śadja*, *madhyama* and *gandhāra*, with the option of producing more *jātīs* by overlapping of the scales. The system included all the twenty-two *śrutīs*. Time measure (*tāla*) and drumming are discussed and three speeds are described. Of the instruments given, the *vīṇā* types seem to be the most prominent but the *vīṇā* was not as highly developed as that in use today. *Dhruvas* (songs) were of seven types and these were described in relation to the part of the drama where used.

Mataṅgas's *Byhaddeśī* (AD 400-600) seems to be the first writing actually to use the term "*rāga*" and Nārda's *Pañcama-Sara-Saṁhitā*

(circa AD 600-900) is the first to call subordinate *rāgas* "*rāginīs*." The main *rāgas* of Nārda's work are: *Śrī*, *Vasanta*, *Mālava*, *Mallāra*, *Hiṇḍola* and *Karṇāṭa*. Someśvara in his *Abhilāṣgāthā-Chintāmani* (AD 1131) describes the concept of *rasa* (mood) and includes performance times from the six seasons of the Indian year for the *rāgas*.

Mesarkarṇa in his *Rāgamālā* (1509) designates the parent *rāgas* as: *Bhairav*, *Mālkauṅs*, *Hiṇḍola*, *Dīpaka*, *Śrī* and *Megha*. This classification corresponds in most respects with the one found in *Rāgamālā* at the end of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Puṇḍarīka (1595) has four volumes to his credit and in these works he gives the performance time for each *rāga*. His classification uses 19 *thāṭs* (parent *rāgas*). He also discusses the picturization of *rāgas*, an idea exemplified in the *rāgamālā* paintings of the Punjab hills and other places. Muhammad Razā Khān in *Naghmat-i-Āsafī* (1813) rejects the *rāga-rāginī* system and simply groups *rāgas* according to tonal relationship but still retains the term "*rāginī*". His *śuddha* scale is Rāga Bilāval of the ancient Mukhārī. Bilāval has remained the standard scale for North Indian classical music since his time.

These scholars were mainly concerned with the theoretical development of the classical idiom. The actual performance of Indian music was strongly influenced by other factors. By the year 1,000 music had gradually become separated from dance and Sanskrit drama. The growth of regional languages was one of the main causes of the decline of Sanskrit. Few people understood the ancient language and its *prākṛit*.

Foreign invasions brought about new developments in Indian music. The Arabs came to North India as early as AD 710 when Muhammad bin Qāsim crossed through Balūchistān. The Arabs had been fired by Prophet Muhammad (569-632) to spread their religion all over the then civilized world. By the time of the establishment of early

Delhi Sultanate in 1206, the impact of Islamic music had become distinctly noticeable. Sometimes Persian *naghmās* were combined with Indian *rāgas* to make new *rāgas*. Persian was the language of the court, and music was based on Persian poetry with its poetic metre and romantic texts. Moreover, another musical influence came from the Islamic lands with the Sūfis. About 100 years after the death of the Prophet, Islamic religion split into sects, some adhering strictly to the Prophet's teachings, while others like the Sūfis preferred other types of religious expression. The Chishtī Sūfis believed that man could best reach God-consciousness through the use of devotional poetry set to music for meditation. The Sūfis spread all over the Middle East, congregating in those places where they might find another Sūfi saint. Towards the close of the 12th century, Hazrat Khwājā Mu'in ud-Dīn Chishtī with a group of his followers came to Ajmer in Rājasthān. At his shrine devotees still gather to honour the saint and celebrate his 'Urs (anniversary of death)— with *qawwālī* singing. From the 14th to the 17th century, the Sūfis established a chain of monasteries in Rājasthān, Punjab and parts of Uttar Pradesh. *Qawwālī Na'at*, a Muslim religious music, developed during this period and was well known in the time of Gurū Nānak.

Foreign musical systems did not change the structure of Indian classical music. Even though men like Amīr Khusrāu created new *rāgas* with Persian names, the larger part of the material used for these was of Indian origin and the form too was Indian. The Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), a liberal patron of the arts, collected both Indian and Persian musicians at his court. The 16th century thus became a period of unusual flowering of the art of music and the famous Tānsen at the Emperor's court still remains one of the most celebrated Indian musicians in history.

The availability of support for the arts

has a definite effect on their quality, proliferation and development. Historically, patronage for the arts came mainly from royal courts and temples. Music, a divine art, has always been a part of temple worship. Temple musicians as well as concert artists perform in the classical idiom for festival celebrations. These concerts may be held in temple *mandapams* and courtyards within the temple complex. In South India some rulers donated liberally for the support of temple music rather than maintain numerous musicians at court on a permanent basis. Some temples with long programmes of services in such areas as Tamil Nāḍu, Āndhra Pradesh and Orīssā did not allow temple musicians to perform at the court.

The musical programmes of northern regional courts tended to follow the pattern set by the imperial court of Akbar, but on a less elaborate scale. With the decline of Mughal rule in the 18th century, hundreds of musicians left Delhi to join those regional courts where the rulers were patrons of music. Considerable rivalry existed between these courts to secure the best musicians. A large court might have as many as 300 performers on call and the music department was in the charge of a superintendent who arranged all the court music for social and ceremonial occasions. Some rulers wanted music sounding continuously from very early morning until late in the evening.

During the 19th century *gharānās* developed in several court towns. Famous musicians attracted students from far and near and thus a sort of school of music with emphasis on certain aspects of performance was created. Among the best known of the Indian courts that patronized music were Jaipur, Rāmpur, Paṭiālā, Hyderābād, Mysore, Gwālior and Baṛodā only to name a few. The smaller states in the Punjab hills were vulnerable to frequent attack and few of these chiefs had time to cultivate the arts on a large scale. However, several of the smaller courts pa-

tronized painting and picturization of the moods of the different *rāgas*.

With the advent of Independence, support for the arts underwent a complete change. Immediately following the withdrawal of the British the princely rulers had to hand over their territories to the State, thus losing the income these provided. During the early 1950's these former rulers were left only with their privy purses and a few other privileges, and in most cases they were not sufficient to maintain the elaborate musical programmes which had been the custom in the past. Within a few years' span, hundreds of musicians all over India were suddenly left without any means of support. All-India Radio did a phenomenal piece of work in quickly setting up the machinery for auditioning and training the court musicians to fit the time schedules of broadcasting. Concerts paid for from public subscriptions were organized by social groups in cities and towns to collect funds for destitute artists as for other causes. Musical evenings in the homes of wealthy professional and business people provided other income for favourite classical musicians. Temple music had to face also the problem of paucity of funds, because the largest contributions had earlier come from the princes.

Today musicians teach and perform on a freelance basis both for religious occasions and classical concerts. A growing interest in the classical idiom brings many students, although few are willing to practise the long hours that the former *guru-śiṣya* system demanded. Those few who are able to manoeuvre Western concert tours usually do well.

The bases of Indian classical music are *rāga* (melodic measure) and *tāla* (rhythmic metre). A *rāga* is a group of notes derived originally from Vedic hymns and folk and tribal melodies and arranged in the ascending-descending order as a scale. A *rāga* represents much more than a simple scale, be-

cause its origin is melodic and the individual notes have specific types of approach in ascent and descent. The distinguishing melodic phrases and characteristic figures are a fundamental part of the total *rāga* structure. Two *rāgas* might have the same basic tones, but the melodic phrases might differ along with mood and performance style.

Great care has been exercised in the past centuries as well as in modern times with regard to the preservation of exact pitch relationship between the tones of any established *rāga*. The belief exists that this relationship must be precise practically to the exact number of vibrations in order to produce the mood ascribed to a given *rāga*. The performance-time theory is a result of these pitch relationships and the powers reputedly indicated for specific *rāgas* are possible only when a careful shaping of melodic sequences is present. A recent experiment investigating brain waves with electronic equipment showed that vibrations resulting from the subject listening to serious music were of the same type as those occurring when the subject was practising yogic meditation. The Indian musicological theory of the past, still adhered to by the purists today, claims that the ultimate effect of a *rāga* performance can only be obtained when every detail of the *rāga* has been properly presented.

The standard scale for Indian music contains seven tones, viz. Sa-Ṣaḍja; Re-Rṣabha; Ga-Gandhāra; Ma-Madhayma; Pa-Pañchama; Dha-Dhaivata; Ni-Niṣāda; and Sa-Ṣaḍjā, etc. in a higher pitch. Sa is the tonic or fundamental tone which is the basic note for the drone accompaniment. When a *tambūrā* is used, the four strings are tuned to three Sa's and one Pa. However, for some *rāgas*, performers prefer that Ni replace one Sa. Other notes which figure largely in composition are *vādī* and *saṃvādī*. The *vādī* is a central focal point in *rāga* phrases and the *saṃvādī* is the next most frequently heard tone. The

location of the *vādīs* within the scale may have some significance in the performance-time theory.

Tāla, the rhythmic organization of beats, is based on the cyclic principle. Just as the world movement by day and night is based on a 24-hour cycle of the earth rotating around its axis, so does Indian music maintain its rhythmic movement by time cycles which may be of long or short duration. *Tin tāla*, one of the most popular, has 16 beats divided into four groups, 4+4+4+4; *dādrā tāla* has six beats with two groups of three beats each. However, groups within a *tāla* are not always even. *Jhaptāla* has ten beats grouped 2+3+2+3. Primary and secondary accents within the *tāla* should fall upon important notes of the *rāga*. Therefore, strong and light beats have significance for the soloist.

For *tin tāla*:

*1-2-3-4 5²-6-7-8 9⁰-10-11-12 13³-
14-15-16

The heavy accent falls on the *sam* or first beat of the cycle, followed by three light beats. Beat 5 receives a secondary accent followed by three light beats. Beat 9 is unaccented as is the whole group, 9, 10, 11, 12. Beat 13 again is a secondary accent followed by 3 light beats arriving with a heavy accent on the *sam*. The heavy accent on the first beat of a cycle is highly significant for improvisation where the soloist must time his phrases so that the end falls on the *sam*. The *khālī* serves as a warning that the *sam* is coming and the soloist should prepare his composition so that his phrases coincide with the framework of the *tāla*. The *tablā* or *pakhāvāj vādak* has means for elaborating his part of the composition when time is given for this. *Tāla* compositions are based on designed subdivisions of the beat with repeatable patterns as part of the design. *Tāns* or short rhythmic figures played at fast tempo form a part of virtuoso drumming which has a number of fixed compositions for solo performance. When following a soloist, the

drummer guides his playing to match and complement what the soloist is performing. He may enhance the artistic result but may not detract from it by trying to overshadow the melodic meaning of the composition. Most great artists, when accompanied by an exceptionally good drummer, give him a chance to display his own capabilities at some point in the performance.

Drumming is learned through a system of mnemonics called *bols* or drum syllables. These indicate the fingers to be used, the place on the drumhead where the stroke should fall and whether the stroke is light or heavy. When playing the *tablā* (pair of drums), the right hand index finger (for right-hand drum) is used for *Na, Tha, Dha, Nuh*, and *Tin*; the right-hand middle finger for *Ti, Ta, Te, Dha*. Combination *bols* representing both hands (one for each drum) begin with *Dha*. Drumming involves an elaborate and precise system; these items are small illustrations. Not all elements are given in the *bols* because some sounds cannot be recited quickly enough. Also certain *bols* always follow certain other *bols*. All this is understood only by those who practise the art of drumming under the guidance of a competent teacher.

The ever-sounding drone of Indian classical music is important both musically and philosophically. Some people consider the drone as symbolic of the primordial sound of the universe, *nāda*, from which all other sounds have emanated. When Pythagoras (c. 582-507 BC) experimented with a monochord, he proved that all tones could be produced from one primary tone by stopping a single string at different points. However, this fact was known to the Indians long before the time of Pythagoras. In more recent times, Helmholtz (1821-1894) demonstrated the same principle with his overtone series.

The performing musician must be constantly aware of the drone or *sa* or *ṣaḍaj* tone because this is the note against which he

measures all other pitches so that completely accurate intonation of the *rāga* tones is achieved. Each singer may place *sa* where most comfortable for his voice, which is somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Western middle *C*. The pitch level for instrumentalists is about the same.

Classical compositions have a formal organization which begins with *alāp*, or exposition of the *rāga*. Each tone of the *rāga* is shown with its proper approach beginning with the lower tetrachord of the octave and continuing with the upper four notes. Then small figures from the melodic phrases begin to appear and all of this is without drums. As more complete phrases are introduced, the soloist adds the rhythm by strumming on an accompanying instrument (vocal) or the *chikāri* strings of the solo instrument. In a vocal composition this slow opening section is called *vilambit* (includes *alāp*); for an instrumental piece *alāp*, *joṅ*, *jhāllā*. In concert performance, the skill and understanding of the artist are revealed in the treatment and development of the *alāp*.

Rāgas have two main parts, the first of which is the *sthāi* containing melodies located in the lower portion of the scale or lower register (*mandar saptak*). The second part is the *antarā* which centres in the upper portion of the scale and the higher register (*madhyantar saptak*). In some *rāgas* the melodic material is not separated in this manner but may overlap in both *sthāi* and *antarā*. Towards the end of the *vilambit* or *jhāllā*, the tempo increases and the drummer prepares to join the soloist. The *drut* or *gal* (slow and fast) contains the main composition giving *sthāi* and *antarā* in complete rendition with improvisation and elaboration. A development section is based on material from both parts and can be extended to any desired length with increasing tempos as the variations are added until a climax is reached which in itself may be extended. At the conclusion of each variation the same character-

istic phrase is used to show its completion. Finally, a short closing section in slow tempo concludes the piece.

Dhrupad was the popular form during the 16th century. S.M. Tagore claims that "Sultān Husain Sharqī of Jaunpur introduced this style in the 15th century." Earlier, in the 13th century Amīr Khusrau is often credited with the invention of *khayāl*, but its popularity did not spread until some centuries later, although it must have been known to singers like Tānsen. *Dhrupad* is slower, much less ornamented and more sedate than *khayāl* with its allowable freedom. However, the latter style dominates North Indian classical music today.

Musical instruments commonly used in the *gurdwārās* (Sikh temples) in the past or acceptable today for the accompaniment of *gurbāṇī-kīrtan* are *rabāb*, *sitār*, *sarod*, *sārandā*, *sāraṅgī*, *tāūs*, *dilrubā*, *tambūrā*, violin, and, the most common now, the harmonium. While the *sitār* and *sarod* are admissible in some instances, today's models have been developed as solo rather than accompanying instruments. The *sarod* is a descendant of the *rabāb* (rebeck) and has taken the place of that instrument for concert performance. Its tone is more penetrating than that of the *rabāb* and its appeal lies in the extensive possibilities for ornamentation. The *sitār* is probably the best-known of the current plucked-string instruments and has acquired considerable secular popularity in recent decades. It, too, has a distinctive sound which was not designed for the accompaniment of singing. Paucity of players on the traditional *sārandā*, *sāraṅgī*, *tāūs* and *dilrubā* instruments suitable for vocal accompaniment presents a problem which can be attributed to the difficulty in playing, the length of time required for training and the financial problems these present to the student who cannot be assured of a reasonable future income.

Gurū Nānak used the *rabāb* for inducing meditation and for musical accompaniment

to his verses. Mardānā, his constant companion and musician, played the *rabāb* and may be seen with Gurū Nānak in old murals and paintings in the Amritsar Temple Museum and elsewhere. The *rabāb* is in use in Afghanistan, the Middle Eastern countries, Kashmir and the Punjab. Regional variations may be found in other North Indian states. Persian instruments bearing the same or similar names are not necessarily of the same shape, but do have some similarities in tonal properties.

Carved from a single block of wood, the Indian *rabāb* has an exceptionally deep body, standing some nine or ten inches or more in height and perhaps seven or eight inches in width. The sides slant towards the bottom and are pinched in forming two sections of the body, the lower of which is covered with parchment and the upper with wood. The neck is wide, usually with no frets. Basically the instrument has four main strings, but the two upper-sounding strings may be doubled to increase the volume of the higher notes. Some sources say that Gurū Nānak added these two strings. The bridge supporting the main strings lies on the lower parchment-covered portion of the body. Some nine to eleven sympathetic wires lie underneath the main strings and are fastened to pegs along the side of the body. Tānsen is reputed to have played a *rabāb* with six main strings and a limited number of sympathetic wires.

A *rabāb* which may be seen in the Clock Tower Museum of the Amritsar Temple has a body covered with fine leather. The finger-board above the peg box ends in a flared, carved ornament. The *rabāb* is usually played with a plectrum but a Bengālī model is shown with a bow. (Generally, pinched-insides exist to facilitate bowing). The *rabāb* is reputed to have a mellow tone suited to the dignified character of religious music.

The *sārandā* has some characteristics of the *rabāb* and the *sāraṅgī* and like the *sāraṅgī*, is of folk origin. Fashioned from a hollowed-

out piece of wood, its body is spherical in shape with a flat open top. The completely pinched-in design actually divides the body into two sections. The upper portion is left open, but is partially covered with a highly ornamented extension of the finger-board, ending in a point at the centre of the body. The lower portion is covered with parchment and a bridge rests in the middle of this section. The short stubby neck is less than half as deep as the main body with pegs along the side for sympathetic wires. The *sārandā* has three heavy gut-strings and six or more side-strings. When playing, the musician holds the instrument in vertical position in his lap. The bow is short and heavy like that used for the *sāraṅgī* and the neck has no frets. The *sārandā* is a most picturesque instrument to behold and its tone resembles that of the *sāraṅgī*, but with more depth of sound.

The *sāraṅgī*, like the *sārandā*, is a comparatively short instrument of the bow-string type, ranging from two feet to 30 inches for concert models today. Folk *sāraṅgīs* are much smaller. The body is carved from a single block of wood and is barely wider than the neck. The peg-box is left open and has four tuning pegs for three heavy gut main strings and a possible drone string. The sides of the body are slightly pinched in near the bridge which rests on a flat parchment top. When played, the instrument is held in upright position in the lap of the player who does not press the strings downward, as for most instrument, but deflects them sideways with his fingernail pressed against the string sideways. The sympathetic wires lie underneath and to one side of the main strings and are attached to pegs along the side of the neck. The number of these may be anywhere from 38 to 45 and this presents a tuning problem when making a change of *rāga* in a continuous performance. The *sāraṅgī* appears in treatises of the 12th and 13th centuries, but no

information is available of its having been used at the Mughal court, although it did appear in regional courts of the 17th and 18th centuries. Its ability to emulate the inflections of the human voice makes it desirable for vocal accompaniment especially for the initiative lines. Poor players can only produce a dry uninviting tone which annoys the vocalists and does not enhance the performance.

The *dīrubā* is of comparatively recent origin (1850-1875) and was created from the neck of the *sītār* and the body of the *sārangī*. An instrument of the bow-string variety, its popularity has been mostly in Mahārāshṭra, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. The tone is plain-tive with a sweet singing quality. Some North Indian vocalists of note prefer it to *sārangī* and it certainly is more in keeping with the North Indian musical tradition than the harmonium. The neck of the *dīrubā* has some 18 or 19 arched movable frets tied to the stem of the instrument with pieces of gut or plastic. This makes for quicker adjustment when changing from one *rāga* to another. The bridge is placed in the middle of the skin-covered body and all wires pass over or through this bridge. Of the four main strings, the one furthest to the left (as in the *sītār*) is the principal one for playing. The first two strings on the player's left are of steel and the second two of brass. About 20 sympathetic wires are fastened to a series of small pegs along the right side of the neck. No need exists for *chikārī* strings as on plucked string instruments. Unlike playing the *sītār*, the *dīrubā* strings may not be deflected sideways to produce ornaments. The bow is like that used for the *sārangī*, and the *dīrubā* rests in vertical position on the thigh of the player, sitting with folded legs.

The *tambūrā* is the traditional instrument for producing the ever-present drone of Indian classical music. *Tambūrās* usually have four strings, but may have three, five, six, or even seven. When a *tambūrā* has the usual

four strings, three are tuned to the tonic and one to the fifth (*PA*). Sometimes one of the tonic strings will be replaced with the seventh (*NI*) when this tone is prominent in a given *rāga*. The first three strings are of steel and the lower tonic is made of brass. Strings are set in vibration by pressing the fingers across them lightly over the upper part of the hollow stem which has no frets. Strings are never stopped completely and the resulting sound is a blend of all pitches. *Tambūrās* are almost five feet in length, but shorter models are also used. A wide ivory bridge sits on the thin wooden top of the body which consists of a gourd scraped thin. All *tambūrās* use silk or cotton threads wedged between the bridge and the strings to produce a buzzing sound and to emphasize the overtones. Tuning beads are inserted on the lower part of the strings between the bridge and the base of the instrument to facilitate accurate pitch for these unusually long strings. By moving the beads up and down, the tension is altered slightly, thus raising and lowering the pitch. The usual playing position is upright with the body resting on the floor or in the lap of the player. Sometimes a soloist may use a horizontal position in which case the instrument will lie across the lap of the player. Because the drone is the basis on which the performer establishes his own pitch, the soloist may want to tune the *tambūrā* himself.

The Western violin has been prevalent in South India since the early part of the 19th century, but its use in the North has come only in the last few decades. Most violins are imported from Europe, but there are indigenous models too constructed after their Western counterparts. The violin is excellent for accompanying vocal music and is capable of producing all the nuances of the voice as well as the ornaments of the classical system. The instrument, about two feet in length, is held against the chest with the peg box resting on the knee when played Indian

style. The shallow body is longer than wide and has indentations on the rounded sides in line with the bridge which is placed in the middle of the thin wooden top. The body is made of thin, carefully shaped wood with two openings on top. The ebony finger-board has no frets and extends over the body almost to the bridge. Four strings extend from the peg-box to the tailpiece which is fastened to the base of the instrument and appears as an extension of the finger-board below the bridge. Inside the body and approximately under the bridge is the sound post. The bow is thin and straight, about 29 inches in over-all length strung with horse-hair, with tension controlled by a screw. The most famous families of violin-makers practised their craft during the 17th and 18th centuries in Cremona, Italy.

The harmonium and *śrutī peṭī* are two drone instruments gaining favour in recent years. The *śrutī peṭī* is a mechanism enclosed in a small box with bellows operated by moving one side of the box backwards and forward. Some models are made to be operated electronically. In either case once the correct pitch is set, it will be retained indefinitely. The harmonium was introduced to India in the nineteenth century and came from Europe where it was invented in 1840 by Alexandre Debain. The earlier models were not well adapted to the Indian classical idiom, but in recent years improvements have been made and tuning adjustments in the better models are so arranged that a fairly accurate *rāga* scale can be played. The basic principle is the same as for the *śrutī* box, but the instrument is more complex. Tones are produced by depressing the keys on a piano-type keyboard of about two and a half octaves. The dynamic level can also be controlled from loud to soft. Harmoniums are in use in most *gurdwārās* today with each singer playing his own accompaniment.

The invention of the *tablā*, the most

commonly used instrument for rhythmic tune, is credited historically to Amīr *Kh*usrau of the 13th century court of 'Alauddīn *Kh*aljī in Delhi. The name *tablā* is derived from the Arabic *tabl*, a general term for small and medium sized drums in Arabic countries. The smaller of the *tablā* pair of drums is called *tablā* or *ḍaggā* and the larger, a metal drum, is known as *bāyān*. The *tablā* is made from a hollowed-out block of wood. The skin for both drum heads is stretched over the top and fastened to a braided hoop with thongs which extend over the sides of the body to a small leather ring at the base. The *tablā* uses cylindrical tuning blocks placed between the thongs and the body of the drum. These can also be used on the *bāyān* if desired. By pushing the blocks up and down with a specially shaped hammer, the pitch of the drum head may be raised or lowered. The two drums are usually made to sound an octave apart but the interval of a third, fourth or fifth may also be used. Three important areas, each with its own sound, are found on the drum heads: the outer rim where the skin is double, the plain section with single skin and the centre black patch made of rice paste and iron filings. On the head of the *bāyān* the black patch is off centre and the pitch of the *bāyān* head may be varied by pressing the heel of the palm of the hand on the plain surface while stroking the head with the fingers. The second, third and fourth fingers are the ones generally used for strokes. A system of mnemonics called *bol*s indicates which fingers are to be employed on which portion of the drum head. A common substitute for *tablā*, where this instrument or its performer is not available, is the *ḍholak*, a two-sided drum, the one serving as *ḍaggā* and the other as *bāyān*.

Kīrtan derived from Sanskrit root *kīrti* means singing a devotional song in praise of the Lord of the Universe. The form of the *kīrtan* was derived from the old *prabandha-*

gāna described in the *Saṅgīta-Ratnākara* of Sāraṅgadeva in the 13th century. *Paḍaprabandhas* were early classical songs which led to *dhrupad* under the impetus of Rājā Mān Singh Tomar of Gwālīor (1496-1517). *Prabandhas* were systematically organized with three to six sections. *Kīrtan* preserved this sort of classical arrangement using classical *rāgas* and *tālas*. These devotional songs were popular all over India and used limited improvisation and ornamentation. This made them a desirable model on which to develop the Sikh *shabad*.

Indian Muslims had a devotional music which came into being as early as the end of the 12th century among the Sūfī followers of Chishtī saints. A group of Chishtīs from K̄hurāsān in Iran settled at Ajmer and other places in northern India, establishing a chain of monasteries between 1200 and 1350. The Chishtī order extended throughout the Punjab and neighbouring areas and remained active up to the 18th century when its decline began. Its votaries came from both Hindu and Muslim communities. The Sūfīs believed that “musical sound produces an influence in the soul because of its musical structure and similarity to the soul.” From this devotional music came the later serious *qawwālī* which used *rāga* tunes with a limited number of *tālas*.

Śabda kīrtan has been an integral part of Sikh worship from the very beginning. Hymn-singing was in fact the earliest form of devotion for the Sikhs. Even in the time of Gurū Nānak, the disciples assembled together to recite the *shabads*, i.e. hymns composed by the Gurū and thus to render praise to the Lord. *Kīrtan* has since been appropriated into the regular *gurdwārā* service. But Sikh *kīrtan* eschews all expression of abandon or frenzy in the form of clapping and dancing. Laudation is proffered to the Supreme Being who is without form, *nirāṅkār* or *nirākār*, and not to a deity in any embodiment or incarnation. The texts of the *shabad kīrtan*

are those that comprise the Holy Book of Sikhs known as the Gurū Granth Sāhib, or Ādi Granth, compiled by Gurū Arjan in 1604. Probably no other religion shows a closer relationship between music and its scriptures than does Sikhism. The Holy Book is organized according to *rāgas*, 31 in number, to which the poetic hymns belong. The total number of hymns is 5,694 with 4,857 (the author’s figures) contributed by six of the ten Gurūs and 837 by Hindu *bhaktas*, Sikh devotees and Sūfī saints. Under each *rāga* the hymns of the Gurūs are recorded first and are arranged in the order of *chaupadās* and *dupadās* (hymns of 4 and 2 verses, respectively), *aṣṭapadīs* (hymns of 8 verses), longer poems organized around a motif, and *chhants* — hymns of four or six verses, lyrical in character, *vārs* on the pattern of ballads consisting of *paurīs*, each *paurī* preceded by two or more *ślokas*, and hymns by *bhaktas* and other devotees similarly arranged.

The Gurūs were highly knowledgeable of music and well-versed in the classical style. Gurū Nānak kept with him as constant companion a Muslim musician, Mardānā, who played the *rabāb* or rebeck. Gurū Nānak wished his hymns to be sung to *rāgas* that express the spirit of the text and performance style to be compatible with the meaning of the hymn. The succeeding Gurūs followed his example. The *rāgas* named in the Holy Book were selected probably because of their suitability for expressing the ideals represented in the texts for which they were to be used. Over the centuries *rāga* names and the exact pitch of the tones may have varied. Lack of a precise national system for Indian music indicates that the preservation of *rāgas* has been dependent upon oral tradition.

Rāga variants are those melodies to which a *rāgī* or *rabābī*, i.e. musician, may move when beginning a new line of text or when inserting explanatory material. Over the centuries more *rāga* variants have been approved than

the few given in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. *Rāga* variants have some points in common with the main *rāga* but sufficiently different to set off the textual material musically, thus keeping the many verses from becoming musically monotonous. For example, the Gaurī group offers many possibilities. A main *rāga* from another section of the Holy Book may also be used as a variant. *Tālas* are left to the discretion of the performer and are usually those of the classical system although regional ones may be used for the lighter forms. *Vārs* (*ślokas* and *paurīs*) may be set to authorized folk tunes, some selected by the Gurūs themselves, and treated in light classical style. A *vār* is not counted as one unit but according to the number of *ślokas*, *paurīs* and couplets that are included in it.

At the conclusion of the Gurū Granth Sāhib is *Rāgmālā*, a classification of *rāgas* listing 84 measures. The Holy Book contains only 31, eight of which are not given in this *Rāgmālā*. This circumstance can be interpreted to mean that the classification was not done primarily for the Gurū Granth Sāhib, but was included as it had existed. The purpose of classifying *rāgas* according to a parent and its offspring, *rāginīs* and *putras*, is to clarify and retain the individual character of each *rāga*. Historically this has been the concern of music theorists rather than performing musicians. Since the basic notes of two or more *rāgas* may be the same, the performance rules and the melodic material are the chief means of maintaining the proper mood and individual character. In the Gurū Granth Sāhib, a number of affirmations have been made about the virtue of the various *rāgas* to induce piety and devotion. The majority of these are from Gurū Amar Dās, third in Gurū Nānak's line, but the other Gurūs too have set forth their experience about the *rāgas* as aids to spiritual experience. About *kīrtan* (music directed to the expression of devotion) it has been said: *kīrtanu nirmolak hīrā ānand guṇī gahīrā* — *kīrtan* is an

invaluable jewel, bringing bliss, treasure of noble qualities (GG, 893). Gurū Arjan says about the beauty and harmony of music to induce the mood of devotion: *dhanu su rāg surangare alāpat sabh tikh jāi* — which are blessed as the beautiful musical measures when performed all desire then ends (GG, 958).

Gurū Nānak, warning the mind against voluptuous indulgence in music such as had been current in India particularly among the upper classes, says:

*gīt rāga ghan tāl si kūre,
trihu-guṇa upjai binasai dūre;
dūjī ḍurmati dardu na jāi,
chhūṭai gurmukhi dārū guṇa gāi,*

False are such songs, musical measures and reverberating accompaniments

As arouse the Three Qualities and, destroying devotion, draw the self away from God.

By duality and evil thinking is suffering not removed:

Liberation by the Master's guidance comes.

Chanting Divine laudations is the true remedy for life's ills (GG, 832).

Gurū Nānak (in *Rāga Āsā*) on the ecstasy devotional music evokes:

*rāg ratan parā parvār;
tisu vichi upjai amritu sār;
nānak karte kā ihu dhanu mālu
je ko būjhai ehu bīchāru.*

The jewel music, born of the fairy family,
Is source of the essence of *amrita*;
This wealth to the Creator belongs —
Few are there this to realize. (GG, 351)

The musical directions given in the text of the Gurū Granth Sāhib are detailed so as to guide the composer and performer to adhere to the proper classical tradition in music. On page 838, at the opening of the

composition bearing the title *Thilīn* (the dates) in the measure Bilāval, the musical direction is *ghar 10, jati*. This refers to the particular score in which the music is composed as also to the rhythm on the *tablā* or drum.

Gurū Amar Dās, whose attachment to music and its modes is deep and ecstatic, has set down his impressions of some of the musical measures in which he has composed his *bāñī*.

On Sirī Rāga:

*rāgā vichi srī rāgu hai je sachi dhare piāru;
sadā hari sachu manī vasai nihchal matī
apāru.*

Sri Rāga is to be reckoned superior to the other *rāgas* only if it induces love for holy Truth, whereby the holy Lord should in the self be lodged, and the mind find poise. (GG, 83).

On Gauṛī believed to be a female Rāginī:

*gauṛī rāgi sulakhañē je khasmai chitī karei;
bhāñai chalai Satigurū kai aisā sigāru karei...*

The Rāgā Gauṛī is reckoned noble, should she in the Lord fix the self;

Induce obedience to the Divine Will
Which is the best make-up. (GG, 311)

Sūhī (lit. vermilion) is woven into a figure (GG, 785). Not the flashy vermilion dye, symbolical of voluptuous pleasures but the fast red of madder (*majīth*) symbolizing constancy in devotion is commanded.

Bilāval, in *Bilāval kī Vār* (GG, 849-55), is mentioned to express constancy of devotion, twice by Gurū Amar Dās and twice by Gurū Rām Dās. Bilāval is the *rāga* expressive of joy. True joy, however, comes not from melody but from the holy Name of God. Says Gurū Amar Dās:

*bilāvalu tab hī kīñai jab mukhi hovai nāmu;
rāga nāda sabadi sohanē jā lāgai sahai
dhiānu.*

*rāga nāda chhodi Hari sevīai tā dargah pāīai
mānu;*

*nānak gurmukhi brahmu bīchārīai chūkai
manī abhīmānu.*

True joy comes only by utterance of the holy name;

Music, melody and the words acquire beauty from the mind in poise fixed.

Leave aside music, melody and words; serve the Lord; thereby may ye be honoured at the Divine Portal.

Saith Nānak: By contemplation of the Supreme Being through the Master's guidance is egoism from the mind banished. (GG, 849)

On the same page occurs another *śloka*:

*bilāvalu karihu tum piāriho ekasu siu liv
lāe...*

Ye loved ones, in devotion to the Sole Supreme Being, find you joy;

Thus will your suffering of transmigration be annulled, and in Truth shall ye be absorbed.

Ever shall ye live in joy (*bilāval*) and bliss, should you obey the holy Preceptor's will... (GG, 849)

Gurū Rām Dās, earlier on the same page, at the opening of this *Vār*, thus expresses the joy of Bilāval, the word itself implying "joy".

*hari utamu hari prabhu gāvīā kari nādu
bilāvalu rāgu;*

*upadesu gurū suñi manñiā dhuri mastaki
pūrā bhāgu...*

The Lord exalted, Supreme Master have I lauded in the tune of Bilāval;

The Master's teaching have I followed, by Supreme good luck ordained in Primal Time.

Day and night have I ever uttered the Lord's praise with devotion for Him in my heart lodged.

My mind and body, in bloom, are like a

garden fresh.

By the lamp of Enlightenment by the Master lit,

The gloom of ignorance is lifted.

Nānak, servant of God, finds life from beholding the Lord's face, even though it be for a short hour. (GG, 849)

Thus Gurū Amar Dās on Rāmkaḷī:

ramkaḷī rāmu mani vasiā tā baniā sigāru...

In chanting Rāmkaḷī as the Lord in the self is lodged, that is the truest self-decoration;

As through the Master's land is abloom lotus of the heart,

On the seeker is bestowed the treasure of devotion.

With illusion gone is the self awakened,
And gloom of ignorance lifted.

She alone has true beauty that with the Lord is in love;

A woman of good repute, everlasting bliss has she with the beloved.

Egoists know not of the true make-up,
Their life is all lost.

One that has the make-up of other than devotion,

In transmigration remains caught. (GG, 950)

On Sorāṭhi, the same vision is expressed by Gurū Nānak and Gurū Rām Dās. Gurū Nānak in the opening *śloka* of *Rāgu Sorāṭhi Vār M. IV Kī*:

soraṭhi sadā suhāvaṇī je sachā mani hoi...

Sorāṭhi is pleasing should it bring to mind the holy Lord. It is pleasing, should teeth not be fouled by food unjustly obtained.

And on the tongue should run the Lord's holy Name. (GG, 642)

Gurū Rām Dās in the same *Vār* (the same page):

soraṭhi tāmi suhāvaṇī jā hari nāmu

dhandhole...

Sorāṭhi is pleasing should she go out in quest of the Lord's Name

The Master, exalted being, should she propitiate,

And by wisdom granted by the Master, the Name Divine utter;

Day and night should she with Divine love be surcharged.

And dyed in God, her vest

In the dye of God should she dip. (GG, 642)

Gurū Amar Dās thus expresses himself on the measure Kedārā:

kedārā rāgā vichi jāṇāi bhāi sabde kare piāru...

Brother! Consider Kedārā exalted among the *rāgas*,

Should one chanting it be in love with the holy Word,

Should join holy company, and to the holy Lord be devoted;

Casting off one's own impurity, may save one's whole clan;

Should garner the wealth of noble attributes, and cast off evil qualities.

Saith Nānak: Truly united is he who turns not away from the Master,

And forms not devotion to another. (GG, 1087)

Mārū *rāga*, whose name comes from *marusthal* (dry land), is thus celebrated by Gurū Amar Dās:

mārū te sītalū kare manūrahu kañchanū hoi...

The burning hot desert He turns to coolness;

Rusted iron he turns into gold;

Praised be the Holy Lord, Supreme over all. (GG, 994)

Malār, the *rāga* associated with the rainy

season and joys of romantic love, is thus transmuted into a spiritual experience by Gurū Amar Dās:

malāru sītal rāgu hai hari dhiāīai sānti hoi...

Malār's music is cooling; true peace comes from meditation on the Lord. (CG, 1283)

Below is given a detailed statement of the functions and atmosphere ascribed traditionally to the various *rāgas*, along with the *bānīs* composed to each, within the corpus of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. In this statement the *bhaktas* and other devotees using them are not mentioned. Only the Gurūs are included.

1. SIRĪ (Shrī)

Rāga Śrī was favoured by the Hindus for religious occasions and is found in many of the old treatises. In the *Rāgmālā* listed as a parent *rāga*, it currently is a member of the *pūrvī thāṭa*. Still a popular concert *rāga* today, it is considered one of the most famous from among the North Indian classical system. Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, and Gurū Arjan composed to this *rāga*. Traditionally performed at sunset, it is assigned to the rainy season as well as the months of November and December. Its mood is one of majesty combined with prayerful meditation. This *rāga* is always referred to as "Sirī Rāga" rather than placing the term *rāga* before the name. It accompanies about 142 *śabdās*.

Āroh : Sa Re M'a, Pa Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha, Pa M'a Ga Re Sa

Pakar : Sa, Re Re Pa, Pa M'a Ga Re, Re Re, Sa

Vādī : Re

Samvādī : Pa

2. MĀJH

This *rāga* is attributed to Gurū Nānak, who developed it from a Punjabi folk tune. It does not appear in the *Rāgmālā* nor does it seem to be a classical *rāga* today. Possibly

it has been reserved purely for *gurbānī saṅgīt*. Mājh was the setting for compositions by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Aṅgad, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan. No information about this *rāga* is available from English sources. The reader is referred to a Punjabi text *Gurmat Saṅgī* by Bhāī Vīr Singh, published by the Chief Khālsā Dīwān, Amritsar.

Āroh : Sa Re Ma Pa Dha Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa Ma Ga Re Sa

Vādī : Ma

Samvādī : Sa

3. GAURĪ

Gaurī is one of several Gaurī *rāgas* and appears in the *Rāgmālā* as a *rāginī* of Sirī Rāga. This is an evening *rāga* assigned to autumn and its mood is contemplative. The composition in Gaurī is very voluminous. Gaurī was used by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjan and Gurū Tegh Bahādur. Several forms of Gaurī exist historically and this probably accounts for the large number of variants: Gaurī Chetī, Gaurī Bairāgan, Gaurī Dīpakī, Gaurī Pūrbī-Dīpakī, Gaurī Guārerī, Gaurī-Mājh, Gaurī Mālavā, Gaurī Mālā, Gaurī Sorath, Gaurī Dakhanī.

Āroh : Sa Re Ga Re Ma Pa Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Ma Pa, Dha Pa Ma Ga, Ga Re Sa Ni Sa

Vādī : Re

Samvādī : Pa

Occasionally Re is performed with a vibrate as in Sirī Rāga which has the same *vādīs*. *Ni* is given prominence through either stopping or lingering on this note.

4. ĀSĀ

Āsā is a very old *rāga*, once popular in the Punjab but seldom heard in concerts today. In the *Rāgmālā* this is a *rāginī* of *rāga Megha*. However, today it is assigned to the Bilāval *thāṭa*. Āsā is a devotional *rāga* for the cold season and is performed in the early

morning just before sunrise. However, it is also known as a twilight melody with a calm mystical mood. Āsā was used by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Aṅgad, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjan and Gurū Tegh Bahādur.

Āroh : Sa Re Ma Pa Dha Śā

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa Ma Ga Re Sa

Vādī : Ma

Samvādī : Sa

Āsā is a crooked (*vakra*) *rāga* in that approaches to certain notes have to be made from a set position. Its variants as given in the Holy Book are Kāfī and Āsāvārī, both of which have many features in common with Āsā. This *rāga* may have originated in Mahārāshtra about the time of the major Muslim invasions. Its pleasing sound made it suitable for *bhajans* by the Hindu devotees.

5. GŪJARĪ

The name "Gūjarī" probably refers to the state of Gujarāt. This *rāga* was in existence at the time of Rājā Mān Singh of Gwālīor (1486-1517) who lived at a time of high musical achievement and referred to this *rāga* in his writings about music. Gūjarī is rarely used as a concert *rāga* today and little is known about its form. In modern times it has been supplanted by Gūjarī-Ṭoḍī. In the *Rāgmālā*, Gūjarī is listed as a *rāginī* of Rāga Dīpak. Today Gūjarī-Ṭoḍī belongs to the Ṭoḍī *thāṭa*. Gūjarī-Ṭoḍī may be performed during any season of the year and is assigned to the early morning hours. It produces a mood of thoughtfulness that reaches deep into the heart. Texts set to this *rāga* strip away all subterfuge and make man see himself as he is and search within for the truth. While not one of the most frequently used *rāgas*, Gūjarī was the setting for compositions by Gurū Nānak, Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, and Gurū Arjan.

Āroh : Sa Re Ga M'a Dha Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha M'a Ga Re, Ga Re Sa

Pakar : Sa Dha, Ma, Dha Ni Sa, Ni Dha M'a

Ga, Re, Ga Re Sa

Savar : Re Ga Dha M'a

Vādī : Dha

Samvādī : Re

6. DEVAGANDHĀRĪ

Today Devagandhārī is a rare, little-known, ancient *rāga*. Its performance time is the morning hours. Historically it has had three forms; the less ornamented type is described here. In the *Rāgmālā*, Devagandhārī is a *rāginī* of Mālkauṅsa. Today it belongs to the Āsāvārī *thāṭa*. Its mood is one of prayerful supplication presenting a heroic effect. The texts set to this *rāga* reveal a heroic search for these qualities which lead one to the Lord. This *rāga* was used primarily by Gurū Arjan. Forty-Seven hymns were composed to it including three by Gurū Tegh Bahādur and six by Gurū Rām Dās.

Āroh : Sa Re Ma Pa Dha Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa, Ma Pa, Dha Ni

Dha Pa, Ma Ga Re Sa

Pakar : Dha Ni Dha Pa, Ma Ga, Sa Re Ma, Ga Sa Re Ga Sa

Vādī : Ma

Samvādī : Sa

7. BIHĀGARĀ

Bihāgarā is very similar to the modern and very popular *rāga* Bihāg. The resemblance is so close that many performers have trouble maintaining the significance of each. Bihāgarā is not given in the *Rāgmālā*. Today it is classified under the Bilāval *thāṭa*. Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjan and Gurū Tegh Bahādur set a total of 17 *śabdās*, *chhants* and a *vār* to this *rāga*. The performance time is between 9 p.m. and midnight, and the mood is devotional and tranquil. The texts composed to this *rāga* describe the complete peace and response that come to man when he surrenders all to the Lord.

Āroh : Ni Sa Ga Ma Pa Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa Ni Dha Pa Dha Ga Ma Ga Re Sa

Vādī : Ma

Samvādī : Sa

8. VADAHANĀS

Little has been written about this rare *rāga*. It is not in the *Rāgmālā*, and today it is ascribed to the Kāfī *thāṭa*. Fifty-three *śabdas* plus numerous *ślokas* represent the total number composed to this *rāga* by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan. *Vadahanās* is considered suitable for the cold season and is assigned to the afternoon hours. Its mood is quiet and tender. Texts set to the *rāga* explain how the Gurū alone can lead one to the Lord. Without the Lord one is likened to a woman without the love of her spouse.

Āroh : Sa Re Ma Pa, Dha Ni Pa, Ni Śa
 Avroh : Śa Ni Pa, Dha Ma Ga Re, Sa Ni Sa
 Vādī : Re
 Samvādī : Pa

9. SORAṬHI

Rāga Sorāṭhi appears in the *Rāgmālā* as a *rāginī* of Rāga Megha; today it belongs to the Khamāj *thāṭa*. Besides Gurū Nānak, Sorāṭhi was used by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjan and Gurū Tegh Bahādur for a total of 150 hymns plus numerous *ślokas*. Sorāṭhi belongs to the cold season and is performed in the first quarter of night. The mood is light and cheerful, with a pleasing sound resembling Rāga Desh. The texts composed to this *rāga* show how the words of the Gurū can enlighten the mind. All fears vanish and one is filled with bliss.

Āroh : Sa Re Ma Pa Ni Śa
 Avroh : Śa Re Ni Dha, Ma Pa Dha
 Ma Ga Re Ni Sa
 Vādī : Re
 Samvādī : Dha

The melodies are characterized by sweeping phrases with glides connecting all leaps, even the shorter ones. Movement is moderately fast.

10. DHANĀSRĪ

Rāga Dhanāsrī appears in the *Rāgmālā*

as a *rāginī* of Mālkaunsa and currently is a member of the Kāfī *thāṭa*. It closely resembles Bhīmpalāsī in musical content but the *vādīs* and moods are different. Dhanāsrī is performed in the early afternoon and presents a cheerful, happy mood. It provided the setting for hymns by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjan and Gurū Tegh Bahādur for a total of 101 hymns. These texts stress that man reaps what he sows. Only in the Lord may be found the riches that dispel fear and ignorance and thus cause man to realize his true self.

Āroh : Sa Ga Ma Pa Ni Śa
 Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa Ma Pa Ga Re Sa
 Vādī : Pa
 Samvādī : Sa

Pa is given considerable emphasis and *Ni* and *Pa* receive sliding approaches, a characteristic of this *rāga*. The pentatonic ascent provides some of the melodic features of this *rāga*.

11. JAITSRĪ

Jaitsrī does not appear in the *Rāgmālā* nor is it found in the modern literature on the subject. Bhāṭkhaṇḍe gives Jait-Kalyān but this is not to be confused with the above. However, Jaitsrī does appear in a 17th century classification, but not in later ones. Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjan and Gurū Tegh Bahādur composed 30 hymns, a *vār* and several *ślokas* to this *rāga*. Today Rāga Jait is found under the Mārva *thāṭa* and is assigned to the evening hours. A mood of gentle quietness and mystery pervades this *rāga*. The texts describe the meditative thoughts of a devotee who has surrendered himself to his Gurū and Lord. Rāga Jait has two forms and the second includes some elements from Sirī Rāga and perhaps this is nearest the original Jaitsrī.

Āroh : Sa Ga Ma Pa Ni Śa
 Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa Ma Ga Re Sa
 Pakar : Sa, Ga Pa M'a Dha Pa M'a Ga, M'a

Ga Re Sa

Vādī : Ga

Samvādī : Ni

Because of the two different ways of singing this *rāga*, melodic patterns are not fixed.

12. *ṬODĪ*

A *rāginī* of Dīpak in the *Rāgmālā*, *Ṭodī* is today the head of a *thāṭa*. It is considered one of the most important of the north Indian *rāgas*. *Ṭodī* was used by the Gurūs for 32 hymns. This is a *rāga* for the late morning hours and the mood is gentle, with an aura of adoration. The texts composed to this *rāga* emphasize that no matter what problems man meets or what worldly affairs distract the mind, devotion to the Lord brings one back to the path of release from worldliness.

Āroh : Sa Re Ga M'a Pa Dha Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa M'a Ga Re Sa

Pakar : Dha Ni Sa, Re Ga, Re Sa, M'a Ga
Pa M'a Ga, Re Ga Re Sa

Vādī : Dha

Samvādī : Re

13. *BAIRĀRĪ*

This *rāga* appears in the *Rāgmālā* as the first *rāginī* of Sirī Rāga. In the *Mesakarna Rāgmālā* (1509), which is almost the same as that of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the first *rāginī* of Sirī Rāga is given as *Vairāṭī*. However, modern sources do not give *Bairāṭī* nor *Vairāṭī* but *Barāṭī* and *Varāṭī* as well as *Varāṭī* are listed. Kaufmann believes that all of these names refer to the same *rāga*, *Barāṭī*. Whether this is the same as the old *Bairāṭī* is open to question. The possibility always exists that *Bairāṭī* was a regional tune. It was used by Gurū Ram Dās for six short hymns and by Gurū Arjan for one. The performance time for *Bairāṭī* is during the evening hours and it is currently assigned to the *Mārva thāṭa*. It resembles *Pūrva Kalyān*, the main difference being the use of *Pa* which is strong in *Bairāṭī* and weak in

Pūrva-Kalyān. Popley places *Bairāṭī* in the same group as *Sirī Rāga* and this would agree with the *Rāgmālā*.

Āroh : Ni Re Ga Pa, M'a Ga, M'a Dha Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha P'a, M'a Ga, Pa Ga, Re
Sa

Vādī : Ga

Samvādī : Dha

14. *TILAṄG*

Favoured by Muslims, this *rāga* occurs in the *Rāgmālā* as a *rāginī* of *Hiṇḍol*. Today, it belongs to the *Khamāj thāṭa*. *Tilaṅg* was used by Gurū Nānak (6 hymns), Gurū Rām Dās (3), Gurū Arjan (5), Gurū Tegh Bahādur (3), Kabīr (1) and Nāmdev (2) for a total of 20 hymns. *Tilaṅg* is performed at night and has a calm and pleasing mood. In the texts composed for this *rāga*, the question is asked why man should cling to all the evils of this life when Gurū Nānak has shown the way to true happiness and fulfilment.

Āroh : Sa Ga Ma Pa Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Pa Ma Ga Sa

Vādī : Ga

Samvadi : Ni

15. *SŪHĪ*

Sūhī is classified in the *Rāgmālā* as a *rāginī* of *Megha*. It was a favourite with Muslims and was considered proper for the hot season. Today this *rāga* belongs to the *Kāfi thāṭa* and its performance time is late morning. In the Holy Book one variant is given, *Rāga Sūhī Lalit*. *Sūhī* was used by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Aṅgad, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan for 130 hymns, a *vār* plus many *ślokas*.

Āroh : Sa Re Ga Ma Pa, Ni Dha Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa, Ma Ga, Re Ga Re,
Sa

Vādī : Pa

Samvādī : Sa

16. *BILĀVAL* (ancient name *Velāvalī*)

Bilāval had become the basic scale for

North Indian music by the early part of the 19th century. Its tonal relationships are comparable to the Western C-major scale. Bilāval appears in the *Rāgmālā* as a *rāginī* of Bhairava, but today it is the head of the Bilāval *thāṭa*. The *Rāgmālā* gives Bilāval as a *putra* (son) of Bhairav, but no relation between these two *rāgas* is made today. Bilāval is a morning *rāga* to be sung with a feeling of deep devotion and repose, often performed during the hot months. Over 170 hymns were composed to this *rāga* by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjan and Gurū Tegh Bahādur.

Aroh : Sa Re Ga, Ma Pa, Dha, Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha, Pa, Ma Ga, Re Sa

Pakaṛ : Ga Re, Ga Ma Dha Pa, Ma Ga, Ma

Re Sa

Vādi : Dha

Samvādi : Ga

17. GOND

The *Rāgmālā* records Gauṇḍ and Guṇḍ as *putras* (sons) of Sirī Rāga, but does not give Goṇḍ. The possibility exists that Goṇḍ is a regional *rāga* derived from that group of *rāgas* with similar names and characterized by phrases from other *rāgas* e.g. Bilāval, Kānaṛā and Malār. Such names as Gauṇḍa, Gaṇḍ, Gouṇḍa, Gauṇḍī, Gouṇḍgirī, and Guṇḍa appear in classifications from the 11th to the 17th centuries. For those still known today (Gauḍī, Gouṇḍgirī, and Gouḍ) performance rules are obscure. Performance time is late afternoon or early evening and the mood is comtemplative and dignified. Goṇḍ was used by Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan (29 hymns). The texts beseech man to depend solely on the Lord for all benefits since it is He who has given him all his blessings.

Aroh : Sa Re Ga Ma, Pa Dha Ni Dha Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Ni Dha Pa, Ma Ga, Re

Sa

Pakaṛ : Re Ga Ma, Pa Ma, Ma Pa Ni Dha

Ni Dha Ni Sa, Ni Dha Ni Pa, Dha Ma

Vādi : Sa

Samvādi : Ma

18. RĀMKALĪ

Rāmkalī is not given in the *Rāgmālā* but is one of the most important *rāgas* of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. All Gurūs, including Gurū Tegh Bahādur, have composed verses to this *rāga*. The total number of *śabdās* comes to over three hundred. Rāmkalī is a morning *rāga* performed after sunrise usually during the hot season. The mood is such as to inspire lofty thoughts. In the Gurū Granth Sāhib, a number of hymns in Rāmkalī expound True Yoga and other spiritual issues. Some celebrated compositions such as *Sidha Gosṭi*, *Anandu*, *Sadd*, *Oaṅkār* and the *Vār* by Sattā and Balvaṇḍ are composed to this *rāga*. Some of the verses also contain analogies to music and musical instruments. Four forms of this *rāga* are recognized, although only two are in general use today. The *rāga* belongs to the Bhairav *thāṭa*.

Āroh : Sa Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa, M'a Pa Dha Ni Dha Pa, Ga Ma Re Sa

Pakaṛ : Dha Pa, Ma Pa, Dha Ni Dha Pa, Ga, Ma Re Sa

Vādi : Pa

Samvādi : Re

19. NAṬ NĀRĀIN

In the *Rāgmālā*, Naṭ is given as *putra* (son) of Megha while today Naṭ Nārāin appears under the Bilāval *thāṭa* and is assigned to the evening hours. This *rāga* was used by Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan. Naṭ Nārāin is pictured as a warrior riding to battle. In the Holy Book, the fight against sin is never-ending but those who seek refuge in the Lord have their suffering removed.

Āroh : Sa Ga Ma Re, M'a Pa Dha Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Dha Pa M'a Dha Pa, Ga Ma Re Sa

Pakaṛ : Sa Ma Ga Ma Pa, Dha Pa, Ma, Ga Ma Re Sa

Vādī : Sa
Samvādī : Re

20. MĀLĪ GAURĀ

Gaurā is listed in the *Rāgmālā* as a *putra* (son) of Dīpak, but not Mālī Gaurā. Currently classified under the Mārva *thāṭa*, Mālī Gaurā is performed in the evening at sunset. In recent years it is rarely heard in concert. Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan composed to this *rāga* 14 hymns included in the Holy Book.

Āroh : Sa Re Sa Ni Dha Sa Re Ga M'a Pa,
Dha Ni Dha Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa, M'a Ni Dha M'a
Ga, Re Sa

Vādī : Re
Samvādī : Pa

21. MĀRŪ

Mārū is an old *rāga* seldom heard in concerts today. Some theorists equate it with Maruva or Marva. In the *Rāgmālā*, Mārū is a *putra* (son) of Mālkaunsa. It is found in other classifications from the 14th to the early 19th century. Mārū was used by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjan and Gurū Tegh Bahādūr for 144 hymns, two *vārs* plus a large number of *ślokas*. One of its variations is Mārū Kāfī. Mārū is assigned to the hours of sunset and is considered suitable for the cold season. The mood is quiet and contemplative. The tonal material given here is for Mārū Bihāg, Bilāval *thāṭa*.

Āroh : Sa Ga Ma Pa, Dha Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa, M'a Pa Dha Ni Dha
Pa Ma Ga Re Sa

Pakar : Pa Dha Ni Dha Pa Ma Pa Ma Ga,
Pa Dha Pa Ga Re, Ga Re Sa

Vādī : Pa
Samvādī : Ni

22. TUKHĀRĪ

Tukhārī was probably based on a folk tune and was very likely developed by Gurū Nānak into a *rāga* for the singing of certain

śabdās. No *rāga* of this name appears in the classifications of the period when *śabdās* were being composed and the Holy Book compiled. A *rāga* called Mukhārī may be found in the classifications of Karnāṭaka (South Indian) *rāgas* during the period from the 15th to the 18th centuries. Tukhārī was used by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan. Gurū Nānak's composition *Bārā Māhā* is set to this Rāga. It appears to be a *rāga* for the morning hours to be sung in winter. Its name Tukhārī is the popular form of *tushār* (Sanskrit for winter frost). No melodic material for the Tukhārī is available but, for the sake of comparison, the scale of Mukhārī is given:

Āroh : Ni Sa, Ga Ma Pa, Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa, Ni Dha Pa, M'a Ga
Re Sa

Pakar : Ni Ni Dha Pa, Ma Pa, Ma Ga, Re
Sa

Vādī : Pa
Samvādī Sa

23. KEDĀRĀ

Kedārā is an old *rāga* dating from Gurū Nānak's time or even earlier which has become a very important and popular North Indian *rāga* today. It is supposed to possess magical qualities, if correctly performed, which can heal the sick. In the *Rāgmālā*, Kedārā is a *putra* (son) of Megha but currently is in the Kalyān *thāṭa*. Kedārā was used by Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan for a few short hymns. Several forms of Kedārā have been and still are in use. Thus considerable freedom of choice may be exercised by the performer as to how this *rāga* be performed in association with a given text. In the most commonly used form, Kedārā is performed during the first quarter of the night and is particularly auspicious when the moon is visible, a planet with which it has long been associated. The mood is one of contemplation associated with a sort of ascetic idealism. The sadness expressed in *Rāgmālā* paintings

suggests the longing of man for the Supreme Being when this *rāga* accompanies a *śabda*. The Kedāra scale is *vakra* (crooked) with unusual intervals:

Āroh : Sa Ma, Ma Pa, Dha Pa, Ni Dha Śa
 Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa, M'a Pa Dha Pa Ma,
 Ma Re Sa
 Vādī : Ma
 Samvādī : Sa

24. BHAIRON

Bhairon was an important *rāga* at the time of Gurū Nānak and has continued to retain its significance and popularity. Bhairon (not to be confused with Bhairavi) appears in the *Rāgmālā* as husband of Bhairavi and four other *rāginīs*. Today it is the head *rāga* for one of the ten *thāṭas*. The *Rāga Sāgara*, a treatise of *circa* 8th century, describes this *rāga* as awe-inspiring and as expressing the “fulfilment of the desire of worship.” Mesakarna (1509) calls this morning melody of the autumn season one of awesome grandeur. Performed before sunrise, this *rāga* was used by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, and Gurū Arjan for 99 hymns.

Āroh : Sa Re, Ga Ma Pa Dha, Ni Śa
 Avroh : Śa Ni, Dha Dha Pa, Ma Ga, Re Re
 Sa
 Vādī : Dha
 Samvādī : Re

The *vādīs* are performed with a slow, wide vibrato which may begin with the *vādī* itself or the highest limit to which it will extend. In descent the vibrato must begin with upper limit. Otherwise Bhairon has few characteristic phrases.

25. BASANT

The name Basant is from Sanskrit *vasant* meaning spring, and during that season of the year Basant may be performed at any time of the day or night. Otherwise, it is reserved for the night between 9 p.m. and midnight. The *Rāgmālā* gives Basant as a *putra*

(son) of Hiṅḍol, also a spring *rāga*. Today it belongs to the Pūrvi *thāṭa*. The only variant noted in the Holy Book is Basant-Hiṅḍol. Basant is a very old *rāga* dating from the 8th century. Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjan and Gurū Tegh Bahādur composed *śabdās* to this *rāga*. Performed in slow tempo, this gentle melody depicts quiet joy. The descending scale is usually found at the beginning of a composition with the ascending form following later.

Āroh : Sa Ga Ma Dha Ni Śa
 Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa Ma, Ga Re Sa
 Vādī : Sa
 Samvādī : Ma

26. SĀRAṄG

Sāraṅg is reputed to have acquired its name from the famous 14th century music theorist, Sāraṅgadeva. The Sāraṅg *rāga* consists of a group of seven, each of which is combined with some other *rāga*. Today when Sāraṅg is given as the *rāga*, it usually means Brindāvanī-Sāraṅga, a member of the Kāfi *thāṭa*. Performed during the midday period, its mood is quiet and peaceful. In the *Rāgmālā*, Sāraṅg is listed as a *putra* (son) of Sirī Rāga. Sāraṅg is an important *rāga* in the Gurū Granth Sāhib and was used extensively by Gurū Arjan. However, Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Tegh Bahādur also composed *śabdās* to this *rāga* and Gurū Aṅgad used it for some *ślokas*.

Āroh : Sa Re Ma Pa Ni Śa
 Avroh : Śa Ni Pa Ma Re, Sa
 Pakar : Ni Sa Re, Ma Re, Pa Ma Re, Ni Sa
 Vādī : Re
 Samvādī : Pa

27. MALĀR (MALLĀR or MALHĀR)

Malār is one of the rainy-season *rāgas* performed from June to September. During the monsoons, Malār can be sung at any time of the day or night; otherwise, it is designated for late evening or early morning. Its

mood is joyful because the rains cause the crops to grow and the flowers to bloom. Malh̄r is frequently combined with other *rāgas*, particularly Megha. Tānsen added some changes to Malh̄r and this *rāga* is known as Miāñ kī Malh̄r. In the *Rāgmālā*, Gauṇḍ-Malh̄r is described as a *rāginī* of Megha and is the only one with a Malh̄r name. Today the Malh̄r *rāgas* are assigned to the Kāfi *thāṭa*. A favourite of Hindu musicians, Malh̄r was used by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Aṅgad, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, and Gurū Arjan. The pure Malh̄r is seldom performed today, and it might be heard in one of its combinations.

Āroh : Sa, Re Ga Ma, Ma Re Pa, Ni Dha Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa, Dha Ni Pa, Ma Ga Ma, Re Sa
Pakar : Sa Re Ga Ma, Ma Re Pa, Dha Ni
Pa, Ma Re Sa

Vādī : Ma

Samvādī : Sa

28. KĀNARĀ (Kānaḍa)

The modern name for this *rāga* appears to be "Kānaḍa", probably a matter of transliteration from its original name. Under the Kānarā spelling this *rāga* was prevalent in the classifications of 16th and 17th centuries. However, in one instance, Kānarā and Kānaḍa both appear in the same *rāgmālā*. This would indicate that at one time these were two distinctly different *rāgas*. Kānarā was used by Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan for 69 hymns, a *vār* plus numerous *ślokas*. In the *Rāgmālā*, Kānarā is a *putra* of Dīpak. The modern Kānaḍa is one of a group of many Kānaḍa *rāgas* which are combinations of Kānaḍa with other *rāgas*; one of the most popular is Darbāri-Kānaḍa classified under the Āsāvārī *thāṭa*. Assigned to the night hours, its mood is quiet and full of majesty. Darbāri-Kānaḍa is performed in slow tempo and is a popular concert form today. The details of this *rāga*:

Āroh : Sa Re Ga, Ma Pa, Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa, Ni Pa, Ma Pa, Ga Ma Re Sa
Vādī : Pa

Samvādī : Sa

29. KALIĀN

The Indian Sanskrit name for this *rāga* is Kalyān and the Persian is Yuman. In the *Rāgmālā*, Kaliān is the son of Dīpak while today it is the head of the Kaliān *thāṭa*. It is performed during the first part of the night and is considered a blessing bringing all good into one's life. Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan composed 23 hymns to this *rāga*. The texts exalt the far-reaching and all-pervading power of the Lord. In the Holy Book the only *rāga* variant given is Bhopālī (Bhūpālī).

Āroh : Ni Re Ga, M'a Pa, Dha, Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha, Pa, M'a Ga, Re Sa

Pakar : Ni Re Ga, Re Sa, Pa M'a Ga, Re Sa

Vādī : Ga

Samvādī : Ni

30. PRABHĀTĪ

Prabhātī does not appear in the *Rāgmālā*; the nearest to it in name is Prabal. Prabhātī belongs to the Bhairav *thāṭa* and is often combined with Rāga Bhairav. Prabhātī was the setting used for some 58 hymns by Gurū Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan. This is a morning *rāga* to be performed in a slow and dignified manner.

Āroh : Sa Re Ga Pa Dha Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Ni Pa Ga Re Sa

Pakar : Pa Pa Sa, Ni Dha Ni Pa, Pa Dha
Ga Pa, Dha Pa Dha

Vādī : Sa

Samvādī : Pa

31. JAIJĀVANTĪ

Jaijāvantī was used only by Gurū Tegh Bahādur for four hymns. This *rāga* does not appear in the *Rāgmālā* but was known as Jāvanta as early as the 14th century. Today it is regarded as an important *rāga* belonging to the Khamāj *thāṭa*. This majestic and highly

arresting *rāga* is assigned to the night hours.

Āroh : Sa, Re Ga Ma Pa, Ni Śa

Avroh : Śa Ni Dha Pa, Dha Ma, Re Ga Re
Sa

Pakar : Re Ga Re Sa, Ni Dha Pa Re

Vādī : Re

Samvādī : Pa

Besides the *śabdās*, there are 22 *vārs* or ballads in the Holy Book of the Sikhs which form a class by themselves. *Vār*, a genre mainly of Punjabi origin, comprises a number of stanzas called *paurīs*, sung by performing groups of three or four *dhādīs* each to the accompaniment of *dhaddhs*, small two-faced drums held in one hand and played by the fingers of the other, and a *saraṅgī*. *Vārs* in the Gurū Granth Sāhib also have two or more *ślokas* preceding each *paurī*. The *ślokas* are recited solo by the *dhādīs* (or *rāgīs*) in turn while *paurīs* are sung in unison by the group in traditional tunes of various folk ballads. To some of the *vārs* Gurū Arjan, who compiled the Holy Book, added directions with regard to the tunes in which they were to be sung.

Compositions of the *bhaktas* and other devotees included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib are also placed under appropriate *rāgas* and are to be sung accordingly. Besides the contents of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, compositions of Gurū Gobind Singh whose writings form a separate Book, the *Dasam Granth*, Bhāi Gurdās (d. 1636) and Bhāi Nand Lāl Goyā are approved canon for recitation as part of *gurdwārā* service. In his voluminous corpus, Gurū Gobind Singh employs a vast variety of prosodic forms and metres, but hymns usually sung by *rāgīs* are his *kabitts*, *svaiyyās* and *śabdās*. The work of Bhāi Gurdās comprises *vārs* and *kabitts* and *svaiyyās*, the first-named in chaste Punjabi and the two latter in *sadhūkaṛī*, a form of Hindi mixed with regional diction. Bhāi Nand Lāl wrote primarily in Persian using *ghazal* as his principal poetic form.

Dating from the time of the Gurūs, the

preservation of the correct performance style has always been a major concern. Mardānā is reputed to have been the first to create a school for such training. Gurū Arjan is credited with establishing the *gurmat saṅgīt* or the approved style of hymn-singing for the training of *rāgīs* and *rabābīs*. He, himself, undertook the teaching of the pupils and was particular about the accurate rendering of the *śabdās*. Old musical structure and style have survived through some traditional families. Some venerable centres have continued over the generations the programme of instruction for *gurdwārā* musicians, among them the one at Daudhar. A few other places that have contributed to the preservation of the style are the Prachārak Vidyālā at Tarn Tāran, near Amritsar, the Sīs Gañj Gurdwārā in Delhi and the Shahīd Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar.

Sikh music has some limitations placed upon it in order that the religious requirements of the performance may be retained. Emphasis is placed on the melodic line so as to enhance the meaning of the text. The purpose of the musical settings of the words of the Gurūs is to impress these upon the consciousness of the listeners through emotional as well as intellectual appeal. The Gurūs aimed at conveying experience through the "feelings" to make the maximum impact. Therefore, important words of the text should fall on important notes of the *rāga*. Poetic pauses should also be observed. The message must reach the listener through clearly enunciated words. Hymns should be sung with affirmation in a full voice and this gives Sikh music its distinctive character. Tempos may be only slow and medium, not fast. *Sargam* (singing with Sa-Re-Ga) and fast *tāns* (rhythmic-melodic figurations) are not permitted because they attract attention to themselves. *Gamaks* or ornaments are limited to those essential to the correct performance of a *rāga*, such

as glides between notes, to maintain a connected melodic line. Words must be pronounced clearly and accurately with no adjustments for musical effects. *Rāgas* to be used may include only those specified or authorized, so that the emotional content may not be varied by the *rāgīs*. The music must be free of secular characteristics which may be in vogue at any given time. However, the purpose is not to inhibit the creative faculties of the performers lest the vitality of the music be sacrificed. Hand gestures and clapping, so much a part of classical performance, are not in keeping with the required mood of tranquillity. Hence these are totally prohibited. No appreciation may be shown to the musicians except in the dignified ways ordained by the Sikh religion. Congregational singing is encouraged on certain occasions. For this the *ragī* sings a phrase or line and the congregation repeats. Or, sometimes, the congregation divides itself in two parts, each of them alternately singing lines in unison.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, Pandit, *Granth Guru Girārath Koś*. Lahore, 1895
2. Charan Singh, *Srī Gurū Granth Bāṇī Bevrā*. Amritsar, 1860
3. Giān Singh, *Gurbāṇī Saṅgīt*. Amritsar, 1961
4. Avtār Singh, Bhāī, and Bhāī Gurcharan Singh, *Gurbāṇī Saṅgīt Prāchīn Rūt Ratnāvalī*. Patiala, 1979
5. *Simritī Granth : Adutī Gurnat - Saṅgīt Samelan*. Ludhiana, 1991
6. Jasbir Kaur, *Gurnat Saṅgīt dā Itihāsik Vikās* (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). Chandigarh : Panjab University, 1993

M.J.C.

GURMAT SUDHĀKAR (lit. Sikh principles explained and illustrated : *Sudhākar*= the moon, i.e. the illuminator) is an anthology by Bhāī Kāhn Singh, of Nābhā, of excerpts from old Sikh historical texts and manuals of stipulated conduct. The work, first pub-

lished in 1899, is divided into sixteen chapters. The opening chapter comprises verses from Gurū Gobind Singh, the second from Bhāī Gurdās and the third passages from the Janam Sākhī of Bhāī Bālā. The fourth chapter is culled from *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*. Chapters five is based on Vār 1 from Bhāī Gurdās. Chapter six repeats the commentary on Vār XI of Bhāī Gurdās. Chapters seven and eight contain the sayings of Bhāī Nand Lāl and of Bhāī Desā Singh. The ninth chapter summarizes the book *Prem Sumārag*. Chapters ten and eleven present sayings from the *Rahitnāmā* of Bhāī Chaupā Singh and the sayings of Bhāī Dayā Singh. Chapter twelve contains verses from *Srī Gur Sobhā* of Saināpati, poet contemporary of Gurū Gobind Singh. Chapter thirteen offers excerpts from the famous historical text, the *Panth Prakāsh*. Chapters fourteen and fifteen consist of sayings from Gurū Gobind Singh and chapter sixteen reproduces verses from *Gurū Nānak Prakāsh* and *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*.

These extracts from old Sikh sources are heavily annotated. Each work is appropriately introduced at the beginning of each chapter.

The book remained out of print for many years until it was reprinted in recent years (1970) by the Languages Department, Punjab.

D.S.

GURMAT TRACT SOCIETY, dedicated to propagating Sikh religion and history, was founded at Lahore in 1925 by Giānī Kartār Singh Piūkh, who changed his pen name from "Piūkh" to "Hitkāri" in 1929. It published low-priced monthly tracts in Punjabi, in Gurmukhī script, for distribution among the Sikh masses. The themes usually were the lives of the Gurūs, Sikh teachings, Sikh shrines and persons of importance in Sikh history. The Society planned to publish books and pamphlets in Urdu and Hindi as well.

The first tract in the series was *Ātmak Shaktī de Sachche Shahanshāh*, which was published in November of 1925 to mark the birth anniversary of Gurū Nānak.

Giānī Kartār Siṅgh was able to maintain a regular flow of a tract a month for over twelve years. About 40 per cent of them were from his own pen. Among other contributors to the series were Bhāi Mohan Siṅgh Vaid, Giānī Khazān Siṅgh, Sant Sampūran Siṅgh, Soḍhī Tejā Siṅgh, Charan Siṅgh Shahīd, Giānī Ṭhākur Siṅgh, Giānī Lāl Siṅgh Samundarī, Nihāl Siṅgh Advocate, Balwant Siṅgh Chatrath, Raghbīr Siṅgh Bīr, Fīroz Dīn Sharaf, Bibī Harnām Kaur of Nābhā and Giānī Kartār Siṅgh's own young daughter, Amrit Kaur, the famous latter-day Amritā Prītam. Mehar Siṅgh Chāwlā and Nihāl Siṅgh provided financial support. The Society also started, from May 1932, a monthly magazine, *Gurmat*, in which its tracts were serialized. The publications of the Gurmat Tract Society, in simple Punjabi, created new popular readership for the language, thus helping to disseminate widely information about Sikh religion and history.

Jg.S.

GURMUKH (*gur* = Gurū; *mukh* = face), a word employed in Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, in several distinct shades of signification. The *gurmukh* is, for instance, the Primordial Gurū (God) who created all forms; it is He, too, who strings them into one thread — *oan̄ gurmukhi kīo akārā ekahi sūli provanhārā* (GG, 250). *Gurmukh* is also the Gurū who instils the awe of the Fearless One, and through the Word shapes the misshapen (minds). In another sense, *gurmukh* is the God-conscious or the God-inspired man who, imbued with the Word, is crowned with glory at the Lord's portal — *gurmukhi hari dari sobhā pāe* (GG, 125). In *Mārū Solāhe* by Gurū Amar Dās, *Gurmukh* is the mystic sound (*nād*), spiritual knowledge (*Ved*), and the contemplation thereof

(GG, 1058). At a few places in the Gurū Granth Sāhib the word *gurmukh* is used in its literal sense of the face of the Gurū. "Beholding the Gurū's countenance one attains the highest bliss — *gurū mukhu dekhi garū sukhu pāyau*" (GG, 1400). Varyingly, it signifies "by the Master's Word" (adv.). "By the Master's Word is attained the Name that is like cool water, whereby elixir of the Name divine is quaffed in long draughts — *gurmukhi nāmu sītal jalu pāiā hari hari nāmu pīā rasu jhīk*" (GG, 1336).

However, the principal sense in which the word most frequently occurs in the Gurū Granth Sāhib is that of the God-inspired or theocentric man — one who follows the way of life prescribed by the Gurū and acts on his precepts. In this sense, he has his "face turned towards the Gurū." *Gurmukh* is a Siddha or the perfect being. Gurū Nanak, according to *Sidha Gostī*, had as a pilgrim been searching for such a one all over — *gurmukhi khojat bhae udāsī* (GG, 939). *Gurmukh* stands in contradistinction to *manmukh*, the ego-centred one, who has turned his face away from the Gurū: the ego-centred one turns his back (upon him) — *gurmukhi sanmukhu manmukhi vemukhiā* (GG, 131). The *gurmukh* thus embodies the acme of the personality typology postulated in Sikh thought. The God-facing man (*gurmukh*) is inspired by the Gurū's spirit. He scrupulously follows the Gurū's teaching and lives as the Master bids, for he is "merged in the Gurū's Word" (GG, 1054-55). *Gurmukh* lives for truth and righteousness. Having bathed in the pool of truth the soul of the *gurmukh* is purified. Truth pervades his speech, Truth bedecks his vision, Truth fills his actions, too. To a *gurmukh* alone is Truth revealed, for he is rid of doubt, delusion and pride — *gurmukhi hovai su sojhī pāe haumai māiā bharamu gavāe* (GG, 1058-59). His is an illumined mind — free from ignorance and dubiety. While a *manmukh* even at his best practises but deception, the *gurmukh* is a serene follower of

truth. Discrimination (*vivek*) is his hallmark and he burns his ego through concentration on the *Sabad* (*śabda*) — *gurmukhi haumai sabadi jalāe* (GG, 942).

The *gurmukh* dwells upon the Name of God. He constantly meditates through *simran* and gains stability of mind. Mind not attuned to the true self becomes limited. The *gurmukh* dispels all dubiety of the mind — *gurmukhi sagalī gaṇat miḷāvai* (GG, 942). Freedom from attachment characterizes his conduct. The *gurmukh* carries out actions, but himself he transcends them. His deeds are good spontaneously. He is above pleasure and pain. The Lord Himself has apportioned woe and weal to man... but the *gurmukh* is untouched by these. He is a renouncer in spirit even while carrying out duties of the householder. The *gurmukh* indulges in the actions dictated by his destiny and yet is not lost in them because spiritual discipline and divine enlightenment qualify him to distinguish truly between desired action (*pravṛtti*) and renunciation (*nivṛtti*) — *gurmukhi parvirati narvirati pachhāni* (GG, 941). *Jñānī, sant, brahmgiānī* are some other terms which are used in Gurbānī synonymously with *gurmukh*. In Sikhism the connotation of *gurmukh* is wide and comprehensive and the term has been applied to a whole continuum of the enlightened ones from the self-searching *jigyāsu* through one who has attained *sahaj* (equipoise), mental and spiritual.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sṛ Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1964
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Sṛ Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Jodh Singh, Bhāi, *Gurmatī Nirṇaya*. Lahore, 1932
4. Avtar Singh, *Ethics of the Sikhs*. Patiala, 1970
5. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990
6. Wazir Singh, *Philosophy of Sikh Religion*. Delhi, 1981
7. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944

J.S.N.

GURMUKHĪ is the name of the script used in writing primarily Punjabi and, secondarily, Sindhi language. The word *gurmukhī* seems to have gained currency from the use of these letters to record the sayings coming from the *mukh* (lit. mouth or lips) of the (Sikh) Gurūs. The letters no doubt existed before the time of Gurū Aṅgad (even of Gurū Nānak) as they had their origin in the Brahmī, but the origin of the script is attributed to Gurū Aṅgad. He not only modified and rearranged certain letters but also shaped them into a script. He gave new shape and new order to the alphabet and made it precise and accurate. He fixed one letter for each of the Punjabi phonemes; use of vowel-symbols was made obligatory, the letters meant for conjuncts were not adopted and only those letters were retained which depicted sounds of the then spoken language. There was some rearrangement of the letters also. 𑀩 and 𑀪 which were in the last line of the existing alphabets, were shifted to the first line. Again, 𑀫 was given the first place in the new alphabet.

It is commonly accepted that Gurmukhī is a member of the Brahmī family. Brahmī is an Āryan script which was developed by the Āryans and adapted to local needs. According to an opinion, the Brahmī script was introduced between the 8th and the 6th centuries BC. It does not concern us here whether the script was foreign or local, but it has now been established, on the basis of internal evidence, that whatever be its name, the Āryans did have a system of writing which must have been borrowed freely from local scripts. The Iranians ruled in the Punjab in the 3rd and 4th centuries BC. They brought with them Aramaic script, which helped in the growth of Kharoṣṭhī largely used in the Punjab, Gandhār and Sindh between 300 BC and 3rd century AD. But even then Brahmī, which in its development in the Punjab had undergone several changes, was commonly used along with Kharoṣṭhī. There are coins of the Bactrian kings and inscriptions of the

Kushān rulers having both scripts on them. Brahmī was, of course, more popular on account of its simple curves alternated with straight strokes. Hence, in due course, it replaced Kharoṣṭhī and became the single script with composite features effected by various local and neighbourly influences. With the growth of literary and cultural activity during the Gupta period (4th and 5th century AD), the Brahmī script improved further and became more expansive and common.

Immediately later, it developed, especially in northern India, fine curves and embellished flourishes with a small headline over each letter, and became rather ornamental. This stage of Indian script was called Kuṭil, meaning curved. From Kuṭil evolved the Siddhamātrikā which had the widest use in northern India. Some scholars think that these two scripts existed simultaneously. From the sixth century to the ninth, Siddhamātrikā had a very wide use from Kashmir to Vārāṇasī. With the rise of regional languages taking the place of Sanskrit and Prākṛit, regional scripts grew in number. Ardhanāgarī (west), Shārdā (Kashmīr) and Nāgarī (beyond Delhi) came into use, and later both Shārdā and Devanāgarī, an offshoot of Nāgarī, started their inroads into the land of the five rivers. This is evident from the coins of the Ghaznavids and Ghorīs minted at Lahore and Delhi. It is also known that the common (non-Brāhmaṇ and non-official) people used a number of scripts for their temporal and commercial requirements. Of these Laṇḍe and Ṭākṛe characters were most prevalent.

It is on account of these currents that scholars have tried to establish relationships of Gurmukhī with Devanāgrī (G.H. Ojhā), Ardhanāgarī (G.B. Siṅgh), Siddhamātrikā (Prītam Siṅgh), Shārdā (Diringer) and Brahmī (generally). Some ascribe it to Laṇḍe and some others to Ṭākṛī, a branch of Shārdā used in Chambā and Kāṅgrā. The fact is that

it is derived from or at least allied to all these and others mentioned above in their historical perspective.

Regionally and contemporarily compared, Gurmukhī characters have direct similarities with Gujrātī, Laṇḍe, Nāgarī, Shārdā and Ṭākṛī: they are either exactly the same or essentially alike.

Internally, ਅ, ਚ, ਚ, ਝ, ਞ, ਠ, ਠ, ਲ letters of Gurmukhī had undergone some minor orthographical changes before AD 1610. Further changes came in the forms of ਅ, ਚ, and ਲ in the first half of the nineteenth century. The manuscripts belonging to the eighteenth century have slightly different forms of these letters. But the modern as well as old forms of these letters are found in the orthography of the same writers in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Another reform carried out is the separation of lexical units of the sentence which previously formed one jumbled unit; lately punctuation marks borrowed from English have been incorporated besides the full stop (।) which existed traditionally.

The Gurmukhī script is semi-syllabic in the sense that 'a' is included in the consonant signs in some situations. This 'a' is not pronounced at the end of the syllable. Thus, ਕਲ is kal, and ਰਾਮ is Rām, that is, ਕ in ਕਲ (kal) represents k+a, while ਲ represents only l. Other vowels after consonants are shown by vowel symbols which also happen to be the first three letters of the Gurmukhī alphabet. Of these, the first and the third are not used independently. They always have a diacritic attached to them. The second letter is used without diacritics also, and in that case it is equivalent to 'a' as in English 'about'. With diacritics a total of ten vowels are formed, viz., u, ū, o, a, ā, ai, au, i, ī and e. Of these vocalic diacritics, 'i' occurs before a consonant (although pronounced after it), u and ū are written below; ā and ī after a consonant; and e, ai, o and au over a consonant. Similarly, the nasalization sign is also used over a

consonant though in fact it nasalizes the vowel. Of all the vowel-marks, called *lagān* in Punjabi, ā is the oldest, though initially just a dot was used for it. The vowel-marks ī and ū are found in Aśokan edicts and later inscriptions.

All Gurmukhī letters have uniform height and can be written between two parallel horizontal lines, with the only exception of ੳ (the first letter of the alphabet) the top curve of which extends beyond the upper line. From left to right, too, they have almost uniform length, only ਅ (*airā*) and ੳ (*ghagghā*) may be slightly longer than the rest. However, the placing of vowel-symbols under and over the letters, a characteristic of all Indian scripts, creates some problems in printing and typing.

No change is effected in the form of the letter when a vowel-symbol or diacritic is attached to it, the only exception being ੳ to which an additional curve is added which represents two syllables. This is the only example of a single graphic form representing multiple sounds (and this form has a theological background); otherwise there is no Gurmukhī letter representing more than one phoneme, and there are no digraphs.

ੳ , the first letter in the Gurmukhī arrangement, is non-traditional and appears to be so due to its importance in the Sikh scriptures as ੴ , i.e. God is one. After vowels come *s* and *h* which are usually placed at the end of Indian syllabary. Other consonantal symbols are in their traditional order. The terms given to the consonants are their reduplicative phonetic values. Thus ਕ is called *kakkā*, ਕ਼ is *vāvā*. Only ੲ is *ainkā*. The syllabary ends with ੳ *rārā*. The total number of letters is 35 (3 vowels, 2 semi-vowels, and 30 consonants). They are 52 in Devanāgarī, 41 each in Shārdā and Tākri. A dot at the bottom of a number of consonants has been used to represent borrowed sounds such as *ś*, *kh*, *gh*, *z*, and *f*. These have been lately introduced though not as a part of the original alphabet. Geminate (double or long) conso-

nants are indicated by an overhead crescent sign, termed as *adhak* and placed above the consonant preceding the affected one. There is paucity of conjunct consonants in the system. Only ੳ,ੳ,ੳ are combined as second members of the clusters and placed without the head line under the first members. ੳ as the second member of the conjuncts may also be depicted under the first member just in the shape of a slanting comma. It is felt that conjunct consonants, thanks to Sanskrit and English influence and expansion of the range of the Punjabi language, are no longer foreign to Punjabi pronunciation. There is, therefore, great need to adopt, adapt or invent them. Attempts have been made by some scholars but their acceptance is still limited.

Gurmukhī has played a significant role in Sikh faith and tradition. It was originally employed for the Sikh scriptures. The script spread widely under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh and after him under the Punjab Sikh chiefs, for administrative purposes. It played a great part in consolidating and standardizing the Punjabi language. For centuries it has been the main medium of literacy in the Punjab and its adjoining areas where earliest schools were attached to *gurdwārās*. Now it is used in all spheres of culture, arts, education and administration. It is the state script of the Punjab and as such its common and secular character has been firmly established.

The alphabet has also crossed the frontiers of its homeland. Sikhs have settled in all parts of the world and Gurmukhī has accompanied them everywhere. It has a brighter future, indeed, in and outside the land of its birth. Till recently, Persian script was largely used for Punjabi and there was initially a considerable amount of writing in this script, but it is becoming dated now. However, in the Pakistan Punjab Punjabi is still studied, at postgraduate level, in Persian script.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Singh, G.B., *Gurmukhī Lipī dā Janam te Vikās*.

- Chandigarh, 1972
2. Tejā Singh, *Sāhit Darshan*. Patiala, 1951
 3. Bedī, Tarlochan Singh, *Pañjābī Vārtak dā Alochnātmak Adhyan*. Delhi, n.d.
 4. Arun, V.B., *Pañjābī Bhāshā dā Itihās*. Ludhiana, 1956
 5. Bedī, Kālā Singh, *Pañjābī Bhāshā dā Vikās*. Delhi, 1971
 6. Chatterji, Suniti Kumar, ed., *The Cultural Heritage of India*. Calcutta, 1978
 7. Grierson, G.A., *Linguistic Survey of India*. Calcutta, 1916

Hr.B.

GURMUKH SINGH (1799-1870), son of Fateh Singh, belonged to the village of Tuṅg, near Amritsar. In 1816, he joined Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's army. He was given command of 100 horse and placed under Misr Dīvān Chand and, after the latter's death in 1825, under Desā Singh Majīṭhīā. Gurmukh Singh served as commandant in the Rāmgarhīā Brigade and took part in several battles including those of Multān (1818), Kashmīr (1819), Mankerā (1821) and Peshāwar (1822). He also fought in the first Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46 in which his brother, Nidhān Singh, was killed.

Gurmukh Singh died in 1870.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *Umdāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1956

S.S.B.

GURMUKH SINGH, a *kahār* or water-carrier of Kandolā village in Jalandhar district of the Punjab, was a close confidant of Bhāi Mahārāj Singh, leader of the anti-British revolt of 1848-49. During the second Anglo-Sikh war, Gurmukh Singh assisted Mahārāj Singh in procuring supplies of food and fodder for the Khālsā army. He also used to cook for him and this earned him the epithet *lāṅgarī* (lit. a cook). When Mahārāj Singh re-entered the Doābā region, Gurmukh Singh

helped him contact many influential local men needed for a projected raid on government treasury at Bajvārā, near Hoshiārpur. Gurmukh Singh was not present when Bhāi Mahārāj Singh, along with 20 of his followers, was captured on the night of 28-29 December 1849, but was recognized and arrested from among the crowd that gathered near the civil jail at Jalandhar where the prisoners were later brought to be confined.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahluwalia, M.L., *Bhai Maharaj Singh*. Patiala, 1972

M.L.A.

GURMUKH SINGH, BĀBĀ (1888-1977), a Ghadr revolutionary, was born in 1888 to a poor peasant, Hoshnāk Singh, of the village of Laltoṅ Khurd, in Ludhiānā district. Second of three brothers, he was sent to school at Ludhiānā. His ambition was to join the army, but he could not be enlisted owing to medical reasons. In 1914, he boarded the ship *Komagata Maru*, hired from a Japanese firm by Bābā Gurdit Singh, to go to Canada. But events stalled Gurmukh Singh's plans. The ship was not allowed to land at the Canadian port and was obliged to return to India. At the Indian port of Budge Budge, however, a worse fate lay in store for the ship's passengers. The British authorities had kept a train ready to bring these passengers to the Punjab without letting them go into the city of Calcutta. There were protests and the police resorted to firing, killing several of the passengers. Many, including Gurmukh Singh, were apprehended and put into the train. Gurmukh Singh was spared imprisonment on assurances given by his uncles who had influence with the authorities. He was nevertheless interned in his village.

Gurmukh Singh secretly joined the Ghadr movement then being led in the Punjab by Kartār Singh Sarābhā and his comrades. In furtherance of the programme of the movement, Gurmukh Singh took part in two

dacoities in the villages of Sāhnevāl and Mansūrān, in Ludhiānā district. He also made efforts to establish secret contacts with Indian soldiers in some of the Punjab cantonments.

Gurmukh Singh was arrested in what came to be known as the Lahore conspiracy case of 1916, in which Kartār Singh Sarābhā and some others were sentenced to death. Gurmukh Singh, sentenced to transportation for life, was sent to the Anḍamans. In 1921-22, under pressure of the nationalist elements, these prisoners were transferred to Salem jail in what was then known as the Madrās Presidency, the present state of Tamil Nāḍū. From the train which was carrying them to Akolā, Gurmukh Singh managed to escape as it was passing through a jungle at night. The constables escorting him and their two companions had gone to sleep, and Gurmukh Singh, turning his soft lean hands of a young man to advantage, slipped off his handcuffs and jumped off from the train, his feet still in irons. In a nearby village he found someone who filed off his irons. Gurmukh Singh then managed to reach Nāndeḍ, then in Hyderābād state, to seek shelter in the Gurdwārā Hazūr Sāhib. Eventually, the priest of the Gurdwārā helped him to return to the Punjab, where he remained in hiding for two years on the outskirts of the Golden Temple, disguised as a Keshādhārī Paṇḍitjī.

In 1924, Gurmukh Singh managed to reach the Soviet Union where he received his communist doctrine at the hands of teachers like Professor Dyakov. For the next ten years Gurmukh Singh kept shuttling between the Soviet Union and the United States of America where he put new life in the lingering Ghadr party and made it send many young Punjabi students to the Soviet Union to be instructed in Communism. Once during these ten years, in 1931-32, Gurmukh Singh along with another Punjabi revolutionary, Ūdham Singh Kasel, tried to come back to India. But they were apprehended in Afghan-

istan and barely escaped with their lives. Indian Congress leaders tried vehemently to get them freed by the Afghān government as Indian citizens, but succeeded only in persuading the Soviet Union to get them extradited as Soviet nationals. Nevertheless, Gurmukh Singh succeeded in reaching India in 1934, but was soon taken into custody. He was released only after the country attained freedom in 1947. Bābā Gurmukh Singh continued his political activity. He brought out two extremist Communist journals, the monthly *Path of Peace* in English and the *Desh Bhagat Yādān*, a Punjabi weekly. He was also instrumental in having the Desh Bhagat Memorial Hall at Jalandhar erected.

Bābā Gurmukh Singh, who remained a bachelor all his life, died on 13 March 1977.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mohan, Kamlesh, *Militant Nationalism in the Punjab, 1919-1935*. Delhi, 1985
2. Saiṅsarā, Gurcharan Singh, *Ghadr Pārī dā Itihās*. Jalandhar, 1969

S.S.S.

GURMUKH SINGH, BHĀĪ (1849-1898), one of the prominent figures of the Singh Sabhā movement, was born at Kapūrthalā on 15 April 1849. His father, Basāvā Singh, a native of Chandhar village, in Gujranwālā district (now in Pakistan), served as a cook in the royal household of Kapūrthalā. Gurmukh Singh was a promising child and caught the fancy of their master, Prince Bikramā Singh, who began taking personal interest in his upbringing and education. After he had finished school at Kapūrthalā, Gurmukh Singh was admitted to Government College, Lahore. He, like his patron Bikramā Singh, felt concerned about the state of Sikh society, and when Srī Gurū Singh Sabhā was set up at Amritsar in 1873, he left off his studies without graduating with a view to propagating reform. He was instrumental in having Punjabi included, in 1877, in the curriculum

at Oriental College, Lahore. He himself was appointed the first lecturer to teach the language. Bhāi Gurmukh Singh did not let his academic duties obstruct his Singh Sabhā work. He was secretary of Srī Gurū Singh Sabhā, Lahore, which he had helped to establish in 1879. Likewise, he was the first chief secretary of Khālsā Dīwān, Amritsar, founded four years later.

Gurmukh Singh's zeal for radical reform brought him into conflict with the president of the Dīwān, Bābā Khem Singh. During the Baisākhī session of the Dīwān in April 1884, Bābā Khem Singh, being a descendant of Gurū Nānak, sat on a special cushioned seat in the presence of Gurū Granth Sāhib. This was resented by Gurmukh Singh, who said that none could claim such a privilege in a Sikh assembly where all sat together as equals, without any distinctions of class or status. In the same meeting he opposed the proposal sponsored by the Rāwalpiṇḍī Singh Sabhā, which was under the influence of Bābā Khem Singh, that to enable non-initiated Sikhs to enrol as members the name Singh Sabhā be changed to Sikh Singh Sabhā. In May 1885, a book entitled *Khurshīd Khālsā* was published by the brothers Bavā Nihāl Singh and Sarmukh Singh of Chhichhraulī, followers of Bābā Khem Singh. It contained statements judged to be contrary to Sikh tenets. The book also pleaded for the reinstatement of Mahārājā Duleep Singh as the ruler of the Punjab and the appointment of Thākur Singh Sandhānvalīā as his prime minister. Bhāi Gurmukh Singh proposed that the Khālsā Dīwān should publicly dissociate itself from the views expressed in the book. The differences came to a head at the Divālī session of the Dīwān, when a representative of Rājā Bikram Singh of Farīdkoṭ surprised Bhāi Gurmukh Singh by reading out a statement of charges against him. Bhāi Gurmukh Singh resigned from the Dīwān, with representatives of several Singh Sabhās following suit. A schism in the Dīwān was now inevitable. Bhāi

Gurmukh Singh and his supporters called a meeting at Lahore on 10-11 April 1886 and formed a separate Khālsā Dīwān, with Sardār Attar Singh of Bhadaur as president and Bhāi Gurmukh Singh as chief secretary. The Amritsar faction retaliated by getting Bhāi Gurmukh Singh excommunicated through a resolution passed in April 1887 and issued under the seal of the Golden Temple. The Khālsā Dīwān Lahore, which enjoyed the support of the majority of the Singh Sabhās, however, ignored the resolution. Bhāi Gurmukh Singh continued in office. The death, in May 1887, of his patron and benefactor, Kaṅvar Bikramā Singh, meant a great personal loss to him; yet he did not slacken the pace of his activity. By now he had reclaimed two very energetic persons — Bhāi Jawāhir Singh and Giānī Ditt Singh — from the influence of Ārya Samāj, and inducted them into the Singh Sabhā. The three of them working as a closely-knit team were henceforth the life and soul of the Khālsā Dīwān, Lahore. They preached assiduously through press and platform the message of reform and awakening among the Sikh masses.

Education was considered to be the key to modern awakening and this was one of Bhāi Gurmukh Singh's persistent concerns. As early as June 1882, a proposal had been made to set up a Sikh college. Soon after the establishment of the Khālsā Dīwān Amritsar in April 1883, Bhāi Gurmukh Singh formally placed the motion before it at its special meeting held in June 1883. It was taken up more vigorously later by the Khālsā Dīwān Lahore. Bhāi Gurmukh Singh enlisted the co-operation of some government officials, and a Khālsā College Establishment Committee was constituted with Colonel W.R.M. Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction, as chairman and Mr William Bell, a professor of Government College, Lahore, as secretary. The efforts of Bhāi Gurmukh Singh and other leaders of the Singh Sabhā bore fruit and

the cornerstone of the college was laid at Amritsar on 5 March 1892 by Sir James B. Lyall, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

To disseminate widely the Singh Sabhā creed, Gurmukh Singh launched, one after another, the *Gurmukhī Akhbār* (1880), the *Vidyāarak* (1880), the *Khālsā* (1885), the *Sudhārāarak* (1886) and the *Khālsa Gazette* (1886). These were among the first newspapers and periodicals in Punjabi, and besides serving the cause of religious reform, they gave birth to a new literary idiom in the language. Bhāī Gurmukh Singh also published, in 1889, a *jantrī* or almanac, called *Gur Baras*, the years of the Lord, the first of its kind in Punjabi in Gurmukhī script. Another work by him is *Bhārat dā Itihās*, a history of India in Punjabi. He also wrote *Gurbānī Bhāvārth*, a glossary in simple Punjabi to make the *gurbānī* of the Gurū Granth Sāhib intelligible to the common man. The work, however, remained unpublished.

Bhāī Gurmukh Singh married twice, but had no children. He died of a heart attack on 24 September 1898 at Kaṇḍāghāṭ, in Shimlā Hills, where he had gone to see the Mahārājā of Dhaulpur for a donation for *Khālsā* College, Amritsar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jagjit Singh, *Singh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974
2. Lakshman Singh, Bhagat, *Autobiography*. Calcutta, 1965
3. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983 Gd.S.

GURMUKH SINGH GIĀNĪ, BHĀĪ (d. 1843), a man of letters and an influential courtier in Sikh times, was the son of the celebrated scholar, Bhāī Sant Singh, who had been the custodian of Srī Darbār Sāhib at Amritsar. Gurmukh Singh was trained in Sikh religious lore at Amritsar under the care of his father. When the father, saddened by the death of his younger brother, Gurdās Singh, quit his office and retired to Amritsar to devote him-

self to reading and expounding the Scripture, Gurmukh Singh succeeded to his position at the court. He took over his father's work at Srī Darbār Sāhib after the latter's death in 1832. His influence at the court however diminished during the time Prince Nau Nihāl Singh held the reins of power.

After the death of Mahārājā Kharak Singh and Prince Nau Nihāl Singh in November 1840, Bhāī Gurmukh Singh took up the cause of Kaṇvar Sher Singh. On the die being cast in favour of Rāṇī Chand Kaur, he was one of those who signed the document for her regency, but went over to Sher Singh as soon as he arrived in Lahore in the second week of January 1841. On assuming the throne, Sher Singh treated Bhāī Gurmukh Singh with great consideration bestowing upon him liberal *jāgīrs*.

Bhāī Gurmukh Singh fell a prey to courtly intrigue soon after the death in September 1843 of Mahārājā Sher Singh. Hirā Singh Dogrā who had gained power during the reign of minor Mahārājā Duleep Singh had him seized and assassinated and confiscated his family *jāgīrs*. His sons were also taken into custody, placed in chains and treated with cruelty.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Smyth, G. Carmichael, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*. Patiala, 1970

J.S.K.

GURMUKH SINGH LAMMĀ, a commander in Mahārājā Ranjit Singh's army, born in 1772, was of humble origin, his father, Pardhān Singh, being a money-changer in the small town of Khivā, situated on the right bank of the River Jehlum. Lammā in Punjabi means tall, but the cognomen Lammā was not conferred on Gurmukh Singh on account of his height, for he was

of middle stature, but from his taking command of the contingent of Mohar Singh Lammā who was exceptionally tall. In the summer of 1780, as Mahān Singh Sukkarchakkīā was passing through the town on his return from an expedition in the neighbourhood of Piṇḍ Dādan Khān, Gurmukh Singh, then a boy of eight years, joined his camp. He was the childhood companion of his son, Raṅjīt Singh. During the early years of Raṅjīt Singh's power, wealth and honours were showered on Gurmukh Singh liberally. He was with Raṅjīt Singh at the capture of Lahore in July 1799, and was then made paymaster of the forces and put in charge of the treasury. Gurmukh Singh fought in most of the campaigns undertaken by the Mahārājā. He fought at Kasūr where he commanded 2,000 troops, at Jhaṅg and Siālkoṭ, and against the Gurkhās in 1809. The next year he took part in the siege of Multān, and in attacks on Sāhivāl and Khushāb. He commanded a division in the battle of Attock in 1813 and fought in Kashmir. Fifteen times he was wounded in battle: eight times by musket-balls, thrice by sword-cuts, thrice by spear thrusts, and once by an arrow. For his services Gurmukh Singh was munificently rewarded by his master. Before the capture of Lahore, he received in *jāgīr* Piṇḍī Lālā and Shahīdānvālā and afterwards Ḍiṅgā and Ratto. After the conquest of Kasūr in 1807, he received *jāgīrs* in the Kasūr area. When Nar Singh Chamiārīvālā died in 1806, his troops were placed under Gurmukh Singh, and a large portion of his estates also. At one time Gurmukh Singh's estates amounted to three and a half lakh of rupees, but the envy of the Ḍogrās, Gulāb Singh and Dhīan Singh, destroyed both his power and wealth.

In August 1847, Gurmukh Singh was appointed along with Būr Singh of Mukerīān to take charge of Mahārānī Jind Kaur, confined at Sheikhūpurā. His son Atar Singh (d. 1880) held *jāgīrs* at Naushehrā in Shāhpur

and Piṇḍī Lālā, Chakk Basāvā, Doburjī and Qilā Atar Singh in Gujrat.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Twāriḳh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
S.S.B.

GURMUKH SINGH MUSĀFIR, GIĀNĪ (1899-1976), poet and politician, was born the son of Sujān Singh on 15 January 1899 at Adhvāl, in Campbellpore district, now in Pakistan. Gurmukh Singh attended the village primary school and went to the city of Rāwalpiṇḍī to pass the middle school examination. He trained as a junior vernacular teacher and took up, in 1918, appointment at Khālsā High School, Kallar, where Master Tārā Singh, who later became famous as a political leader, had been the headmaster during 1914-16. His four years there as a teacher earned him the epithet Giānī, 'Musāfir' being the pseudonym he had adopted. Young Gurmukh Singh had been much affected by the massacres at Jalliānvālā (13 April 1919) and at Nankāṇā Sāhib (20 February 1921) and, in 1922, he gave up teaching to plunge into the Akālī agitation for *gurdwārā* reform. He composed poetry full of patriotic fervour and recited it with gusto at Sikh *divāns*. For taking part in the Gurū kā Bāgh agitation in 1922, he underwent imprisonment. Side by side with his involvement in religious reformation, he started taking interest in nationalist politics and courted arrest in the Civil Disobedience launched by the Indian National Congress in 1930. The same year he was appointed head of Srī Akāl Takht, central seat of religious authority for the Sikhs. He held this office from 12 March 1930 to 5 March 1931. He also served for a time as secretary of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee as well as general secretary of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal. He went to jail again in Satyāgrah (1939-41) and Quit India (1942-45) movements. He

became president of the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee in 1949. He was also a member of the All-India Congress Working Committee. He was elected a member of the Lok Sabhā successively in 1952, 1957 and 1962. He did not complete his last term in the Lok Sabhā and resigned in 1966 to take over as chief minister of the reorganized state of the Punjab. On 28 March 1968, he re-entered Parliament, this time as a member of the Rājya Sabhā.

An active politician throughout his life, Giānī Gurmukh Singh Musāfir also won renown as a poet and writer. His published works include nine collections of poems — *Sabar de Bāṇ*, *Prem Bāṇ*, *Jīvan Pandh*, *Musāfariān*, *Tuṭṭe Khambh*, *Kāv Suneh*, *Sahaj Seṭī*, *Vakkhrā Vakkhrā Katrā Katrā* and *Dūr Nere*; eight of short stories — *Vakkhrī Dunīā*, *Āhlaṇe de Boṭ*, *Kandhān Bol Paīān*; *Satāī Janvarī*; *Allah Vāle*, *Guṭār*, *Sabh Achchhā*, and *Sastā Tamāshā*; and four biographical works — *Vekhiā Suniā Gāndhī*, *Vekhiā Suniā Nehrū*, *Bāghī Jarnail* and *Vihvīn Sadī de Shahīd*. He represented Indian writers at international conferences at Stockholm in 1954, and at Tokyo in 1961. He was posthumously decorated with Padma Vibhūshan, the second highest national award.

Strikingly handsome, with a flowing white beard setting off his statuesque, glowing face, Gurmukh Singh Musāfir was well known for his *joie de vivre*, his style and humour. He had a huge capacity for laughter.

He fully enjoyed the experience of living and had mastered the art of being happy. He got on with people of all ages and occupations. He was genial, humble and utterly guileless. He was above malice. He had undergone severe privation in life, but this left no trace of bitterness in him. He was exempt from intrigue. In politics, the highest positions came to him, but he never manoeuvred for any. He was unambitious, yet he was from the beginning assured of his direction and identity. This was the secret of

his strength — and success.

Giānī Gurmukh Singh Musāfir died in Delhi on 18 January 1976.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ashok, Shamsher Singh, *Shromanī Gurdwārā Prabandhak Committee dā Pañjāh Sālā Itihās*. Amritsar, 1982
2. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
Mb.S.

GURMUKH SINGH, SANT (1849-1947), with titles such as Paṭiālevāle, Kārsevāvāle or simply Sevāvāle commonly added to the name as a suffix, was born in an Aroṛā family in 1849 at the village of Diālgarh Būṛiā, in the princely state of Paṭiālā. His parents, Karam Singh and Gurdeī, were a pious couple. From his father, Gurmukh Singh learnt to read the Gurū Granth Sāhib. He was of a quiet nature and spent most of his time reciting *gurbānī*. As he grew up, he was married and a son was born to him. For a short time, he served in the elephant stable of the Mahārājā of Paṭiālā and later in the British Indian army. Taking his discharge from the army, he retired to a forest, five miles outside of Paṭiālā, and practised austerities and meditation for twelve long years. Accompanied by a number of devotees, he undertook a pilgrimage on foot to Nāndeḍ, in the South, with the Gurū Granth Sāhib, on a bullock-cart leading the procession.

In 1903, Sant Gurmukh Singh moved to Amritsar where he took up lodgings in the Malvāī Buṅgā. While in Amritsar, he came under the influence of Sant Shām Singh, celebrated for his piety as well as for his mastery of Sikh music. Besides *nām simran*, he made *sevā* or manual community service his daily habit. With a broom in one hand and spade in the other, he spent many an hour every day sweeping the steps and terrace around the sacred tank. When he started his campaign in 1914-15 for cleansing by *kār-sevā* or voluntary service the holy pool,

called Santokhsar, in Amritsar, he was launched upon the mission of his life which he pursued with unparalleled devotion and humility. Long-drawn and thorough - going *kār-sevā* was undertaken at several holy shrines and pools. During 1923-28, the *sarovar* at Tarn Tāran was desilted and lined, and the channel bringing canal water into it, since Rājā Raghbir Singh of Jind (1864-87) had it dug in 1883, was also paved and covered. The old *hanṣlī* or water channel at Amritsar constructed by Mahant Santokh Dās and Mahant Prītam Dās during the Sikh times having become choked, work was started on digging a new one. Begun in 1923, it was completed by March 1928.

During the next 20 years, the building of the main shrine at Muktsar was renovated, the pool was enclosed and lined and the *parikramā*, the circumambulatory passage around it, was paved with marble; a 20-km metalled road was constructed linking Khaḍūr Sāhib and Goindvāl to Tarn Tāran; Gurdwārā Tapiāṇā Sāhib at Khaḍūr Sāhib was reconstructed and its *sarovar* desilted and lined and a covered water channel constructed to feed it; Gurdwārā Ḍerā Sāhib and the *sarovar* at Jāmārāi, the ancestral village of Gurū Nānak, were reconstructed; the *sarovar* at Bābā Bakālā was lined, the *parikramā* paved, and a link road to Gurdwārā Mātā Gaṅgā Jī constructed; and at Nankāṇā Sāhib, Gurdwārā Bāl Līlā and Gurdwārā Kiārā Sāhib were rebuilt and a water channel to feed the *sarovar* laid out. Work on reconstructing the principal shrine in Nankāṇā Sāhib, Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, was to begin when the Partition of August 1947 demarcating the new States of Pakistan and India intervened. Sant Gurmukh Singh returned to Amritsar, where besides participating in the task of widening the *parikramā* around the Darbār Sāhib, he opened *laṅgars* to feed the refugees, Hindu, Sikh and Muslim, stranded on either side of the Indo-Pakistan border.

Sant Gurmukh Singh died at the age of

ninety-eight at Amritsar on 30 November 1947, and was cremated on the bank of the Upper Bārī Doāb Canal where he had been living in a hut. His was a life truly spent in the remembrance of God and in *sevā*. Gigantic renovation and construction works were undertaken at his instance and accomplished under his inspiration and guidance, all by voluntary donations. No donations were ever solicited. Yet funds flowed in ceaselessly and effortlessly. Devotees volunteered the labour of their hands to take part in the holy enterprise. Over the vast operations presided the saintly-figure of Sant Gurmukh Singh, on his lips the name of God all the time and his hands plying the broom or the spade. His work continues to this day at several places through his disciples popularly known as *sevāvāle bābe* or revered old men engaged in *sevā*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Viśākha Singh, Sant, *Mālvā Itihās*. Kishanpurā, 1954

P.S.G.

GURMUKH SINGH, SANT (1896-1984), Sikh saint and preacher, was born on 6 January 1896 in a land-owning family of tailors in the village of Dalelsinghvālā, now in Baṭhiṇḍā district of the Punjab. His father's name was Kālū. His own name, Bābū, was changed to Gurmukh Singh when he converted a Sikh and received the rites of initiation at the hands of Sant Atar Singh of Mastūāṇā in 1913. In 1914 he enlisted in the army where, because of his knowledge of Sikh scripture and tenet, he was entrusted with the duties of a regimental *granthī* or priest. He had himself released in 1919 from the army to make preaching his vocation. He took part in the Shahīdī Samāgam of 1921 to honour the memory of Nankāṇā Sāhib martyrs which launched him into Akālī agitation for the reformation of Sikh shrines. He preached the reformed creed of the Singh Sabhā and the Akālī movement and was listened to with

eagerness at *dīvāns*, especially in the countryside. For a speech he delivered at Mānsā Maṇḍī, in the then Princely state of Paṭiālā, he was arrested and spent an year and a half in jail. In 1935-36, he entered Derā Bābā Jassā Singh at Paṭiālā, then the seat of Sant Nand Singh. The Derā remained Gurmukh Singh's headquarters for the next half-century. His sanctity and rustic humour and eloquence shed their influence on audiences in far-flung places, and he was constantly in demand at Sikh *dīvāns* in India and abroad. In 1973, he was nominated a member of the Singh Sabhā Centenary Committee. For his lifelong devotion to spreading the message of the Gurūs, he was honoured at a special ceremony at the Akāl Takht at Amritsar on 16 September 1975. Sant Gurmukh Singh was on one of his tours abroad when he suddenly died in New York on 19 June 1984.

M.G.S.

GURNE KALĀN, village 8 km south of Lahirā (29°-56'N, 75°-48'E) in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur who, according to Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, stayed here for three days while on his way from Talvaṇḍī Sābo to Dhamtān. A small *gurdwārā* managed by a *mahant* commemorates the visit.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
3. *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968

M.G.S.

GURPRANĀLĪ, a distinct *genre* in Punjabi historical writing, providing in prose or in verse chronological information about the lives of the Gurūs and of the members of their families. The *genre* records in the main dates of their birth, marriage and death. Occasionally, the dates of some major events

are also mentioned. The *genre* gained vogue in Sikh times in the first half of the nineteenth century and has continued to claim adherents in the twentieth. For the history of early Sikhism, the *gurpranālīs* along with *janam sākhīs* constitute serviceable source material. Most of the earlier *gurpranālīs* remained unpublished during the lifetime of their authors. It was only recently that Bhāi Raṇdhīr Singh compiled an anthology of *gurpranālīs* published by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1951 under the title *Gurpranālīān*. With the discovery of some more manuscripts, a new edition comprising fourteen *gurpranālīs* was brought out in 1964. Among the nineteenth-century *gurpranālīs* which are included in *Gurpranālīān* (1964) are those of Saundhā's *Gur Bānsāvalī*, Kesar Singh Chhibbar's *Gurpranālī* and *Gurpranālī* attributed to Sevā Dās Udāsī, besides a few anonymous ones. Among the *gurpranālīs* of the late nineteenth and twentieth century are those by Gulāb Singh, Sant Narain Singh, Giānī Giān Singh and Giānī Sardūl Singh.

The editor, Bhāi Raṇdhīr Singh, also worked out his own *gurpranālī* which he appended to the volume. The Chief Khālsā Dīwān published in 1934 a *gurpranālī* of its own under the title *Gurvaṅs Darpaṅ Pattar*. Unpublished manuscripts turn up now and again. To mention two instances: *Gurpranālī* (anonymous) in the Pañjāb University Library, Chaṇḍīgarh, and *Gurpranālī* (anonymous) in the Motībāgh Palace, Paṭiālā. Dates given in the different *gurpranālīs* are more often than not contradictory, yet this source will continue to be of interest to historiographers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Raṇdhīr Singh, Bhāi, *Gurpranālīān*. Amritsar, 1951

D.S.

GURPRANĀLĪ, by Gulāb Singh, is a genealogical account of the Gurūs beginning with

Gurū Nānak's ancestors. The author, who was a Nirmalā acholar, completed this work, according to internal evidence, at Amritsar in 1908 Bk/AD 1851. The language is simple Hindi written in the Gurmukhī script. For his information the author has depended on *Janam Sākhī* and *Gurbilās* sources. He does not seem to have been particular about the accuracy of his dates. He places the birth of Gurū Nānak in the month of Kārtik which obviously is the result of the influence of *Bālā* account. The author correctly records 1661 Bk/AD 1604 as the year of the compilation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, though errs in recording the year of Gurū Gobind Singh's birth.

The work has since been included in an anthology entitled *Gurpranālīān* published in 1964 by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar.

B.S.

GURPRANĀLĪ, by Kesar Singh Chhibbar, is a genealogical account of the ten Gurūs. Written in simple Punjabi prose, this *Gurpranālī* is different from other works in this *genre* in that it gives dates of most of the events recorded. The author and his predecessors had close relations with the Gurūs, his grandfather was in charge of the treasury of Gurū Gobind Singh, and his great-grandfather, Dargāh Mal, had been *dīwān* to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. He must have been a small boy at the time of Gurū Gobind Singh's departure from Anandpur in 1705. Kesar Singh seems to have had easy access to the records maintained in the Gurū's household.

Kesar Singh's *Gurpranālī* records many dates, but gives few biographical details. For his dates, the author made use of a scroll in the Gurū's records. The author traces the genealogy of each of the Gurūs. For example, it is recorded that Gurū Nānak's father Kaliān Chand was the grandson of Rām Narāyan Bedī and son of Sivram. The author states that Gurū Nānak was born on Kārtik

18, Pūranmāshī, 1526 Bk. Gurū Nānak was married to Sulakkhni, daughter of Mūlā Choṇā of village of Pakho ke Randhāve on 24 Jeth 1544 Bk (AD 1487). He had two sons: the elder one, Srī Chand was born on 5 Sāvan 1551 Bk (AD 1494) and Lakhmī Dās, the younger one, was born on Phāgun 19, 1553 Bk (AD 1497). Gurū Nānak died on Assū *vadi* 10, 1596 Bk (AD 1539) at the age of 70 years, 5 months and 7 days. Similarly, all important dates in the lives of succeeding Gurūs are duly recorded. The martyrdom of Gurū Arjan took place on Jeth *sūdi* 4, 1663 of Bk (AD 1606), of Gurū Tegh Bahādur on Maghar *sūdi* 5, 1732 Bk (AD 1675). However, these dates have to be used with great caution.

This *Gurpranālī* has since been published as part of *Gurpranālīān* (Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar).

B.S.

GURPRANĀLĪ, by Giānī Giān Singh, the well-known Sikh historian, is a genealogical account of the Gurūs. The information contained refers to the dates of their birth, parentage, total period of their time and the dates of their death. Some of the dates recorded are faulty. The author is especially full of reverence describing the Harimandar Sāhib and declares that ablutions in the holy water are several times more auspicious and efficacious than those in the Ganges or at Gayā, Kāshī or Paryāg. The author also describes in certain detail Akāl Buṅgā, Dukh Bhañjanī, Rāmsar and Bābā Aṭal.

Written originally in 1866, the *Gurpranālī* is included in Bhāī Raṇdhīr Singh *Gurpranālīān* (1964) and published by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar.

B.S.

GURPRANĀLĪ, attributed to Sevā Dās Udāsī, is, like other similar titles in the *genre*, a calendar of dates pertaining to the lives of the Gurūs. The text, copied from a rare manu-

script preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, until it perished in 1984, was included in *Gurpranālīān*, an anthology of *gurpranālīs* first published by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1951. Though there is no internal evidence to date the work, the language and style point towards the early nineteenth century as the probable period of its composition. Since the first page of the manuscript was torn, the date of Gurū Nānak's birth and the details of his life are missing. What the text retains is the date of his death — Assū *vadī* 10, 1596 Bk/7 September 1539. Then follow the dates of birth and death of the succeeding Gurūs, along with the period for which each held the spiritual office. Also included in the calendar are the names of the children born to the Gurūs and the dates of several important events. Most of the dates from the lives of the Gurūs given here tally with those generally acceptable in the established Sikh tradition. However, the author differs on some counts such as the date of the battle of Chamkaur in which two elder sons of Gurū Gobind Singh fell — 17 Maghar 1762 Bk/16 November 1705 against the established 8 Poh 1762 Bk/7 December 1705, and that of the execution of the Gurū's two younger sons at Sirhind — 2 Poh 1762 Bk/1 December 1705. The work of digging the Amritsar tank was completed on 13 Hār 1634 Bk/10 June 1577 and of brick-laying on 22 Hār 1646 Bk/19 June 1589. After Gurū Gobind Singh the gurūship, according to this *Gurpranālī*, passed on to the Khālsā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Raṇdhīr Singh, Bhāi, *Gurpranālīān*, Amritsar, 1951

D.S.

GURPRANĀLĪ, a chronology in verse of events relating to the lives of the Gurūs, by Sardūl Singh, son of Giān Singh of Amritsar. First published in 1893 and comprising sixteen pages, the *Gurpranālī* was prepared at the

instance of the Gurmat Prachārak Sabhā with a view "to familiarizing the Sikh youth with their history." The author states that his dates are based on historical works scrutinized and revised under the auspices of the Srī Āgurū Singh Sabhā, Amritsar, yet some of them do not coincide with those commonly accepted in the Sikh tradition. For example, it records Assū *vadī* 10, 1596 Bk, as the date of Gurū Nānak's death against the current Assū *sudī* 10, 1596 Bk; Vaisākh *sudī* 1, 1561 Bk as the date of Gurū Aṅgad's birth against the current Vaisākh *vadī* 1, 1561 Bk; Hār *vadī* 1, 1652 Bk, the date of Gurū Hargobind's birth against the current Hār *vadī* 6, 1652 Bk. Whereas almost all the earlier *Gurpranālīs* state that Gurū Gobind Singh had passed on the gurūship to the Khālsā, this one says that, though Khālsā is the son of Gurū Gobind Singh, the status of Gurū was bestowed upon Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The *Gurpranālī* lists some of the *kurahits* or misconducts, i.e. violations of the code of conduct a Sikh must avoid. Among them are mentioned smoking, shaving and social intercourse with the schismatic groups such as Mīṇās and Dhīrmallīās.

D.S.

GURPRANĀLĪ (The Gurūs' genealogy), an unpublished manuscript in Punjabi of unknown authorship held under MS.no. 388 in the Pañjāb University Library, Chaṇḍīgarh. Undated, but the product apparently of late nineteenth century, it comprises a bare six folios tightly written. It opens with an account, introducing some dates, of the origin of the Bedī clan into which Gurū Nānak was born. The lineage is carried on to Sāhib Singh (1756-1834), Bikram Singh (d. 1863) and his sons Sūrāt Singh and Sujān Singh. Besides recording dates and places of birth and death of the Gurūs, the manuscript provides similar information about some of the members of their families. Certain events are also dated, not always correctly. Among the

dates mentioned are those of the beginning of the digging of the *bāoli* at Goindvāl (Māgh 21, 1591 Bk/20 January 1535), marriage of Bībī Bhānī (Phāgun 16, 1599 Bk/13 February 1543), founding of Rāmdāspurā (Thursday, Hār 13, 1634 Bk/10 June 1577), completion of the Gurū Granth Sāhib (Bhādon *sudī* 1, 1661 Bk/16 August 1604), death of Kaulān (Hār 1, 1619 Bk/29 May 1562), battle of Chamkaur (Thursday, Maghar 17, 1762 Bk/16 November 1705), battle of Muksar (Māgh *vadi* 1, 1762 Bk/18 December 1705), death of Bandā Singh Bahādur (Phāgun *sudī* 9, 1774 Bk/27 February 1718), death of Bhāi Buḍdhā (Assū *sudī* 10, 1688 Bk/26 September 1631) and death of Bhāi Gurdās (Bhādoṅ *sudī* 8, 1694 Bk/17 August 1637). The author has made use of some other *gurpranālīs* as well, notably *Amritsarī Praṇālikā*.

D.S.

GURPRANĀLĪ, an anonymous and still unpublished manuscript comprising a mere six folios and preserved in the Motūbāgh Palace Library, Paṭiālā, gives a chronology of the events relating to the lives of the Ten Gurūs. The *Gurpranālī* can be divided into three parts. In the first part are given the dates and places of birth of all the Gurūs along with the names of the children born to them. The following folios record the date and name of place where each of the Gurūs departed this life. At the end is given the total duration of each Gurū's spiritual office. Following the *Bālā Janam Sākhī* tradition, Kārtik (October-November) is mentioned as the month of Gurū Nānak's birth. Gurū Gobind Singh is stated to have named the *Khālsā* as his successor and passed on to it the gurūship before he passed away.

D.S.

GURPURB, a compound of two words, i.e. *gurū*, the spiritual preceptor, and *purb*, *parva* in Sanskrit, meaning a festival or celebration, signifies in the Sikh tradition the holy

day commemorating one or another of the anniversaries related to the lives of the Gurūs. Observance of such anniversaries is a conspicuous feature of the Sikh way of life. A line frequently quoted from the Gurū Granth Sāhib in this context reads "*bābāñīū kahāñīū put saput karenī* — it only becomes worthy progeny to remember the deeds of the elders" (GG, 951). Among the more important *gurpurbs* on the Sikh calendar are the birth anniversaries of Gurū Nānak and Gurū Gobind Singh, the martyrdom days of Gurū Arjan and Gurū Tegh Bahādur, and of the installation of the Holy Book in the Harimandar at Amritsar on Bhādoṅ *sudī* 1, 1661 Bk/16 August 1604. Alongside these may be mentioned Baisākhī, the first day of the Indian month of Baisākh, which marks the birth, in 1699, of the *Khālsā* Panth, and the martyrdom days of the young sons of Gurū Gobind Singh. There are indications in the old chronicles that the succeeding Gurūs themselves celebrated the birthday of Gurū Nānak. Such importance was attached to the anniversaries that dates of the deaths of the first four Gurūs were recorded on a leaf in the first recension of the Scripture prepared by the Fifth Gurū, Gurū Arjan. The word *gurpurb* had come into use in the times of the Gurūs. It occurs in at least five places, in Bhāi Gurdās (1551-1636), contemporary with Gurū Arjan. To quote, "*kurbānī tinā gursikhā bhāe bhagati gurpurb karande*— I am a sacrifice unto Sikhs who with love and devotion observe the *gurpurb*" (*Vārān*, XII.2).

What happens on *gurpurbs* is a mixture of the religious and the festive, the devotional and the spectacular, the personal and the communal. Over the years a standardized pattern has evolved. Yet no special sanctity attaches to the form, and variations can be and are indeed made depending on the imaginativeness and initiative of local groups. At these celebrations, the Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, is read through, in private homes and in the *gurdwārās*, in a single

continuous ceremony lasting forty-eight hours. This reading, called *akhand pāth*, must be without interruption; the relay of reciters who take turns at saying the Scripture ensures that no break occurs. Additionally special assemblies are held in *gurdwārās* and discourses given on the lives and teachings of the Gurūs. Sikhs march in processions through towns and cities chanting the holy hymns. Special *laṅgars*, or community meals, are held for the participants who at certain places may be counted by the thousand. To partake of a common repast on these occasions is reckoned an act of merit. Programmes include initiating those not already initiated into the order of the *Khālsā* in the manner in which Gurū Gobind Singh had done in 1699. Sikh journals and newspapers bring out their special numbers to mark the event. There are public functions held, besides the more literary and academic ones in schools and colleges. On *gurpurbs* commemorating birth anniversaries, there might be illuminations in *gurdwārās* as well as in residential houses. Friends and families exchange greetings. Coming into vogue are the printed cards such as those used in the West for Christmas and the New Year day.

Sikh fervour for *gurpurb* celebration had an unprecedented outlet at the time of the tercentenary of Gurū Gobind Singh's birth in 1967. There is no evidence on record whether centennials previously had been similarly observed. References are however traceable to a proposal for especially marking the second centennial in 1899 of the birth of the *Khālsā*. The suggestion came from Max Arthur Macauliffe, author of the monumental work, *The Sikh Religion*, but it did not receive much popular support. The three-hundredth birth anniversary in 1967 of Gurū Gobind Singh turned out to be a major celebration evoking widespread enthusiasm and initiating long-range academic and literary programmes. It also set a new trend and format. With the same ardour have been ob-

served some other days as well; in 1969, the fifth centennial of Gurū Nānak's birth; in 1973, the first centenary of the birth of the Singh Sabhā; in 1975, the third centenary of the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahādūr; in 1977, the fourth centenary of the founding by Gurū Rām Dās of the city of Amritsar; in 1979, the 500th anniversary of the birth of Gurū Amar Dās; in 1980, the 200th anniversary of the birth of Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh; in 1982, the third birth centennial of Bābā Dīp Singh, the martyr.

Hm.S.

GUR PUR PRAKĀSH is a versified history in four parts of the ten Sikh Gurūs on the same lines as Bhāi Santokh Singh's *Nānak Prakāsh* and *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, following as far as possible the same style but much reduced in volume. The author, Sant Reṅ Prem Singh who claims direct descent from Gurū Aṅgad through Bābā Dāsū, the Gurū's elder son, was born in November 1879, the son of Bābā Lachhman Singh of the village of Naryāb in Haṅgū *tahsīl* of Kohāt district in the North-West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan). He received religious instruction at Amritsar under the famous classical scholar, Giānī Amīr Singh, and studied Bhāi Santokh Singh's monumental works under different scholars. He found that these works contained several statements which did not conform to the teaching of the Gurūs. These, he considered, were due to the fact that their author died soon after the completion of his *magnum opus* without having time for a revision. He undertook fresh researches and travelled extensively to places connected with the lives of the Gurūs. His main source, he claims, was a rare manuscript dated 1709 by Bābā Binod Singh, a collateral descendant of Gurū Aṅgad and contemporary of Gurū Gobind Singh and Bandā Singh Bahādūr. He set down to compiling in 1914 his own *Srī Gur Pur Prakāsh*. The first three editions of the work came out in 1919, 1924 and 1944,

respectively. The fourth edition was published in 1965 from Paṭiālā, where the author had settled after the partition of the country (1947).

The work generally follows the traditional sequence of events and anecdotes as found in *janam sākhs*, *gurbilāses* and in the *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. All dates are in the Nānakshāhī era with the exception of the initial one of the birth of Gurū Nānak, which is given as Kattak Pūranmāsī of 1526 Bikramī. The author's dates are not all reliable. For example, the date according to him of the birth of Gurū Rām Dās is NS. 55 corresponding to AD 1524 against the generally accepted 1534; the date of his marriage to Bibī Bhānī is NS. 68/AD 1537 against the traditional 1553; and the date of Gurū Arjan's birth is NS. 84/AD 1553 against the commonly accepted date AD 1563. Moreover, in his anxiety to make his history strictly to conform to the Sikh view he at times gives a free reign to imagination. For him the marriage of Gurū Nānak was performed not according to the traditional ceremony of circumambulations around the burning fire. According to him, when asked how he would wish the wedding ceremony to be solemnized, the bridegroom wrote out the Mūl Mantra on a piece of paper around which the couple circumambulated four times. This the Gurū named as the "anand marriage" ceremony.

M.G.S.

GUR SEVAK SABHĀ, a society formed at Amritsar on 29 December 1933 by some Sikh intellectuals and educationists to restate Sikh moral and religious values and have these reinstated in the public life of the Panth, then severely riven by rivalries and personal ambitions of the leaders. Bāvā Harkishan Singh, Principal of the Gurū Nānak Khālsā College at Gujranwālā, Tejā Singh and Nirañjan Singh, both professors at the Khālsā College at Amritsar and Naraiñ Singh, a professor at the Khālsā College at Gujranwālā,

were amongst the sponsors. The group travelled around addressing *saṅgats* in *gurdwārās*. Vichār Saṅgats, i.e. study circles, were convened at different places with the help of local Singh Sabhās. The issues commonly discussed were the administration of the *gurdwārās*, the means of repairing the schism in the political party of the Sikhs, the Akālī Dal, which was at that time riven into two mutually hostile groups — one led by Master Tārā Singh and the other by Giānī Sher Singh. For elections to the Shiromanī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1935, the Gur Sevak Sabhā was able to persuade the two groups to accept a common list of candidates to be prepared by Bābā Vasākhā Singh, a former revolutionary, to halt the continuing feud. In the Sikh convention held in Amritsar (Baisākhī day of 1936) at the time of the visit of Dr B.R. Ambedkar, leader of the so-called untouchables, members of the Gur Sevak Sabhā, notably Bāvā Harkishan Singh, took a prominent hand. In the outcome, several of Dr Ambedkar's followers were converted to the Sikh faith at the Akāl Takht. The *ardās* on this occasion was said in English — perhaps the first ever public prayer in the language at the Akāl Takht — by Professor Tejā Singh, a leading member of the Gur Sevak Sabhā. The most memorable task undertaken by the Gur Sevak Sabhā was the preparation of the *Śabadārth*, an annotated edition of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, which was completed in five years, from May 1936 to September 1941. It was the work primarily of Professor Tejā Singh, Bāvā Harkishan Singh and Professor Naraiñ Singh lending him a helping hand. The *Śabadārth*, a landmark in Sikh learning, will remain a permanent monument to the Gur Sevak Sabhā which had only a brief spell of life.

S.S.Am.

GURŪ, a spiritual guide or preceptor. The term, long used in the Indian religious tradition, has a special connotation in the Sikh

system. The Sikh faith itself signifies discipleship, the word *sikh* (*śiṣya* in Sanskrit and *sisṣa* or *sekha* in Pāli) meaning pupil or learner. The concept of Gurū, the teacher or enlightener, is thus central to Sikhism. The Gurū, according to Sikh belief, is the vital link in man's spiritual progress. He is the teacher who shows the way. He is not an intercessor, but exemplar and guide. He is no *avatār* or God's incarnation, but it is through him that God instructs men. He is the perfectly realized soul; at the same time, he is capable of leading the believers to the highest state of spiritual enlightenment. The Gurū has been called the ladder, the row-boat by means of which one reaches God. He is the revealer of God's word. Through him God's word, *śabda*, enters human history. The Gurū is the voice of God, the Divine self-revelation. Man turns to the Gurū for instruction because of his wisdom and his moral piety. He indicates the path to liberation. It is the Gurū who brings the love and nature of God to the believer. It is he who brings that grace of God by which *haumai* or egoity is mastered. The Gurū is witness to God's love of His creation. He is God's *hukam*, i.e. Will, made concrete.

A special figure is employed to describe the transference of the Gurūship in the Sikh tradition. This figure helps us understand the true nature of Gurū. The Gurūship passes from one Gurū to the other as one candle lights another. Thus the real Gurū is God, for He is the source of all light. It is clear that the Gurū is not to be confused with the human form (the unlit body). In the Sikh faith which originated in Gurū Nānak's revelation, Ten Gurūs held the office. In Sikhism the word Gurū is used only for the ten spiritual prophets — Gurū Nānak to Gurū Gobind Singh, and for none other. Now this office of Gurū is fulfilled by the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the Sacred Book, which was so apotheosized by Gurū Gobind Singh.

Various connotations of *gurū* have been given based on different etymological interpretations. One generally accepted in Sikhism is that derived from the syllable *gu* standing for darkness and *rū* for its removal. Thus *gurū* is he who banishes the darkness of ignorance. According to Sikh belief, guidance of the *gurū* is essential for one's spiritual enlightenment.

No particular text dealing with the concept of *gurū* is found in the Sikh Scripture, though scattered references abound. They are often figurative and symbolic but are fully expressive of the pre-eminence accorded to the *gurū*. He has been called a *tīrtha*, place of holy pilgrimage, i.e. purifier; a *khevat*, the boatman who rows one across the ocean of worldliness; a *sarovar*, a lake where swans, i.e. holy saints, dwell and pick up pearls of sacred wisdom for food; a *samund*, ocean which is churned for the gems, for his *bāñī*, or inspired word, is itself deep like the ocean and its wisdom can be brought out only after long meditation; a *dīpak*, lamp which lights up the three worlds. In another comparison the Gurū is called *ṭīlak*, elephant controller, as he restrains the mind that is like a mad, romping elephant. He is called *dātā*, donor of wisdom; *amritsar*, the pool of ambrosia of the Name; a *basūth*, one joining the seeker in union with God; *joti*, the light which illuminates the world. Other comparisons are *añjan*, collyrium, which sharpens the sight—a metaphor for the spiritual vision; *sahjāi dā khet*, the field of equipoise or equanimity; *paharūā*, the watchman who drives away the five thieves, i.e. the five evils. He is *sūrā*, the hero whose sword of *jñāna* or knowledge rends the veil of darkness and overcomes ignorance and wickedness, *pāras*, philosopher's stone which turns base metals into gold, for he transforms ordinary men into holy saints. There are numerous more comparisons.

The first stanza of *Bāvan Akharī*, one of

Gurū Arjan's compositions in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, is a paean of glorification in honour of the Gurū (Gurudev) in exalted classical style. Gurudev, i.e. the divinely inspired Master, is the mother, father; he is the Master and the Lord Supreme. He is friend, relative, brother. He confers on the seeker the name of the Supreme Being, i.e. the *mantra*, which is infallible. *Gurudev* is the touchstone which surpasses all *pāras*. *Gurudev* is sacred *tīrath* of the ambrosia of immortality, a bath wherein is a bath in *jñāna*. *Gurudev* is the banisher of sins; he makes the impure pure. *Gurudev* has existed from beginning of the beginning, from the beginning of the ages and has lasted through all the *yugas*; i.e. his light is eternal. His teachings of the Name alone can save humanity (GG, 250).

The guidance of the *gurū* is absolutely essential; no spiritual gain can accrue without the *gurū's* guidance. The view has been constantly reiterated in the Gurū Granth Sāhib:

Were there to rise a hundred moons,
and a thousand suns besides,

Without the *gurū*, it will still be pitch
darkness (GG, 463).

None other than the *gurū* can give enlightenment,

Nor can happiness without him enter
the heart (GG, 650).

"None has ever realized God, none at all, without the *gurū's* guidance," declares Gurū Nānak (GG, 466). Using figurative language, it is pointed out that no blind man can find the path without the *gurū*, as nobody can reach the housetop without the stairs and no one can cross the river without a boat. As says Gurū Amar Dās, he who remains without the Gurū's guidance is the rejected one (GG, 435).

What is gained if the *gurū's* compassion

and guidance are available is thus elaborated:

By the holy preceptor's grace is faith perfected;

By the holy preceptor's grace is grief cancelled;

By the holy preceptor's grace is suffering annulled;

By the holy preceptor's grace is love of God enjoyed;

By the holy preceptor's grace is union with God attained (GG, 149).

The *gurū* cleanses the seeker's mind of the impurity and brings it to contemplating on the Name. He breaks the shackles of the disciple who turns away from the excitements of the senses. He seeks his welfare and cherishes him as the beloved of his heart. A touch of him erases all blemishes of conduct. The bard Nall refers to the transforming power of the *gurū* thus in symbolic language: "From base metal I became gold by hearing the words of the Gurū. Poison was turned into nectar as one uttered the Name revealed by the Gurū. From iron a diamond I became by the Gurū's grace. From stone one becomes a diamond in light of the *jñāna* manifested by the Gurū. The Gurū transformed common timber into fragrant sandalwood and banished all pain and misery. By worshipping the feet of the Gurū, the foolish and the evil became angels — the noblest of men" (GG, 1399).

God, who is "without form, colour or feature," is yet self-communicating. "Through the True Word (*śabda*) is He revealed," as says Gurū Nānak (GG, 597). Further:

Within every heart is hid the Lord;

In all hearts and bodies is his light.

By the *gurū's* instruction

Are the adamant doors opened.

Here *śabda* and *gurū* are juxtaposed. Often they become one word, *śabdagurū*, iden-

tifying *śabda* with the *gurū*.

The *śabda gurū* is the profound teacher;
Without the *śabda* the world remains in
perplexity (GG, 635).

Set your mind on the *gurśabda*
Which is over and above everything else
(GG, 904).

Through the *śabda* one recognizes the
adorable Lord

Through the word of the *gurū* (*gurvāk*)
Is he imbued with the truth (GG, 55).

Śabda is the same as the *gurū*, says Gurū Rām Dās. “*Bāṇī* (the *gurū*’s utterance or word) is the *gurū* and the *gurū* is *baṇī*, in *bāṇī* are contained all the elixirs” (GG, 982). *Śabda*, ever present, is articulated through the human medium, the *gurū*, so ordained by the Supreme Being. The historical Gurūs of the Sikh faith are believed to have uttered the truth vouchsafed to them by God. “As I received the word from the Lord, so do I deliver it,” says Gurū Nānak (GG, 722). Gurū Arjan: “I know not what to say; I utter only the word I receive from God” (GG, 763). And Gurū Rām Dās: “Own ye the Sikhs the *bāṇī* of the *gurū* as truth and truth alone, for the Creator Himself makes him utter it” (GG, 308).

God, thus, is the primal Gurū of the whole creation. This is how Gurū Nānak discloses the identity of his own Gurū. One of his compositions, the *Sidha Goṣṭī*, is in the form of a discourse with a group of *yogīs*. Therein a *yogī* puts the question to him, “Who is your Gurū? Whose disciple are you?” (GG, 942). To which Gurū Nānak replies:

Śabda is my Gurū, and the meditating
mind the disciple.

By dwelling on Him I remain detached.
Nānak, God, the cherisher of the world
through the ages, is my Gurū (GG, 943).

Elsewhere Gurū Nānak and his succes-

sors affirm that the *Satigurū* is God.

The light of the pure Lord, the essence
of everything, is all-pervading.

He is the infinite, transcendent Lord,
the Supreme God

Him Nānak has obtained as his *Gurū* (GG,
599).

Accredited is the personality of the bright
Gurū, God

Who is brimful of all might.

Nānak, the Gurū is the transcendent Lord
Master.

He, the ever present, is the Gurū (GG,
802).

According to Sikh belief there is no difference in spirit between such a *gurū* and God. “The *gurū* is God and God is the Gurū; there is no distinction between the two” says Gurū Rām Dās (GG, 442). “God hath placed Himself within the *gurū*, which He explicitly explaineth” (GG, 466). “Acknowledge the Transcendent God and the *gurū* as one” (GG, 864). The real personality of a human being is the *ātman*, the physical body is only a temporary dwelling place for the *ātman* which is eternal and is a spark from the Eternal Flame, the Supreme *Ātman* or God. “O my self, you are an embodiment of God’s Light; know your true origin” (GG, 441). Being encased in the physical frame, this *ātmān* becomes so involved in the temptations of the physical world that it forgets its reality and loses contact with the Flame of its origin, whereas the *ātman* of the *Gurū* remains ever in tune with that Supreme Light from which it has sparked off. It is thus that God is accepted as residing within the *gurū*. It is in this sense that there is no distinction seen between the *gurū* and God. *Gurū* or *satigurū* is thus a word with a double meaning in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. It may refer to God or to His chosen prophet.

The true *Gurū* is easily distinguished.
“The true *gurū* is one who has realized the

Supreme Being and whose association saves the disciple” (GG, 286). “The true *gurū* is one in whose heart dwells the Name Divine” (GG, 287). “He by meeting whom the mind is filled with bliss is the true *gurū*. He ends the duality of the mind and leads (the disciple) to the ultimate state of realization” (GG, 168). “Praise, praise be to the true *gurū* who demolishes the fort of dubiety; wondrous, wondrous the true *gurū* who unites the seeker with the Lord” (GG, 522). The *gurū* is ordained as such for the liberation of mankind. He transmits the message of God to men and performs acts of grace to save them. The *gurū* is sent by God, but he is not God’s incarnation. “Singed be the tongue which says that the Lord takes birth” (GG, 1136). He is *ajūnī* (unborn); He is *saibhañ* (self-existent). Highest tribute and adoration are reserved for the *gurū*. Devotion to the *gurū* is deemed to be the quintessential quality of a religious man. The pain of separation from the *gurū* and the joy of meeting with him find expression in poetry of deep intensity, as in Gurū Arjan’s hymn in Rāg Mājh (GG, 96-97).

Gurū Nānak was suspicious of human preceptors, *pañḍits*, *gurūs* and *pīrs*. They are generally denounced as blind guides, self-styled and traders upon ignorance and supersition. He warns against them:

Never fall at the feet of one
Who calls himself *gurū* and *pir*, and goes
begging.

He who eats what he earns
And from his own hands gives some in
charity,

He alone knows the true way of life (GG,
1245).

The disciple whose *gurū* is blind will not attain the goal (GG, 58). Taking up this thought the third Gurū said:

The disciples whose *gurū* is blind perform only blind deeds.

They follow their own wayward will,
And ever utter the grossest lies (GG, 951).

When Gurū Nānak speaks of his *gurū* or *satigurū*, it is not such teachers that he has in mind. The true *gurū* is the means of the self-revelation of God. He makes the concealed and ineffable God known. He symbolizes the supreme act of God’s grace in revealing Himself as Truth, as the Name, as the Word. The true *gurū* comes to unite all people of the world and to unite them to the Supreme Being. A false *gurū* creates schisms, divisions and prejudices. The true *gurū* as manifested in the history of the Sikh faith comes to suppress the forces of evil and to rally the forces of good. He comes to resuscitate the values of true religion, *dharma*.

The Sikh faith developed under the guidance of ten successive Gurūs from 1469 to 1708. Gurū Gobind Singh, the Tenth Gurū, appointed no personal successor, but bequeathed the gurūship to the Holy Book, the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The holy Word or *śabda* had always been referred by the Gurūs as well as by their disciples as of Divine origin. The Gurū was the revealer of the Word. The Word was identified with the Gurū when Gurū Gobind Singh proclaimed the Holy Book Gurū before he passed away. Bards Balvañḍ and Sattā theorize that of their three aspects — *jotī*, i.e. light, *jugatī*, way or procedure, and *kāiā*, i.e. body — it is only *kāiā*, the body, that changes as succession passed from one historical Gurū of the Sikh faith to the next. *Jotī* and *jugatī* remained the same. As sang the bards: “*Jotī ohā jugatī sāi sahi kāiā pheri palañāi*” (GG, 966). From their verse emerges this concept of three aspects of the gurūship.

God is the source of all light or consciousness. God kindles that light, in the chosen human body, the Gurū; in the *jotī*-aspect the Gurū is the most enlightened human being, he is in direct communion with God. He communicates the message of

God to mankind. He transmits His light to the world. Without the *gurū*, darkness prevails. Says Gurū Nānak, "The light of the *gurū* alone dispels darkness" (GG, 463). "The *gurū* is that lamp which illuminates the three worlds" (GG, 137). Balvaṇḍ and Sattā in their hymn in the Gurū Granth Sāhib affirm that the historical Gurūs of the Sikhs shared the same *jotī* (light). The *jotī* got transferred to the successor's body. Thus, right from 1469, the year of the birth of Gurū Nānak, to 1708, the year of the passing away of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, it was one continuing *jotī* manifesting itself in the Ten Gurūs.

This awareness of one light acting through the successive Gurūs was so permeating among the Sikhs that Mobid Zulfiqār Ardaštānī (d. 1670) wrote in his Persian work *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, "The Sikhs say that when Nānak left his body, he absorbed himself in Gurū Aṅgad who was his most devoted disciple, and that Gurū Aṅgad was Nānak himself. After that, at the time of his death, Gurū Aṅgad entered into the body of Amar Dās. He in the same manner occupied a place in the body of Rām Dās who in the same way got united with Arjan. They say that whoever does not acknowledge Gurū Arjan to be the very self of Bābā Nānak becomes a non-believer."

Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, last of the Gurūs, himself wrote in his poetical autobiography called *Bachitra Nāṭak*, "Nānak assumed the body of Aṅgad... Afterwards, Nānak was called Amar Dās, as one lamp is lit from another... The holy Nānak was revered as Aṅgad, Aṅgad was recognized as Amar Dās. And Amar Dās became Rām Dās... When Rām Dās was blended with the Divine, he gave the Gurūship to Arjan. Arjan appointed Hargobind in his place and Hargobind gave his seat to Har Rāi. Har Krishan, his son, then became Gurū. After him came Tegh Bahādur."

Balvaṇḍ and Sattā further proclaim that the Gurūs indicated the same *jugatī* or the method and way of life. The ministry of Gurū

Nānak combining *jotī* and *jugatī*, took care of both the worlds, the spiritual and the temporal. It was the ministry of *deg* (charity), and *tegh* (power), of *mīrī* (temporal authority) and *pīrī* (spiritual power). According to the bard, Nānak founded sovereignty on the firm rock of truth... *Nānaku rāju chalāiā sachu koṭu satānī nīv dai* (GG, 966). As Nānak transferred the *jotī* (light) to Lahiṅā who became Gurū Aṅgad, he unfurled the umbrella over his head — *lahaṇe dharionu chhatu siri*, i.e. he invested Lahiṅā with the authority to carry on with the practice he had introduced. The Gurūs preached devotion, *bhakti* or *nām* (meditation on the Divine Name), recitation of *bāṇī*, the sacred texts, and *kīrtan*, i.e. singing of the Lord's glory in *saṅgat* or holy assembly. Along with *nām*, they inculcated the values of *kīrat*, labouring with one's hands, and *vand chhakṇā*, sharing with others the fruit of one's exertions. The Gurūs had carved a clear way for the disciples.

The Gurū's *kāiā* or body was the repository of God's light. It was the medium for the articulation of *śabda*, Word Divine, or God's message. So it was worthy of reverence. The historical Gurū was the focal point of the *saṅgat* and the living example of truths he had brought to light. He himself lived up to the teachings he imparted to his disciples.

The *saṅgat* turned into *Khālsa* in the time of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh who introduced *khande dī pāhul*, i.e. baptism of the double-edged steel sword. With the formation of the *Khālsā*, the concept of the *Gurū Panth* formalized. By becoming the sixth person to receive *amrit* at the hands of the Pañj Piāre, the Five Beloved, who formed the nucleus of the *Khālsā* Panth, Gurū Gobind Siṅgh testified to his own membership of the Panth, and to having merged himself with it and endowed it with the charisma of his own personality. The *bāṇī*, always revered by the Sikhs as well as by the Gurūs as Word Divine, was however

above all. This was something which even the Gurūs themselves could not change. It was this superiority which Gurū Gobind Singh acknowledged in 1708 when he invested Scripture as Gurū. The idea of the Gurū Panth lives on in the *Khālsā*. But the *Khālsā* itself could not alter the fundamental tenets of the Sikh faith as enunciated in the *bāṇī*. The Gurū Granth Sāhib was, in the presence of the *Khālsā*, proclaimed Gurū. The finality of the pronouncement remains a cherished truth for the Sikhs and the Holy Book has since been the perpetual authority, spiritual as well as historical, for them. No living person, however holy or revered, can now have for them the title or status of Gurū. For Sikhs the Gurū is the teacher, the prophet under direct commission from God — the Ten who have been and the Gurū Granth Sāhib which is their continuing visible manifestation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1959
2. Jodh Singh, Bhāī, *Gurmatī Nirṃaya*. Amritsar, 1932
3. Darshan Singh, *Gurū Granthī Bāṇī vich Gurū dā Saṅkalap*. Patiala, 1976
4. Kapur Singh, *Parāśaraprasṅga*. Amritsar, 1989
5. Sher Singh, *Philosophy of Sikhism*. Amritsar, 1980
6. Cole, W.O., *The Guru in Sikhism*. London, 1982

W.O.C.

GURU GIRĀRATH KOŚ is a dictionary of the Gurū Granth Sāhib compiled by the Nirmalā scholar Paṇḍit Tārā Singh Narotam. The *koś*, completed in AD 1889, is in two volumes printed at Rājendra Press, Paṭiālā — the first (pp. 702) in 1895 and the second (pp. 706) in 1898. The first volume has a lengthy Introduction which carried no title except the abbreviated form of the *mūl mantra*, i.e. Ik Oaṅkār Satiguru Prasād, at the head. The Introduction beginning with a definition of the word *koś* contains detailed information about the contents of the book, the method of arrangement of words and phrases, abbreviations used, a list of the Sanskrit prefixes,

some specimens of the words which have different meanings in Sanskrit and Persian, and a few examples of the words which take different forms in different languages of India.

In accordance with the method employed by some of the lexicographers of ancient and medieval India, vocables have been arranged in the initial letter-final consonant order. Unlike some earlier dictionaries, the *Guru Girārath Koś* contains all categories of words— nouns, adjectives, verbal forms, pronominal forms, adverbs, conjunctions and even some postpositions, some of them obscure and obsolete. The work is comprehensive in design. Words and word-groups requiring explanation have been included and defined very elaborately in some cases. Some very simple words and words of everyday use also figure in the *Koś*.

No grammatical information about the individual words has been provided, though the language to which each belongs has been alluded to. A long list of languages has been given while preparing a key to the abbreviations, but decisions about assigning a word to a language are on occasions arbitrary. A word is accepted to be of Sanskrit or Arabic or Persian if it has been used in its *tatsama* (original) form; otherwise it is pronounced *desī* (indigenous). In most cases, the verses of the Gurū Granth Sāhib containing the words or phrases entered have been quoted. As far as possible all possible meanings or shades of meaning of a word in its use in the Gurū Granth Sāhib have been provided. Interpretations in some instances are preferred which are not in keeping with any of the connotations of the word/phrase as used in the Gurū Granth Sāhib or which may even be contrary to the principles of the Sikh faith. The language of the *Koś* is Sādh Bhākhā.

R.S.J.

GURŪ GOBINDA, by Harnāth Bose, first pub-

lished in 1908, is a play written in colloquial Bengali literary tradition, with Gurū Gobind Singh as the hero. There are altogether twenty-two major characters, out of whom at least nine come from the pages of history, i.e. Gurū Tegh Bahādur, Gurū Gobind Singh and his two sons, Fateh Singh and Ajit Singh (the latter wrongly referred to as Jit Singh), Mātā Gujarī, Emperor Aurangzib and Emperor Bahādur Shāh, Princess Jahān Ārā and the Muslim divine, Buddhū Shāh. The play opens with a denunciation of the intolerant religious policy of Emperor Aurangzib. Gurū Tegh Bahādur's prediction that the unjust and oppressive rule must end is endorsed by a Muslim Sūfi as well. Determined to resist the intolerant religious policy of Aurangzib, the Gurū took up the cause of Kashmīrī Brāhmaṇs who were being forced to renounce their faith. The Gurū's martyrdom brought his successor, Gurū Gobind Singh, on the scene. Gurū Gobind Singh became the symbol of resistance to bigotry and tyranny. Besides Hindus some liberal-minded Muslims also sided with him. Among them are mentioned Aurangzib's sister, Jahān Ārā, and Buddhū Shāh, the famous Muslim *faqīr*. The drama ends on the optimistic note of uniting Hindus and Muslims for fighting oppression. The author had in this plot a moral for his contemporaries to join hands together to resist the British colonial rule.

H.B.

GURŪ GOBINDA is one of Rābindranāth Tagore's three poems in Bengali on Gurū Gobind Singh. The other two poems are "Nishfal Uphār" (A Selfless Gift) and "Shesh Shikshā" (The Last Lesson). The three poems were composed by Tagore sometime between June 1888 and October 1899. "Gurū Gobinda" is a poem enunciating the poet's ideal of a true national leader. He visualized such a leader—the model for him is Gurū Gobind Singh — as being totally giv-

en to the service of the people without any mundane ambition. For projecting this precept, Tagore employs the device of Gurū Gobind Singh making a speech before some of his close disciples who visited him during his period of comparative seclusion on the banks of the River Yamunā when he was engaged in study and contemplation preparatory to launching upon the more active phase of his career. "Nishfal Uphār" presents the same moral derived from the life of Gurū Gobind Singh. "Shesh Shikshā" makes an ethical point based, however, on McGregor's historically unauthenticated account of the last days of Gurū Gobind Singh in his *History of the Sikhs* in which the author says that Gurū Gobind Singh had himself suggested it to the Pathān to avenge the death of his father at his, i.e. the Gurū's, hands.

H.B.

GURŪ GOBINDA SINGHA, by Basanta Kumār Banerjee, is a biography in Bengali of Gurū Gobind Singh, the tenth spiritual teacher of the Sikh faith. According to the author's statement, the book is an enlarged version of a chapter on the Tenth Gurū in his book *Sikh Gurū*. However, neither the *Sikh Gurū* nor the *Sikh Charitra* which he claims to have written is extant today. *Gurū Gobinda Singha*, first published in 1909 and later translated into Hindi and English, begins with a general review of the political and religious conditions of the Punjab on the eve of the rise of Sikhism. According to the author, Gurū Nānak preached the message of Hindu-Muslim amity, but the Mughal policy of systematic religious persecution made the Sikhs a nation of soldiers. The birth of the *Khālsā* is described as an event which "paved the way for the foundation of a new state for the Sikhs and provided them a new rallying point to protect their faith in face of the fiercest persecution." In spite of the battles he had to engage in, Gurū Gobind Singh, says the author, lived

the life of a hermit and “never touched an article of luxury” even in his hour of success. The book presents an elaborate exposition of the Gurū’s character and of his influence on the history of India, but the Hindu predilections of the author impair his analysis. The narrative also suffers from factual errors.

H.B.

GURŪ GOBINDA SĪNGHA, by Jogendranāth Gupta, is a brief life-sketch, in Bengali, of Gurū Gobind Sīngh. Published in 1923, the booklet is meant for school children. Out of its total of 53 pages, the first 12 deal with the early history of the Sikhs under their first nine Gurūs. The next 10 pages refer to some of the major historical developments leading to the birth of the *Khālsā* at Anandpur Sāhib on the Baisākhī day (March 30) of AD 1699. The rest of the book reviews the history of the Tenth Gurū’s military encounters with the *Mughals* as well as with his “inconclusive political settlement” with Bahādur Shāh shortly before his death in 1708. A significant aspect of the book is its detailed exposition of the Sikh code of conduct. However, the book contains some factual errors and the explanation the author provides for the rise of militancy among the Sikhs under Gurū Hargobind and Gurū Gobind Sīngh is utterly unacceptable.

H.B.

GURŪ GOBIND SĪNGH, by Tīnkari Banerjee, is a biography, in Bengali, of Gurū Gobind Sīngh, the tenth and last of the spiritual teachers of the Sikh faith. The author, a noted nineteenth-century litterateur, felt moved by once listening to Gurū Gobind Sīngh’s *Bhagautī* hymns and this led him to undertake a biography of the Gurū which “took thirty years of his labour and throughout this period he received all possible help from the Barā Bāzār Sikh *Saṅgal*” and the *bhāīs*, i.e. Sikh priest-preachers, of the Barā Bāzār Gurdwārā in Calcutta. The book, first

published in AD 1896, had three fourths of it devoted to the lives of the nine preceding Gurūs with the last three chapters describing the career of Gurū Gobind Sīngh. However, the bulk of the second edition which came out in 1918 was taken up with the story of the Tenth Gurū. The new edition also included portraits of the Ten Gurūs and two maps, one of which showed the major political centres and religious places connected with the life of Gurū Gobind Sīngh. The attitude of the author towards the Gurū is one of wholehearted admiration and reverence. He considered him a true messenger of God, and he sums up his historical role as the creator of a body of men, saints as well as soldiers, committed to the defence of the weak and to challenging State tyranny.

H.B.

GURŪ GRANTH SĀHIB. *See* SRĪ GURŪ GRANTH SĀHIB

GURŪ JĪ KE SUTAN KĪ KATHĀ, lit. *kathā* or story of the *sutan* or sons of Gurū (Gobind Sīngh), by Bhāi Dunnā Sīngh Haṅḍūrīā, was preserved in manuscript form under MS. No. 6045 in the Sikh Reference Library at Amritsar until the Library perished in the army assault of 1984. The poem which, on the basis of internal evidence, was composed during 1760-65, comprised 122 *chhands*. The poet, Bhāi Dunnā Sīngh, had been with Gurū Gobind Sīngh’s young sons and their grandmother since they crossed the River Sarsā after the evacuation of Anandpur in 1705. He accompanied, as says the poet, up to Chamkaur Sāhib, where two Sikhs, Darbārī and Dhūmā, of the village of Saheṛī took custody of the family. He further states that the two sons of Gurū Gobind Sīngh, their grandmother, a maid and the poet himself stayed at Chamkaur Sāhib in the house of a waterman, Kīmā, a Brāhman woman, Lachhmī, serving them food. In recognition

of their services, the grandmother rewarded the Brāhmaṇ lady with two gold *mohars* and five gold bangles and Kīmā with five hundred rupees. It was here that the grandmother and the princes were taken to Saheṛī and the poet and the maid got separated from the company. The Sāhibzādās, according to the poet, were then taken to Sirhind where they were tortured and executed.

P.S.P.

GURŪ KĀ BĀGH MORCHĀ, one of the major campaigns in the Sikhs' agitation in the early 1920's for the reformation of their holy places. Gurū kā Bāgh in Ghukkevālī village, about 20 km from Amritsar, has two historic *gurdwārās* close to each other, commemorating the visits respectively of Gurū Arjan in 1585 and Gurū Tegh Bahādur in 1664. The latter is laid out on the site of a *bāgh* (garden) which gave the place its name. Like most other *gurdwārās*, the management of these two had passed into the hands of *mahants* or abbots belonging to the monastic order of Udāsī Sikhs. The grant of *jāgīrs* to such sacred places in Sikh times and the offerings of the devotees had made the custodians wealthy and prone to luxury.

In 1921, one Sundar Dās Udāsī was the *mahant* of Gurū kā Bāgh. He was indifferent to his ecclesiastical duties and lived a dissolute life, squandering the resources of the *gurdwārā*. To save the shrine from being occupied by reformist Sikhs, he however signed a formal agreement with them on 31 January 1921, promising to make a new start and receive the rites of *Khālsā* initiation and to serve under an eleven member committee appointed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. But seeing how the government was everywhere supporting the *mahants*, he repudiated part of the agreement and said that, though he had surrendered the *gurdwārā* to the Shiromaṇī Committee, the piece of land known as Gurū kā Bāgh attached to it was still his property. He

objected to Sikhs cutting down for the *laṅgar* (*gurdwārā* kitchen) firewood from that land. The police, willing to oblige him, arrested on 9 August 1922 five Sikhs on charges of trespass. The following day the arrested persons were hurriedly tried and sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment. This sparked off the agitation, and the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee decided to send every day a batch of five Sikhs to chop firewood from the grove of trees on the land of Gurdwārā Gurū kā Bāgh and court arrest if prevented from doing so. From 22 August, police began to arrest *jathās* on charges of theft, riot and criminal trespass. The arrests gave a fillip to the movement and more and more Sikhs came forward to join protest. On 25 August, Amāvas day, the gathering was so large that S.G.M. Beatty, Additional Superintendent of Police, ordered the police to disperse it by a *lāṭhī*-charge.

Government violence led the Shiromaṇī Committee to increase the size of the *jathās*. On 26 August the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar issued warrants for the arrest of eight members of the executive of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. A council of action, headed by Tejā Singh Samundri, now took over charge of the Akālī *morchā*. The government banned the assembling of people at Gurū kā Bāgh, and police pickets were posted on roads and bridges to intercept volunteers coming into Amritsar. Yet *jathās* of black-turbaned Akālīs chanting the sacred hymns reached the spot every day to be mercilessly beaten by police until they fell to the ground to a man. This happened from day to day. Political leaders, social workers and reporters came to witness what was described as an ideally non-violent protest. A.L. Verges, an American cinematographer, prepared a film of the proceedings under the caption, Exclusive Picture of India's Martyrdom. English missionary and educationist C.F. Andrews (1871-1940) visited Gurū kā Bāgh and saw, as he put it, "hun-

dreds of Christs being crucified." He sent to the Press a detailed report on what he witnessed on 12 September 1922:

It was a sight which I never wish to see again, a sight incredible to an Englishman. There were four Akali Sikhs with black turbans facing a band of about a dozen policemen, including two English officers... They were perfectly still and did not move further forward. Their hands were placed together in prayer and it was clear that they were praying. Then, without the slightest provocation on their part, an Englishman lunged forward the head of his lathi which was bound with brass. He lunged it forward in such a way that his fist which held the staff struck the Akali Sikh, who was praying, just at the collar bone with great force. It looked the most cowardly blow as I saw it struck...

The blow which I saw was sufficient to fell the Akali Sikh and send him to the ground. He rolled over and slowly got up once more, and faced the same punishment over again. Time after time one of the four who had gone forward was laid prostrate by repeated blows, now from the English officer and now from the police who were under his control. The others were knocked out more quickly... I saw with my own eyes one of these police kick in the stomach a Sikh who stood helplessly before him. For when one of the Akali Sikhs had been hurled to the ground and was lying prostrate, a police sepoy stamped with his foot upon him, using his full weight; the foot struck the prostrate man between the neck and the shoulder.

The vow they had made to God was kept. I saw no act, no look, of defiance. It was true martyrdom for them as they went forward, a true act of faith, a true deed of devotion to God..

They believe intensely that their right to

cut wood in the garden of the Guru was an immemorial religious right, and this faith of theirs is surely to be counted for righteousness, whatever a defective and obsolete law may determine or fail to determine concerning legality...

Sir Edward Maclagan, Lt-Governor of the Punjab, visited Gurū kā Bāgh on 13 September 1922. Under his orders, the beating of the volunteers was stopped. Mass arrests, imprisonments, heavy fines and attachment of properties were resorted to. In the first week of October, the Governor-General Lord Reading held discussions with the Governor of the Punjab at Shimlā to find a way out of the impasse. The good offices of a wealthy retired engineer, Sir Gaṅgā Rām, were utilized to resolve the situation. Sir Gaṅgā Rām acquired on lease, on 17 November 1922, 524 *kanāls* and 12 *marlās* of the garden land from Mahant Sundar Dās, and allowed the Akālīs access to it. On 27 April 1923, Punjab Government issued orders for the release of the prisoners. Thus ended the *morchā* of Gurū kā Bāgh in which, according to Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee records, 5,605 Sikhs went to jail.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Pratāp Singh, Giāni, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975
2. Josh, Sohan Singh, *Akālī Morchiānī dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1972
3. Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Movement*. Delhi, 1978
4. Teja Singh, *Gurdwara Reform and the Sikh Awakening*. Jalandhar, 1992
5. Sahni, Ruchi Ram, *Struggle for Reform in Sikh Shrines*. Ed. Ganda Singh. Amritsar, n.d.
6. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983 Rj.S.

GURŪ KĀ LAHORE, a town in Bilāspur district of Himāchal Pradesh, 12 km north of Anandpur Sāhib associated with the matrimony of Gurū Gobind Singh. In 1673 Bhāi

Hari Jas, a Subhikkhī Khatrī of Lahore, had while on a visit to Anandpur betrothed his daughter Jīto to him and had desired that the marriage party should come to Lahore where the marriage would be performed with due dignity. But the fateful events leading to the martyrdom of Gurū Tegh Bahādur intervened, and in the changed circumstances it was not possible for the young Gurū to go to Lahore. A temporary encampment was therefore raised near the village of Basantgarh and named Gurū kā Lahore. Bhāi Hari Jas with his family and relations took up his residence there. Gurū Gobind Singh at the head of the marriage procession arrived from Anandpur and the nuptials were held on 23 Hār 1734 Bk/21 June 1677. Three *gurdwārās* now adorn the place.

GURDWĀRĀ ANAND KĀRAJ STHAN PĀTSHĀHĪ DASVĪN marks the site where the marriage ceremony was performed. The present building, constructed during the 1960's under the supervision of Sant Sevā Singh of Anandpur Sāhib, comprises a marble-floored hall, with the sanctum in the middle of it. Gurū kā Laṅgar is to the east of the assembly hall.

GURDWĀRĀ PAUR SĀHIB, 200 metres south of Gurdwārā Anand Kāraj Sthān, is close to a spring of water which, according to a popular legend, was caused to break forth by the stamping of the hoof (*paur*, in Punjabi) of Gurū Gobind Singh's horse. The Gurdwārā is a small mosaic-floored domed room constructed by Sant Sevā Singh.

GURDWĀRĀ TRIVAINĪ SĀHIB encloses another spring, 250 metres apart from Paur Sāhib, believed to have been created by the stroke of Gurū Gobind Singh's spear. It was formerly called Karpā (lit. spear) Bāolī. The name Trivainī, meaning the confluence of three rivers, became popular after the Hindu *tīrtha* at Allāhābād bearing the same name. The Gurdwārā building is a marble-floored rect-

angular room, with a dome above and a pavilion in front covering the spring, which feeds the adjoining *sarovar*.

All the three Gurdwārās are affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. A religious fair is held coinciding with the spring festival of Basant Pañchamī (February).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
3. Gīan Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā*. Patiala, 1970
Gn.S.

GURŪ KĀ LAṄGAR (lit., *laṅgar* or refectory of the Gurū) is a community kitchen run in the name of the Gurū. It is usually attached to a *gurdwārā*. *Laṅgar*, a Persian word, means 'an almshouse', 'an asylum for the poor and the destitute', 'a public kitchen kept by a great man for his followers and dependants, holy persons and the needy.' Some scholars trace the word *laṅgar* to Sanskrit *analgyh* (cooking place). In Persian, the specific term *laṅgar* has been in use in an identical sense. In addition to the word itself, the institution of *laṅgar* is also traceable in the Persian tradition. *Laṅgars* were a common feature of the Sūfī centres in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Even today some *dargāhs*, or shrines commemorating Sūfī saints, run *laṅgars*, like Khwājā Mu'īn ud-Dīn Chishtī's at Ajmer.

In Sikhism, the institution of *laṅgar* owes its origin to the founder, Gurū Nānak himself. Community kitchens came into existence with the *saṅgats* or holy fellowships of disciples which sprang up at many places in his time. Sikhs sat in *paṅgat* (lit., a row) without distinctions of caste or status, to share a common meal prepared in the *laṅgar*. Besides the kitchen where the food was cooked, *laṅgar* stood for the victuals as well as for the hall where these were eaten.

The disciples brought the offerings and contributed the labour of their hands to prepare and serve the food. Gurū Nānak and his successors attached a great deal of importance to *laṅgar* and it became, in their hands, a potent means of social reform. The former gave it the central place in the *dharamsālā* he established at Kartārpur at the end of his preaching tours. He worked on his farm to provide for himself and for his family and to contribute his share to the common *laṅgar*. He had such of his disciples as could afford to set up *dharamsālās* and *laṅgars*. Among them were Sajjan Ṭhag, then lost to godly ways, and a wealthy nobleman, Malik Bhāgo, both of whom had converted to his message. Bhūmiā, formerly a dacoit, was asked by Gurū Nānak to turn his kitchen into a *laṅgar* in the name of God. A condition was laid upon Rājā Shivrābh of Saṅglādīp (Sri Lanka) that he open a *laṅgar* before he could see him (Gurū Nānak). The Rājā, it is said, happily complied.

Gurū Aṅgad, Nānak II, further extended the scope of the institution. He helped with cooking and serving in the *laṅgar*. His wife, Mātā Khīvī, looked after the pilgrims and visitors with the utmost attention. Such was her dedication to work in the *laṅgar* that it came to be known after her name as Mātā Khīvī jī kā Laṅgar. The bard Balvaṇḍ pays homage to her in his verses, in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. To quote the stanza:

Blest, sayeth Balvaṇḍ, is Khīvī [the Gurū's wife],

Comforting by far is her presence to the disciple,

Amplly she distributes food in the Gurū's *laṅgar*.

The fare includes *khīr*, rice cooked in milk and *ghee*,

Which has the taste of ambrosia itself.

(GG, 967)

The *Vār* by Sattā and Balvaṇḍ also ap-

plauds Gurū Amar Dās's *laṅgar* wherein "ghee and flour abounded." In spite of rich variety of food served in his *laṅgar*, Gurū Amar Dās ate a simple meal earned by the labour of his own hands. "What was received from the disciples was consumed the same day and nothing was saved for the morrow." Contributing towards the Gurū kā Laṅgar became an established custom for the Sikhs. Partaking of food in Gurū kā Laṅgar was made a condition for disciples and visitors before they could see the Gurū. Gurū Amar Dās's injunction was: "*pahile paṅgat pāchhe saṅgat*"— first comes eating together, then meeting together." *Laṅgar* thus gave practical expression to the notion of equality. Emperor Akbar, who once visited Gurū Amar Dās at Goindvāl, had to eat out of the common kitchen like any other pilgrim. As the *Mahimā Prakāsh* records, the Emperor refused to step on the silks spread out for him by his servants when going to call on the Gurū. He turned aside the lining with his own hands and walked to the Gurū's presence barefoot.

Bhāi Jethā, who came into spiritual succession as Gurū Rām Dās, served food in Gurū Amar Dās's *laṅgar*, brought firewood from the forest and drew water from the well. By such deeds of devoted service, he gained enlightenment and became worthy of the confidence of Gurū Amar Dās. *Laṅgar* served to train the disciples in *sevā* and to overcome class distinctions.

The institution of *laṅgar* had become an integral part of the Sikh movement by now and, with the increase in its numbers, it gained further popularity and strength. With the development under Gurū Rām Dās and Gurū Arjan of Amritsar as the central seat of the Sikh faith, the capacity of the local Gurū kā Laṅgar increased manifold. Sikhs came from far-off places to see their Gurū and to lend a hand with the construction work. They were all served food in Gurū kā Laṅgar.

Gurū Hargobind and Gurū Tegh Bahādur

travelled extensively in north and northeast India. This led to the establishment of many new *saṅgats*. Each *saṅgat* meant an additional *laṅgar*. In the reign of Gurū Gobind Singh, the institution of *laṅgar* acquired further significance. At Anandpur, the new seat of Sikhism, a number of *laṅgars* were in existence, each under the supervision of a devoted and pious Sikh. Food was available in these *laṅgars* day and night.

Once Gurū Gobind Singh, disguised as an ordinary pilgrim, made a surprise check of the *laṅgars* at Anandpur. He discovered that Bhāi Nand Lāl's *laṅgar* was the best maintained. He complimented him and asked others to emulate his standards of dedication and service. One of Gurū Gobind Singh's commandments was that a Sikh visiting another Sikh's door must be served food, without hesitation or delay. Another of his sayings ran: "*Gharīb dā mūñh gurū kī golak hai* — to feed a hungry mouth is to feed the Gurū." This spirit of common sharing and of mutual co-operation and service was the underlying principle of the Sikh tradition of *laṅgar*.

"Keep the *laṅgar* ever open" are reported to have been the last words of Gurū Gobind Singh spoken to Bhāi Santokh Singh before he passed away at Nanded. One of the lines in his *Dasam Granth* reads: "*Deg tegh jag me doū chalai*— may *laṅgar* (charity) and sword (instrument of securing justice) together prevail in the world." The first Sikh coin minted in the eighteenth century carried the Persian maxim: "*Deg tegh fateh* — may *laṅgar* and sword be ever triumphant."

The *laṅgar* continued to perform its distinctive role in days of the direst persecution. Bands of Sikhs wandering in deserts and jungles would cook whatever they could get, and sit in a *paṅgat* to share it equally. Later, when the Sikhs came into power, the institution of *laṅgar* was further consolidated because of increased number of *gurdwārās* running the *laṅgar*, and assignment of *jāgīrs* to

gurdwārās for this purpose.

Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh made grants of *jāgīrs* to *gurdwārās* for the maintenance of *laṅgars*. Similar endowments were created by other Sikh rulers as well. Today, practically every *gurdwārā* has a *laṅgar* supported by the community in general. In smaller *gurdwārās* cooked food received from different households may comprise the *laṅgar*. In any case, no pilgrim or visitor will miss food at meal time in a *gurdwārā*. Sharing a common meal sitting in a *paṅgat* is for a Sikh an act of piety. So is his participation in cooking or serving food in the *laṅgar* and in cleaning the used dishes. The Sikh ideal of charity is essentially social in conception. A Sikh is under a religious obligation to contribute one-tenth of his earning for the welfare of the community. He must also contribute the service of his hands whenever he can, that rendered in a *laṅgar* being the most meritorious.

The institution of Gurū kā *Laṅgar* has served the community in many ways. It has ensured the participation of women and children in a task of service of mankind. Women play an important role in the preparation of meals and the children join in serving food to the *paṅgat*. *Laṅgar* teaches the etiquette of sitting and eating in a community. Again, *laṅgar* has played a great part in upholding the virtue of equality of all human beings.

Besides the *laṅgars* attached to *gurdwārās*, there are improvised open-air *laṅgars* at the time of festivals and *gurdurbes*. Specially arranged *laṅgars* on such occasions are probably the most largely-attended community meals anywhere in the world. There might be a hundred thousand people partaking of food at a single meal in one such *laṅgar*. Wherever Sikhs are, they have established their *laṅgars*. In their prayers, the Sikhs seek from the Almighty the favour: "*Loh laṅgar tapde rahin*— may the hot plates, the *laṅgars*, remain ever in service."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
3. Teja Singh, *Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism*. Bombay, 1948
4. Avtar Singh, *Ethics of the Sikhs*. Patiala, 1970
5. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990
6. Prakash Singh, *The Sikh Gurus and the Temple of Bread*. Amritsar, 1972
7. Cole, W. Owen, and Piara Singh Sambhi, *The Sikhs: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. New Delhi, 1978
Pk.S.

GURŪ KĪĀN SĀKHĪĀN, containing stories from the lives of the Gurūs, was written by Bhaṭṭ Sarūp Singh Kaushish, of Bhādson, in *Parganah Thānesar*. As recorded by the author, the manuscript was completed in 1847 Bk/AD 1790 at Bhādson itself. The original manuscript was written in Bhaṭṭāchchharī, a script used by the Bhaṭṭs or family bards for recording genealogical details concerning their clients. It was later transliterated into Gurmukhī script by Bhaṭṭ Chhajjū Singh Kaushish in 1925 Bk/AD 1869. The work has since been published (1986) in book form. The manuscript contains a total of 112 *sākhīs* connected with the lives of five of the Gurūs — Gurū Hargobind to Gurū Gobind Singh. Four of these *sākhīs* relate to Gurū Hargobind, nine to Gurū Har Rāi, four to Gurū Har Krishan, 16 to Gurū Tegh Bahādur and 79 to Gurū Gobind Singh.

The first Gurū to have Bhaṭṭs in attendance was Gurū Arjan. A few of them became devout Sikhs. They wrote hymns in praise of Gurū Arjan and his predecessors which are preserved in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. They and their descendants took part in Gurū Hargobind's battles against the Mughal forces. They put down in their *vahīs*, genealogical records, some of the events connected with the lives of the Gurūs. The entries in the *Bhaṭṭ Vahīs* are thus historically

very important.

The *Gurū kiān Sākhīān* is based upon these Bhaṭṭ entries. But the description of historical events in the *Gurū kiān Sākhīān* is different in style from accounts in the *Vahīs*. Entries in the latter mainly confine themselves to giving details with regard to the ancestry, *gotra*, clan, etc., of the persons concerned and mentioning the year, month, *tithī* (dark or moonlit part of the lunar month), day and sometimes even the exact time of a particular happening. The description of the episode itself is sketchy and brief. The *Gurū kiān Sākhīān* is, on the contrary, narrative in character.

The *Gurū kiān Sākhīān*, discovered recently by Giānī Garjā Singh, brings to light some new facts, especially in relation to the lives of Gurū Tegh Bahādur and Gurū Gobind Singh. Likewise, it provides crucial evidence on certain historical points. Of special significance is the *Sākhīān* version of Gurū Granth Sāhib having been apotheosized as Gurū by Gurū Gobind Singh before he passed away. The manuscript also records the fact of Bandā Singh receiving the rites of the *Khālsā* at the hands of Gurū Gobind Singh. In any case, the manuscript is increasingly attracting the notice of modern historians.

The language of the *Gurū kiān Sākhīān* is a mixture of Punjabi and Hindi with frequent use of the Bhaṭṭ patois. At a couple of places we find English words. This is plainly anachronistic explained by some as errors on the part of copyists.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Padam, Piara Singh, and Giānī Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kiān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986

G.G.S.

GURŪ KĪ DHĀB, also known by its old name of Dodā Tāl, is north of Jaito (30°-26'N, 74°-53'E). Gurū Gobind Singh passed through here travelling from the nearby village of

Sarāvān during his journey westward from Dīnā in December 1705. The *tāl* or *dhāb*, lit. a large pond, came to be known as Gurū kī Dhāb in honour of the Gurū's sojourn. Most of the area has since been reclaimed for cultivation, but a *gurdwārā*, with a small octagonal *sarovar* by its side, was constructed during the 1970's. Large gatherings take place on every full-moon day and the first of every Bikramī month attracts devotees in large numbers, especially women with small children, from the surrounding villages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Mālwa Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
3. Ṭhākar Singh, Giāni, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S

GURŪ MĀNGAṬ, a village close to Lahore Cantonment, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), who visited it during his stay at Muzaṅg. Gurdwārā Pātshāhī VI, a domed building with a gilded pinnacle about 400 metres southwest of the village, stood on the site where the Gurū had sojourned. The shrine came under the control of the Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1927. While digging a *sarovar* (bathing tank) on the back of the new building, an old *bāolī* or open well with steps descending to water level was discovered and renovated. The shrine was abandoned in the wake of mass migrations caused by the partition of the Punjab in 1947.

M.G.S.

GURUMUKHĪ DIN PATRĪ, lit. a calendar or daily diary (*patrī*) in Gurmukhī characters, is a manuscript reporting some of the events of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's reign from AD 1805 onwards. The author is one Rām Singh, perhaps a resident of Amritsar, for he narrates events occurring at Amritsar in greater detail than those at other places. A photo-

copy of this manuscript, the original of which was at the Pañjāb University, Lahore, is preserved in the Khālsā College, Amritsar, under MS. No 1796. It contains 51 folios, i.e. 102 pages, each page comprising 14 lines. On the very first page are mentioned five of the marriages of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, including the one with Rāṇī Jindān, mother of Mahārājā Duleep Singh. It was on the Holī day of 1860 Bk/AD 1803 that Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh received Jasvant Rāo Marhaṭṭā [Marāṭhā] at Amritsar where they exchanged turbans, betokening that they had become brothers from that day. The entry further reads : "Marhaṭṭās did a good deal of shopping, and hence traders of Amritsar benefited to a very great extent. The Gurū himself is the saviour of Amritsar and he saved the honour of the city in the matter of supplies and variety, at which the Marhaṭṭās were really amazed." To give an idea of the Marhaṭṭās' wealth, their elephants are described as having gold chains.

According to some other entries, Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh conquered Kaṅgrā in 1856 Bk/AD 1799, finally occupying it in 1874 Bk. Prince Kharak Singh, son of Ranjīt Singh, was married to Chand Kaur in 1868 Bk/AD 1811. The Mahārājā died in 1896 Bk/AD 1839 and four queens and seven maids burnt themselves on his pyre. The cause? This is what the *Patrī* says: "The Mahārājā had a meeting in December-January with the English and took English wine. He was rendered incapable of speech the next month and died in that condition six months later."

The diary ends with the Anglo-Sikh war of 1902 Bk/AD 1845-46. However, the last pages contain bits of miscellaneous information. It is recorded that the construction of Akāl *buṅgā* continued until 1906 Bk/AD 1849. We also have the dates of death of Fateh Singh Ahlūvālīā (1908 Bk/AD 1851), Gujjar Singh Bhaṅgī, Sāhib Singh Bhaṅgī and Sāhib Singh Bedī. At the end is ap-

pended a horoscope of the Mahārājā.

E.S.Am.

GURŪ NĀNAK BAṆS PRAKĀSH, by Sukhbāsī Rām Bedī (c. 1758-c.1848), an Udāsī saint and a descendant of Gurū Nānak, is a verified biography of Gurū Nānak with considerable detail about his descendants as well. Two manuscript copies of the work are extant — one at the Gurū Nānak Dev University, Amritsar, and the second in the Central Public Library, Paṭiālā. Of these, the former which is dated 1886 Bk/AD 1829 was copied by one Achhar Singh. The work has since been published (1986) by Punjabi University, Paṭiālā. The author, according to his own statement (pp. 506-13), was the son of Kābalī Mall, seventh in the line of descendants of Lachhmī Chand (Lakhmī Dās), the younger son of Gurū Nānak (1469-1539). He was the disciple of Ānandghana about whom he writes with deep reverence and whom he had first met at Ṭāhlī, near Ḍerā Bābā Nānak, and got initiated into the Udāsī sect. Sukhbāsī Rām journeyed through the Indian countryside preaching Sikh tenets, but he spent a major part of his life at Ḍerā Bābā Nānak where he was born and at Kāshī where he studied Indian philosophy and poetics. It was on his return to the Punjab that he wrote this book. It is said that Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh rewarded him with a gift of five villages in Siālkoṭ district and Rājā Raṅjīt Dev of Jammū with fifty acres of land in the Kaṭhūā area. This latter *jāgīr* was confiscated by the British.

This 4,500-stanza-long work which was written with the aim of eulogizing Gurū Nānak and his family and preaching the Sikh way of life, opens with the Mūl Mantra, followed by an invocation to various gods and goddesses. In presenting the life of Gurū Nānak which covers more than half of the book, the author has depended upon the family tradition as well as upon works such as *Bālā Janam Sākhī* and *Purātan Janam*

Sākhī. He emphatically departs from the *Bālā* tradition in that he places the birth of Gurū Nānak in the month of Baisākh instead of Kārtik. The text contains references to certain events about which history has remained silent. The author, for instance, refers to Gurū Arjan's arrest under the orders of Jahāngīr and his release at the intervention of Bābā Srī Chand. This arrest may have preceded the one which ended in the Gurū's martyrdom. Dohirā and Chaupāī are the metres commonly employed by the poet though use has also been occasionally made of Sorāṭhā, Savaiyyā and Aṛil. The language is Sādh Bhākhā, with a predominant admixture of Punjabi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gurmukh Singh, ed., *Gurū Nānak Baṅs Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1986

Gm.S.

GURŪ NĀNAK PRAKĀSH PRESS, a litho printing press, started around AD 1859 in the village of Piprī, near Gorakhpur in the Uttar Pradesh, by Kaṅvar Jagjot Singh, grandson of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh and son of Kaṅvar Pashaurā Singh, for printing books in Gurmukhī script with a view to promoting Punjabi literature and culture. Jagjot Singh had been exiled from the Punjab, along with several other Sikh princes and chiefs upon the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 to the British dominions. He employed three scholars, namely Kishan Singh, Devī Datt and Bishan Datt, for writing books originally in Punjabi as well as for rendering into the language some of the old classics. Among the works published were Punjabi translations of *Mitāshrī Ṭīkā* or *Manu Smṛti* (total number of pages 77) by Devī Datt, *Rājnīlī Granth* (a book on political theory; pp. 136) by Bishan Datt and Kishan Singh, and *Bhoj Prabandh Sār* (a book on prosody; pp. 37) by Bishan Datt. Published in the seventies of the nineteenth century these books dealing with Hindu ethics, po-

litical theory and prosody, respectively, were abbreviated adaptations into Punjabi of the Sanskrit classics, and were meant for free distribution.

The press ceased to exist by 1880, but was revived in 1892 at Siālkoṭ (now in Pakistan) where Jagjot Singh had settled down in 1884 after the withdrawal of the ban on his entry into the Punjab. However, it had to close down soon after when only 284 pages of the Punjabi book of *Pāras Bhāg* (second edition) had been printed. The first edition of this work and *Prem Sāgar*, a biography of Lord Kṛṣṇa, had also been got printed by Jagjot Singh, but at another press.

S.S.A.

GURŪ NĀNAK SARB-SAMPRADĀI CONFERENCE, 1934, convened at Bhaiṇī Sāhib, centre of the Nāmdhārī Sikhs, on 13 and 14 October 1934 at the instance of Bābā Partāp Singh, the Nāmdhārī chief, with the primary object of forging unity among various Sikh sects following the teachings of Gurū Nānak. Almost all the Sikh sects were represented at the Conference which was presided over by Bhāi Arjan Singh of Bāgarīān. Svāmī Rāj Tīrath and Sant Harī Dās attended the conference on behalf of the Udāsīs and Paṅḍit Mān Singh Shāstrī, Mahant Kishan Singh and Mahant Hākam Singh on behalf of the Nirmalās. The Sevāpanthis were represented by Paṅḍit Nischal Singh and Mahant Gurbakhsh Singh and the Nāmdhārīs by Ātmā Singh of Rāwalpiṇḍī, Nidhān Singh Ālam and Sant Indar Singh Chakravartī, besides Bābā Partāp Singh himself. Bābā Sāvāṅ Singh of Beās represented the Rādhā Soāmī sect and Sardār Sundar Singh Majīṭhīā, Sir Jogendra Singh and Bhāi Jodh Singh attended the Conference on behalf of the Chief Khālsā Dīwān. The Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal and the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee were represented by Master Tārā Singh and Giānī Sher Singh. Also present were Bhāi Kāhn Singh of Nābhā, Professor Tejā Singh,

Bābā Gurdit Singh Komāgātā Mārū, Bībī Nirañjan Kaur, wife of Bābū Tejā Singh of Bhasaur, Giānī Hirā Singh Dard and Professor Gaṅgā Singh.

The proceedings began with *ardās* or Sikh supplicatory prayer recited by Bhāi Jodh Singh. The thrust of the deliberations was on evolving a code of conduct based on mutual respect and on laying down guidelines for the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, statutory body assigned to managing Sikh *gurdwārās*, in dealing with shrines belonging to various Sikh sects. A concrete decision taken was about the withdrawal by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee or local Sikhs of petitions preferred in courts, under Clause 7 of the Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925, for assuming control of more shrines. With a view to implementing the resolutions of the Conference, an executive committee was constituted, under the chairmanship of Bhāi Arjan Singh of Bāgarīān, which was also authorized to mediate between the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and the controllers of *gurdwārās* involved in any legal suit. The Conference met again the following year at Gujrānwālā on 20-22 April simultaneously with the annual session of the Sikh Educational Conference after which it ceased to exist.

P.S.G.

GURŪ NĀNAK VIDYĀ BHAṄḌĀR TRUST, aiming at promoting education among Sikhs, was founded in 1924 by Sardār Bahādur Dharam Singh. He had the inspiration from Sant Atar Singh of Mastūānā, a Sikh saint widely revered for his piety at that time. The Trust was formally registered on 10 May 1932. Dharam Singh made substantial contributions from his personal assets. Funds were donated by Sant Atar Singh as well. Among the 18 founding members were eminent educationists and publicmen such as Bhāi Jodh

Singh, Bhāi Mohan Singh, Bhāi Takht Singh and Professor Tejā Singh. The Trust has since been engaged in its task of spreading secular and religious education among Sikhs. It has opened a large number of schools and aids and maintains several centres for vocational and technical training, libraries, dispensaries, orphanages and *dharamsālās*. It disburses a large number of scholarships to help Sikh students, especially those from backward classes. At Gurdwārā Rikābgañj in Delhi it runs an institute — Gurmat Vidyālā — for training Sikh missionaries and *rāgīs*.

Jg.S.

GURŪ NĀNAK VIDYAK SOCIETY, established in Bombay in July 1947 by the Deccan Khālsā Dīwān, and registered with the Registrar of Companies on 27 March 1948 to provide educational facilities for the children of refugee families migrating to Bombay from riot-affected areas in the north. Funds were raised through voluntary subscriptions, later supplemented by a grant from the state government. The first institution set up under the auspices of the society was the Gurū Nānak High School. The Society now runs two dozen schools, each having a separate management board appointed by it. In addition to the usual academic curriculum, these schools offer instruction in the principles and history of the Sikh faith. It was mainly through the efforts of Gurū Nānak Vidyak Society that Punjabi was recognized as an optional subject of study in the state schools and university degree curricula. The Society also maintains a fairly well-stocked library, with special sections on Sikhism and Punjabi literature.

Hr.S.

GURŪSAR, village 11 km northwest of Giddarbāhā (30°-12'N, 74°-39'E) in Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Mañjī Sāhib, sacred to Gurū

Gobind Singh, who visited the place in 1706 on his way from Muktsar to Talvaṇḍī Sābo. The Gurdwārā, situated on the bank of the village pond, comprises the old Mañjī Sāhib, a domed octagonal structure skirted by a covered circumambulatory passage, and an assembly hall, added more recently. The 50-metre square *sarovar* is also a later addition. The Gurdwārā owns 25 acres of land and is managed by the Shiromanī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Special *dīvāns* are held to mark major anniversaries on the Sikh calendar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Mālwa Desh Raṅgan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
3. Ṭhākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

GURŪSAR, a village in Baṭhiṇḍa district, 25 km east of Jaito (30°-26'N, 74°-53'E), is a new habitation named after a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Pātshāhī X Gurūsar, commemorating the visit of Gurū Gobind Singh, who happened to come here following the chase from Dīnā in December 1705. Here Gurū Gobind Singh stayed for a short while on the bank of a pool of water, which Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Prātaṭ Sūraj Granth*, describes as Rukhālā, probably because of the thick growth of trees (*rukhh*, in Punjabi) around it. The place then formed part of the village of Jalāl, 2 km to the southeast of it. The habitation that originally grew up near the Gurdwārā was washed away in the floods of 1950, but the old shrine stood intact. In this domed shrine, marking the site where Gurū Gobind Singh alighted for rest, is preserved a bedstead said to have been used by him. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in one of the rooms constructed recently. The old pool, converted into a lined *sarovar*, is at the back of the shrine. The Gurdwārā is maintained by the village *saṅgat*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sañtokh Siñgh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
3. Tārā Siñgh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Sañgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

GURŪSAR PĀTSHĀHĪ X, GURDWĀRĀ, lending its name to the village that has grown in its neighbourhood, stands near Sarāvān, a village 10 km south east of Koṭ Kapūrā (30°-35'N, 74°-49'E) in Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab. It marks the site where Gurū Gobind Siñgh put up on his way from Dīnā to Koṭ Kapūrā in December 1705. According to *Sākhī Pothī*, residents of Baihbal and Sarāvān villages took some of the Sikhs accompanying Gurū Gobind Siñgh to their homes for meals. As they returned to the camp, Gurū Gobiñd Siñgh asked each one of them what he had been given to eat. One of them, Mailāgar Siñgh by name, answered, "I have enjoyed the best feast of my life," but would not say more. The Gurū thereupon sent for the host who had entertained Mailāgar Siñgh. He shyly confessed that he was so poor that he could offer to his guest nothing better than some dried *pīlū*, fruit of *vañ* tree (*Quercus incana*), soaked in warm water. The Gurū praised the host who had offered in hospitality all he had and the guest who was content with whatever he had been given.

The Gurdwārā is an old two-storeyed building on the eastern edge of the village of Gurūsar. The sanctum, 5-metre square, is on the ground floor. Here on the walls are painted scenes from Hindu mythology while the walls of the room above are decorated with pictures of the Sikh Gurūs and some old *mahants* or custodians of the shrine. The Gurdwārā, endowed with 40 acres of land, is now controlled by Nihāngs of the Buḍḍhā Dal. Besides the daily prayers, special *dīvāns* are held on the first of every Bikramī month. Two annual festi-

vals observed are Baisākhī which falls in the middle of April and Māghī which comes off in the middle of January.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
2. Tārā Siñgh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Sañgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
3. Thākar Siñgh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

GURŪSAR SATLĀNĪ, GURDWĀRĀ, 1.5 km south of the railway station named after it, is within the revenue limits of Hoshiārnagar village in Amritsar district of the Punjab. The shrine marks the spot where Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), travelling from Lahore to Amritsar, made a night's halt near a pond. According to local tradition, Gurū Gobind Siñgh (1666-1708) himself appointed one of his Sikhs, Bulākā Siñgh, as the custodian of this shrine. The shrine was richly endowed by Sikh rulers and chiefs during the first half of the nineteenth century. The management of the Gurdwārā along with its vast farmlands passed to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1925. In 1974, it was entrusted for renovation and reconstruction to Sant Maṅgal Siñgh. The main hall is on the ground floor of the six-storeyed building. The water of the old pond, since properly lined and used as *sarovar*, is believed to have medicinal properties for curing skin diseases. A largely-attended annual fair is held to coincide with the full-moon day of Bhādoṅ (August-September).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Siñgh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Sañgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Siñgh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

Gn.S.

GURUSHABAD RATANĀKAR MAHĀN KOSH, more popularly known by its shorter title

Mahān Kosh, the great dictionary, by the celebrated man of letters and lexicographer, Bhāi Kāhn Singh, of Nābhā, is a work unexcelled for its neatness and refinement of expression and monumental in its scope and size. It would indeed do justice to the title "Encyclopaedia." It is amazing how an individual conceived and planned a work of such a vast dimension and how he accomplished it single-handed in a single lifetime. For the Punjabi world of learning, the *Mahān Kosh* has been a real boon and generations of scholars have been nurtured on the inspiration and the literary energy and thought it has supplied. The style is a model of definitiveness of concept, tight and crisp, an essential requirement of encyclopaedic writing.

Arranged in alphabetical order of the Gurmukhī script, the *Mahān Kosh* carries 64, 263 entries, which include words that occur in the Sikh canon, religious as well as historical. The author launched upon his research in the course of a study of two existing volumes, Paṇḍit Tārā Singh Narotam's *Granth Guru Girārth Koś* (1895) and Hazārā Singh's *Srī Gurū Granth Koś* (1899). He realized that a lexicographical work containing words occurring in Sikh historical texts as well as vocables in the Gurū Granth Sāhib could be of great value in promoting literary and critical studies in Punjabi. He made a very minute investigation ploughing through the entire corpus. He resigned his appointment in the Nābhā state government on 10 May 1912 to initiate the project. It took him about fourteen years to carry out the gigantic task he had set himself. He had the satisfaction of witnessing the consummation of his extraordinary industry on 6 February 1926.

Mahārājā Brijindar Singh of Farīdkoṭ, who had undertaken to have the work printed and who claimed experience of patronizing this kind of scholarly enterprise, the first-ever commentary on the Gurū Granth Sāhib

having been published in his state and the fourth and last volume of which was published in his own time, had died in 1918. Bhāi Kāhn Singh's erstwhile patron Mahārājā Ripudaman Singh, of Nābhā, had problems with the British authority and had eventually to abdicate his throne in 1923. In this situation, Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh of Paṭiālā came forward to help the project and offered to underwrite the entire expenditure on printing. The printing of the work started on 26 October 1927 at Sudarshan Press, Amritsar, owned by the popular Punjabi poet, Dhanī Rām Chātrik. The printing was completed on 13 April 1930. After the first edition (1930) which came out in four volumes, the *Mahān Kosh* was published by the Languages Department of Punjab, Paṭiālā, in a single volume. This edition has since been reproduced three times, the last edition coming out in 1981.

Each of the entries in the *Mahān Kosh* has been treated comprehensively. Its etymology and different meanings according to its usage at different places in different works have been recorded along with textual quotations. The work includes more than 7,000 words of Perso-Arabic origin. These words, as well as those of Sanskrit origin, have been reproduced in their respective scripts to bring to the readers their correct pronunciation and exact connotation. The names of geographical places, especially those claiming historical *gurdwārās*, have been dealt with the same care and attention to detail. The legends about each of the *gurdwārās* and its location have been recorded. Illustrations and maps have been added in the case of major places of pilgrimage. These Sikh shrines were visited by an investigator who recorded the details under the advice and the guidance of the author.

The work also contains entries on trees and herbs. Their botanical Latin equivalents have also been provided. Besides, there are

entries on diseases, medicines, as also on terms from philosophy, music, prosody and rhetoric. Appropriate quotations and illustrations have been provided from works on religion, history, geography, science, medicine and language. References to the Vedas, the Bible, the Qurān, and other religious texts have been carefully traced. Different religions and their sects and their specialized terms and symbols are dealt with in appropriate detail. About historical and biographical works, accuracy and precision have been the criteria. Sikh chronicles written up to the middle of the nineteenth century have been dealt with in detail.

D.S.

GUTHRIE, an Englishman and a deserter from British army. He joined the Sikh army in 1843, serving only for a few months.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785 to 1849*. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

GUṬKĀ, a small-sized missal or breviary containing chosen hymns or *bānīs* from Sikh Scriptures. The etymology of the term *guṭkā* may be traced back to Sanskrit *guḍ* (to guard, preserve) or *guṇṭh* (to enclose, envelop, surround, cover) through Pāli *gutti* (keeping, guarding). A late-eighteenth-century scholar of Udāsī sect spelt the word as *guḍhkā*. It is obligatory for Sikhs to recite certain texts and prayers as part of their daily devotions. This led to the practice of writing them down in *guṭkās* or *pothīs* (larger in size than *guṭkās*). Keeping or carrying of *guṭkās* must have gained greater vogue among the Sikhs during the early eighteenth century when disturbed conditions forced them to be ever on the move. They kept them sheathed with their *gātrās* or cross-belts as they rode out from place to place. *Guṭkās* became really popular with the advent of the printing press and the rise of the Singh Sabhā movement

during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Various types of *guṭkās* made their appearance. The most common were Nitnem *guṭkās*, which contained *bānīs* meant to be recited daily, namely *Japu*, *Jāpu*, *Savaiyye*, *Anandu* for the morning, *Rahrāsī* and *Benalī Chauṗaī* for the evening and *Sohilā* at bedtime. Some also contained *Shabad Hazāre*, *Āsā kī Vār* and *Sukhmanī*, although the last two *bānīs* were also available in separate volumes. Another *guṭkā* which has gained currency under the title is *Sundar Guṭkā* containing besides all the above *bānīs*, compositions for occasional recitation such as *Bārāh Māhā* (Twelve Months) and hymns appropriate to birth, marriage and funeral ceremonies and rites. The commonest script is Gurmukhī, although *guṭkās* published in Devanāgarī and Persian scripts are also available.

Bb.S.N.

GWĀLĪOR (26°-10'N, 78°-8'E), formerly the capital of a princely state, is now a district town in Madhya Pradesh. It is a railway junction on the Central Railway, 120 km south of Āgrā, and an important road junction along the Āgrā-Bombay national highway. Gurdwārā Dātā Bandī Chhoṛ Pātshāhī VI, dedicated to Gurū Hargobind, is situated inside the historic rock-fort of Gwālīor, about 3 km from the railway station. Gurū Hargobind was detained in this fort for some time under the orders of the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr. Historians have differed widely as regards the exact period of the Gurū's detention, but it appears he remained confined to the fort for a few months sometime between 1617 and 1619. Sikh tradition is, however, unanimous in asserting that, when the Emperor ordered the release of Gurū Hargobind, he refused to come out alone. There were in the fort fifty-two other captives, chiefs and princes, seized from different parts of the country. Gurū Hargobind insisted that they should be set free, too.

The Emperor ordered that as many prisoners as could hold on to the Gurū's robe could come out with him. It is said that Gurū Hargobind had a special cloak made with 52 strings attached to it. All the fifty-two captives each caught a string and came out of the fort with the Gurū. From that day, Gurū Hargobind came to be known as Dātā Bandī-Chhor, 'the Munificent Deliverer.' A shrine bearing this name was established to mark the place where Gurū Hargobind had lived in captivity.

The shrine was looked after by Muslim *faqīrs* till after 1947 when the site was acquired by the Sikhs and a Gurdwārā was built. The original shrine is also maintained in the form of a rectangular marbled platform, on a base 7-metre square and one-metre high. It is shaded by a handsomely carved marble canopy and is guarded by two marble lions in sitting posture in the front.

The construction of the new building started on Poh *sudī* 7, 2024 Bk/6 January 1968, under the supervision of Sant Jhaṇḍā Singh and Uttam Singh Maunī of Khaḍūr Sāhib. The central building of stone and concrete has six storeys, including the basement, with a central dome on top and smaller domed pavilions at the corners. The main assembly hall, supported on massive square pillars in the middle, is fairly large, with a raised platform for the Gurū Granth Sāhib. In a separate compound is the Gurū kā Laṅgar, with a kitchen, a refectory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Sī Gur Tīvath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Singh, Giānī, *Sī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
4. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

M.G.S.

H

HADĪĀBĀD, village 1.5 km west of Phagwārā (31°-14'N, 75°-46'E) in Kapūrthalā district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Chhevīn Pātshāhī, dedicated to Gurū Hargobind, who visited here during his brief sojourn at Phagwārā in 1635. Gurū Har Rāi is also said to have visited the site. The present building (cornerstone laid on 5 March 1950) is a three-storeyed structure topped by an octagonal domed pavilion. The main hall has a sanctum at the far end where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated. Adjoining the complex is the *sarovar*. The Gurdwārā is managed by a local committee under the overall control of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Besides daily services, all major Sikh anniversaries are marked by special celebrations.

M.G.S.

HADĪĀYĀ or Haṇḍiāyā, village 6 km southwest of Barnālā (30°-22'N, 75°-32'E) in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. According to local tradition, the Gurū came here in 1722 Bk/AD 1665 and sat in a grove near a pond. The villagers at first paid no attention to him. Then a person came and complained of a certain disease that was rampant in the village. He particularly lamented the suffering of his son. The Gurū advised him to have the patient bathed in the pond. He objected that the tanners of the village dipped the hides in the water, completely polluting it. The Gurū told him to ignore the tanning and try the remedy. The villager

complied, with the result that the patient felt relieved and cured. As the news spread, the whole village flocked to the pond to bathe in it and get rid of the disease. They gratefully served the Gurū thereafter and were blessed by him. The pond has since been developed into a 64-metre square *sarovar* and its water is still believed to possess curative properties. The shrine established to commemorate the sacred visit is called Gurdwārā Sāhib Gurū Sar Pakkā Pātshāhī IX. The present building, constructed by Mahārājā Karam Singh (1798-1845), ruler of Paṭiālā state, is a large *haveli*, high-walled house, entered through a high gateway with a heavy wooden gate. The sanctum, a 5-metre square domed room on a high plinth, stands in the middle of the brick-paved inner compound. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated on a platform in the centre of this room. A well-ventilated *dīvān* hall was added in 1962. The Gurdwārā owns 90 acres of land and is now managed directly by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Large gatherings take place on *amāvāsya*, the last day of the dark half of every lunar month.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Mālwa Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
3. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
4. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twānīkh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

HĀFIZĀBĀD (32°-4'N, 73°-41'E), a sub-divisional town in Gujrañwālā district of Pakistan, claimed a historical Sikh shrine commemorating the visit of Gurū Hargobind, who stopped here briefly travelling back from Kashmir in 1620. Gurdwārā Chhevīñ Pātshāhī, as it was known, remained affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhāk Committee until 1947 when it was abandoned in the wake of the partition of the Punjab. Hāfizābād is also famous in the Sikh tradition because of the association of the name of the town with a Janam Sākhī manuscript which was discovered here in 1884 by Bhāī Gurmukh Siṅgh of the Oriental College, Lahore. Bhāī Gurmukh Siṅgh passed the manuscript on to Max Arthur Macauliffe, who had it lithographed. In his introduction to the lithographed edition, Bhāī Gurmukh Siṅgh designated the work as *Hāfizābād Janam Sākhī*. The text did not diverge much from the older Colebrooke manuscript known as *Valāyatvālī Janam Sākhī*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Siṅgh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Siṅgh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

HAKĪMPUR, a village 9 km southeast of Baṅgā (31°-11'N, 76°E) in Jalandhar district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine called Gurdwārā Nānaksar, sacred to Gurū Nānak (1469-1539), who, according to local tradition, once halted here travelling from Kartārpur (Rāvi). Gurū Har Rāi, Nānak VII, (1630-61) also visited this village and stayed here for some time during one of his journeys between Kartārpur and Kīratpur. The Gurdwārā is about one kilometre north of the village. The present three-storeyed building built in 1974 by Bābā Nihāl Siṅgh Harīāñvelāñvāle comprises a marble-floored hall, which encloses at the far end the 4-metre square old room got built by Mahārājā

Raṅjīt Siṅgh (1780-1839) and used as the sanctum sanctorum. The dome atop the third storey has a gilded pinnacle. Gurū kā Laṅgar and residential quarters are to the east of the main building and the *sarovar* or bathing tank to the south of it. An annual religious fair is held in September. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee but is maintained by Nihāṅgs of the Taruṇā Dal led by Bābā Nihāl Siṅgh of Harīāñvelāñ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Siṅgh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Siṅgh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

HĀKIM RĀI, DĪWĀN (1803-1868), whose forebears had served the Kanhaiyā chiefs, was born the son of Kāshī Rām in 1803. In 1824, he joined the army of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh, but soon rose to the high civilian office of *dīwān*. He became tutor to Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Siṅgh, the Mahārājā's grandson, and held charge of his estates. In 1834, after the annexation of Peshāwar in which he took a leading part, he became the governor of Derā Ismā'il Khān, Ṭonk, Bannū and 'Isā Khel. He played a conspicuous role in the Anglo-Sikh negotiations preparatory to the Afghān war of 1839. Upon Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh's death in 1839, he was recalled to Lahore and appointed chief justice of the city. During the time of British residency, he was sent to Kashmir (1846) to dissuade its governor, Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn, from the path of revolt. In 1847, he was appointed governor of Peshāwar, but was soon recalled owing to the hostile attitude of Rājā Tej Siṅgh, who wanted to oust him from his *jāgīrs* in Siālkoṭ. During the second Anglo-Sikh war, Dīwān Hākim Rāi sided with the rebel forces against the British. Consequently, all his estates were confiscated after the annexation of the Punjab and he

was sent away a prisoner to the fortress of Chunār. After four years of confinement, he was allowed to settle at Benāras. During the 1857 uprising he and his three sons helped the British, for which he was granted some *zamīndārī* rights and a house at Lucknow. He died in 1868.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *History of the Punjab*. Delhi, 1964

G.S.Ch.

HAM HINDŪ NAHĪN, by Bhāi Kāhn Singh, lit. "We, i.e. Sikhs, are not Hindus," is a clear-cut declaration of Sikh identity registered by a Sikh scholar and intellectual towards the close of the nineteenth century. The statement constitutes the basic dictum of the book which appeared under this challenging title in 1898. In the signed introduction to the work, the author puts down HB as his initials. Decoded, the initials stand for Kāhn Singh. The book was registered under this title in the Punjab Gazette on 30 June 1899 at number 447. The author's name, Kāhn Singh, started appearing in the book from 1907. The book recalled the days of long-drawn polemic between Hindus and Sikhs. Hindus argued that Sikhism was part of the vast Hindu complex and that it had no independent status of its own. Sikhs, especially those influenced by the Singh Sabhā ideology, joining the debate from the other side, argued vehemently that Sikhism was an autonomous faith with its own history, religious symbols and philosophy. Even some Sikhs not initiated to the new ideas supported the theory that the Sikhs did not belong to a religious tradition different from the Hindus. This school found strong support in elements saturated in Hindu thought and ideology. The view that the

Sikhs are Hindus found strong support in an address given in 1897 by Bābā Sir Khem Singh Bedī, a direct lineal descendant of Gurū Nānak, at the Diamond Jubilee function at the Institute of Technology at Lahore saying that the Sikhs are not separate from Hindus. In his tract published in 1899, Bāvā Naraiṅ Singh repeated the assertion that Sikhs are Hindus. *Ham Hindū Nahīn* appeared in the form of a dialogue between a Hindu and a Sikh: the Hindu was asking questions which are answered by the Sikh. The bulk of the book consists largely of texts drawn mainly from the Sikh scripture and presented as evidence that *Khālsā* faith and conduct differ from Hindu tradition to such an extent that Sikhism must be regarded as a separate religious system, distinct and autonomous in its own right. The texts are grouped under such headings as religious texts, caste system, divine incarnation, rituals, idol-worship, belief in gods and goddesses, etc. Thus pressing its claims vehemently and vigorously to a distinctly separate Sikh identity, the book concludes with a versified note by the author, describing characteristics of the *Khālsā*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barrier, N. Gerald, *The Sikhs and Their Literature*. Delhi, 1970

D.S.

HAMĪR SINGH, RĀJĀ (d. 1783), founder of the Sikh state of Nābhā, was the son of Sūrtiā Singh, a descendant of Bābā Phūl through his elder son, Tilok Singh (d. 1687). Hamīr Singh added considerably to the estates of Kapūrgarh and Saṅgrūr he had inherited from his grandfather, Gurdit Singh. He founded the town of Nābhā and made it his capital in 1755. In 1764, he joined the Dal *Khālsā* in the conquest of Sirhind and received the *paraganah* of Amloh as his share of the spoil. He then declared his independence, exercising the right of coining

money.

Rājā Hamīr Singh died in December 1783 at Nābhā, and was succeeded by his eight-year-old son, Jasvant Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, *The Rajas of the Punjab* [Reprint]. Delhi, 1977
2. Ganda Singh, *The Patiala and the East Punjab States Union*. Patiala, 1977

S.S.B.

HAMJĀ, BHĀĪ, a Rājput of Jajjā clan, accepted Sikhism at the hands of Gurū Arjan. His name appears in Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 23.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

HANĪPHĀ, one of the 84 Gorakhpanthī Siddhas (exalted personages believed to have attained occult powers and immortality through the practice of yoga), is mentioned in *Bālā Janam Sākhī* as a participant in the Siddhas' discourse with Gurū Nānak at Mount Sumer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
2. Dwivedī, Hazāri Prāsād, *Nāth Sampradāya*. Varanasi, 1966

Gn.S.

HANŚ RĀM, a Bājpeyī Brāhmaṇ, who came from Fatehpur district of present-day Uttar Pradesh, was one of the poets and scholars employed by Gurū Gobind Singh to render Sanskrit classics into Braj written in Gurmukhī script. Haṅś Rām translated Karṇa Parva of the *Mahābhārata*. The 1581-

stanza work was commenced on Maghar *vadī* 2, 1752 Bk/12 November 1695 and, as acknowledged by the poet himself, the Gurū bestowed upon him a reward of 60,000 *ṭakās* (silver coins, rupees), when he completed it. The poet panegyricizes the bounties of the Gurū as well as his bravery in battle. The only known manuscript of his *Karṇa Parva* is now a part (pp. 711-882) of a voluminous *Mahābhārata* preserved in the private collection of the Mahārājā of Paṭiālā. A copy in Devanāgarī script is said to be held in the personal library of the Mahārājā of Vārāṇasī.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Srī Gurū Gobind Singh Jī de Darbārī Ratan*. Patiala, 1976
2. Vidiārthī, Devinder Singh, *Srī Gurū Gobind Singh Abhinandan*. Amritsar, 1983

P.S.P.

HAQĪQĀT-I-BINĀ-O-'URŪJ-I-FIRQĀ-I-SIKHĀN, a Persian manuscript by unknown author, contains, as its title literally signifies, the Truth about the Origin and Rise of the Sikh Sect. On the basis of internal evidence, the work appears to have been prepared sometime between 1783 and 1785. Copies of the manuscript are available at Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London; Khālsā College, Amritsar; and at Punjab Historical Studies Department of Punjabi University, Paṭiālā. An English translation of the manuscript by Indubhūsan Banerjee was published in *India Historical Quarterly*, XVII, 1942, under the title "A Short History of the Origin and Rise of the Sikhs."

The earlier portion of the work dealing with the Sikh Gurūs is an imperfect account and betrays the author's ignorance about the origin and development of Sikh brotherhood during the first two hundred years. For example, Gurū Nānak's progeny is called Bhallās instead of Bedīs; the next seven Gurūs are given only a couple of sentences; Gurū Tegh Bahādur is described as a rebel

and a tyrant who took pleasure in shooting down his horses and men; and the incidents from the life of Bandā Singh Bahādur overlap those from the life of Gurū Gobind Singh; Bandā Singh is mentioned as launching upon his exploits in the reign of Farrukh-Siyar who in fact became emperor five years after the death of the Gurū. Thereafter, however, the author's account comes nearer to those of his other contemporaries and can be useful to serious students of history. Describing government's expeditions against Bandā Singh and his ultimate capture and execution, the author bears testimony to the fact that not a single Sikh out of the one thousand and six hundred captured along with Bandā Singh accepted the offer to convert to save his life. He particularly mentions a young Sikh whom the Kotwāl (executive magistrate) of Delhi offered to accept as his own son and get him a reprieve only if he accepted Islam; but the offer was bluntly rejected and the boy met his death as serenely as did his other brothers-in-faith.

The author praises Zakariyā Khān, governor of Punjab (1726-45), and describes his rule as an era of peace and plenty. A brief account of Nādir Shāh's invasion is also given. After Zakariyā Khān's death, a tussle for power between his two sons, Yāhiyā Khān and Shāh Nawāz Khān, is described. The latter used the Sikhs against his brother, but when later he himself came into power, he persecuted them. Shāh Nawāz invited Ahmad Shāh Abdālī to invade India, but as the Shāh descended upon Lahore, Shāh Nawāz fell out with him and had to flee to Delhi. Ahmad Shāh's defeat at the hands of the Mughals, during this first invasion, brought Mu'in ul-Mulk (Mīr Mannū, according to Sikh chroniclers) to power in Punjab as governor. The author describes the gruesome atrocities Mīr Mannū perpetrated upon the Sikhs. After one of his subsequent invasions, Ahmad Shāh annexed Punjab and appointed his own son Taimūr Shāh his viceroy at Lahore, with his

experienced general Jahān Khān as his deputy. But Taimūr Shāh and Jahān Khān were driven out of Lahore by a combined force of Ādinā Beg, the Sikhs and the Marāṭhās. The defeat of the Marāṭhās in the battle of Pānīpat (1761) and the merciless slaughter of the Sikhs (1762) occupy penultimate portions of the work. The remaining section of the book deals exclusively with the Afghān-Sikh contest for power. The occupation of the Punjab by the Sikhs was completed under eminent Sikh *sardārs* (chiefs) like Chaṛhat Singh, Tārā Singh Chāibā, Jassā Singh Rāmgarhīā, Harī Singh, Lahiṇā Singh and Gujjar Singh of Bhaṅgī *misl*. The account ends with the re-conquest of Multān by Taimūr Shāh in 1779.

The author supplies details about territories possessed by different Sikh *sardārs* and briefly describes some of the Sikh customs and practices such as *pāhul*, *kaṛāh* *prashād* and *ardās*. According to him, the Sikh term *ardās* is a modified form of '*ardāsht*', Persian term meaning prayer or request made to elders or to the rulers. The Sikh *ardās* is their prayer to the Gurū or God. The author is familiar with many other terms used by Sikhs such as *Gurū*, *Nānakpanthī*, (*Gurū*) *Granth*, *Panth*, *Khālsā*, *Dal*, *Dal Khālsā*, *Khālsā Jīo*, *Buddhā Dal*, *Vāhigurū*, *Vāhigurū Jī Kī Fateh*, *Mahāprashād*, *Buṅgah*, *Shabad*, *Salok*, *Gurū Kā Sikh*, *Misl*, *Nihaṅg*, *Sukkhā*, etc. Erroneously he equates *sukkhā* with *Nihaṅg*; *sukkhā* is an intoxicating drug popular with *Nihaṅgs*. The author of the *Haqīqāt* states that the Sikh faith has no prejudice against Islam. Rather the Sikh religion treats all human beings as equals. In Gurū Nānak's scripture humility, according to this work, has precedence over meditation and the whole world is considered to be God's manifestation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kirpal Singh, *A Catalogue of Persian and Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Amritsar, 1962

B.S.

HAQĪQAT RĀH MUQĀM RĀJE SHIVNĀBH KĪ (account or description of way, i.e. journey to the abode of Rājā Shivnābh) is an anonymous and undated short piece in Punjabi prose, found appended to some manuscript copies of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, particularly to copies of the Bhāi Banno recension. The author of this account is supposed to be Bhāi Paīrā, a learned Sikh who was deputed by Gurū Arjan to go to Siṅhlādīp (Saṅglādīp of the *Janam Sākhīs*), present-day Sri Lanka, to fetch a copy of a manuscript called the *Prāṇ Saṅglī* (Chain of the Vital Breath), an interpretation of Haṭha Yoga, which was said to have been recited by Gurū Nānak to the Rājā of Saṅglādīp, Shivnābh. The manuscript of the *Prāṇ Saṅglī* was brought to Gurū Arjan, who rejected it as an apocryphal writing. The piece is not a travelogue, nor does the author claim to have himself visited the place of Shivnābh. It purports to be a sort of guide to travel, by ship to Saṅglādīp, from the mainland of the Indian subcontinent and to locate the place of the Rājā in that land. It is a short piece of simple prose about 200 words in length. The language is a mixture of Sādh Bhākhā and Punjabi. The author mentions some place-names with their distance from each other in some cases. Some of these names can be identified, while one or two places can only be conjectured. It is also mentioned that there existed a number of Sikh *saṅgats* in those days in South India and Sri Lanka.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. McLeod, W.H., *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1968
2. Santokh Siṅgh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

HAQĪQAT RĀI (1724-1742) was born to well-to-do Khatrī parents, Bāgh Mall Purī and Gaurān of Siālkoṭ. He was married to a

Sikh girl Durgā Devī, daughter of Kishan Siṅgh Uppal of Baṭālā, in Gurdāspur district. Haqīqat Rāi came under the influence of Sikhism in consequence of his marriage into a devout Sikh family. Even his own family were not unacquainted with the new creed. As *Gurū kīān Sākhīān* mentions, while Gurū Har Rāi was at Siālkoṭ on his way to Kashmir in 1660, Bhāi Nand Lāl Purī, grandfather of Haqīqat Rāi, came along with his three sons, Maṅgal Sen, Bāgh Mall and Bhāg Mall, to make obeisance to the Gurū. As a young boy, Haqīqat Rāi went to a Muslim school to study Persian and Arabic. One day some of his Muslim classmates made disparaging remarks about Hindu gods and goddesses. Haqīqat Rāi retaliated by attacking a personage from Muslim tradition. He was charged with sacrilege before the *qāzī*, who referred the case to the chief *qāzī* at Lahore. Haqīqat Rāi was taken to the city under heavy police escort. A trial was held by the chief *qāzī* at the conclusion of which he was given the choice of Islam or death. Haqīqat Rāi refused to forswear the faith of his forefathers. Appeals for mercy were laid by the parents and other citizens of Lahore before the governor, Zakariyā Khān, and his minister, Lakhat Rāi, but nothing availed. On the other hand, Haqīqat Rāi remained firm in his resolve not to renounce his faith at any cost. Under the orders of his persecutors, he was first chained to a pillar and caned. Then on the Basant Pañchamī day, 29 January 1742, he was handed over to the deathman for execution. According to the *Panth Prakāsh*, the Sikhs fell on the *qāzī* who had pronounced the verdict against Haqīqat Rāi, captured him and severed his head from his body.

Haqīqat Rāi's body was cremated near the mausoleum of Shāh Bilāval, 3 km east of Lahore. A shrine was built on the site and pilgrims came the year round to pay homage to the memory of the young martyr. On Basant Pañchamī day was observed the

anniversary of the martyrdom. Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh had special reverence for Haqīqat Rāi's shrine and sometimes called his *darbārs* in its precincts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Nijjar, Bakshish Singh, *Vir Haqīqat Rāi*. Patiala, 1975
2. Aggrā, "Vār Haqīqat Rāi" in Gaṇḍā Singh, ed., *Pañjab dīān Vārān*. Amritsar, 1946
3. Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giānī Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kiān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986
4. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Panth Prakāsh* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
5. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prachīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914
6. Lakshman Singh, Bhagat, *Sikh Martyrs*. Madras, 1928

B.S.

HAQĪQAT SINGH KANHAIYĀ (d. 1782), son of Baghel Singh, a Siddhū Jatt, hailed from the village of Julkā, near Kāhnā in Lahore district, the birthplace of Jai Singh Kanhaiyā. Haqīqat Singh was in the service of Nawāb Kapūr Singh, on whose death he emerged as an independent chief and finally a leader of one section of the Kanhaiyā chiefship, occupying Kalānaur, Kāhngarh, Adālatgarh, Paṭhankot and many other villages. He was a rival of Jai Singh Kanhaiyā, yet at the same time his friend and associate in many expeditions. In 1760, Haqīqat Singh destroyed Chūrīānvālā and founded another village instead, named Saṅgatpurā and also the fort of Fatehgarh. In 1773, Jammū became a tributary of Haqīqat Singh.

Haqīqat Singh died in 1782 and his only son Jaimal Singh, aged eleven years, succeeded him to his estates. Haqīqat Singh's granddaughter, Chand Kaur, was married to Prince Khaṛak Singh, eldest son of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. IV. Delhi,

1982

3. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Sardār Jassā Singh Āhlūvālā*. Patiala, 1969

S.S.B.

HARAPPĀ (30°48'N, 72°52'E), a town in Montgomery (now Sāhīwāl) district of Pakistan, famous for its archaeological finds pertaining to the pre-Aryan Indus Valley civilization, claimed a Sikh shrine commemorating the visit of Gurū Nānak who once stopped here on his way to Multān. Gurdwārā Nānaksar Pātshāhī I, as it was called, came into prominence after the opening of the Gañji Bār canal colony during the second and third decades of the twentieth century when a polygonal domed sanctum on a high plinth, with a *sarovar* (bathing tank) and residential blocks near by, was constructed. Special congregations took place on the 1st of each Bikramī month and a largely attended 3-day religious fair was held annually from 1-3 Chet (mid-March). The Gurdwārā had to be abandoned at the time of mass migration caused by the partition of the Punjab in 1947.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

HARBANS, the ascetic, known for his *tapas*, i.e. renunciation and meditation, who accepted the Sikh faith at the hands of Gurū Arjan, was head of the Sikh *dharamsālā* at Āgrā. According to Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, he served with devotion and humility the travellers who came to his *dharamsālā*. He would feed them, wash their feet with warm water, and massage their bodies to relieve them of fatigue. He would recite Gurbānī in the morning and the compositions of Bhāi Gurdās in the afternoon. Some Sikhs objected to the latter practice saying that it was improper to recite

compositions other than the hymns of the Gurū. Harbañs went to Gurū Arjan to secure clarification. The Gurū told him that compositions of Bhāi Gurdās were only an elaboration of the Gurbāñi and could be recited with profit by the Sikhs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhāñ dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

HARCHAND SINGH LAUNGOVĀL, SANT (1932-1985), a holy man of shy habits who became in the course of years a vital political figure in the annals of modern Sikhism. He was born on 2 January 1932, the son of Mansā Singh and Karam Kaur, a couple of modest means living in Gidañiāñi, a village then in the princely state of Pañiālā but now a part of Sañgrūr district in the Punjab. At the age of five, Harchand Singh started attending the local *gurdwārā* school, but soon transferred himself to the seminary at Maujo close by. There, under the tutelage of Sant Jodh Singh, he studied Sikh theology and Sikh texts and practised Sikh music. Although his active participation in political matters was to commence much later, the seed had been sown by his religious mentor Sant Jodh Singh, who as a member of the Akālī Dal took interest in current Sikh affairs.

Leaving Maujo at the age of 21, Harchand Singh served as a *granthī*, scripture-reader and custodian at the village *gurdwārā* at Kiron Kalāñ, moving the following year to Lauñgovāl, a small town 16 km southwest of Sañgrūr. There he raised a *gurdwārā* in memory of the celebrated eighteenth-century Sikh scholarly personage and martyr, Bhāi Manī Singh, who was a native of Kaimbovāl village, then a ruined mound. In 1962, Harchand Singh was named Jathedār or head

of the shrine at Damdamā Sāhib (Talvañḍī Sābo) but he carried to the new station the word "Lauñgovāl" which had got permanently suffixed to his name. In June 1964 he led out a *jathā* or band of Akālī volunteers to Pāoñṭā Sāhib, in Himāchal Pradesh. This was the beginning of a dramatic political career. In 1965, he became the president of the Akālī Jathā of Sañgrūr district and a member of the working committee of the Shiromañī Akālī Dal. In the mid-term poll held in 1969, he was elected, as a nominee of the Shiromañī Akālī Dal, to the Punjab Legislative Assembly, defeating the Congress heavyweight, Bābū Brishh Bhāñ, who had been chief minister of Pañiālā and East Punjab States Union. In the 1977 general elections in the country he was given the Akālī nomination for Parliament from a constituency in the Punjab, but he declined the offer which enhanced his political reputation and stature. In 1975 when he was the acting president of the Shiromañī Akālī Dal, he was called upon to run the agitation against the national emergency clamped down upon the country by the prime minister Indirā Gāndhī in 1975 extinguishing all civil liberties. As the emergency was lifted in 1977, Harchand Singh retired from active politics, but was recalled in 1980, this time to take up the reins of the Shiromañī Akālī Dal as its president.

His presidentship of the party was a period of extreme turmoil and trial for the Sikhs. The worst came when the army was ordered by the prime minister into the Golden Temple premises and the holy shrines suffered attack and desecration. The assassination of prime minister Indira Gandhi by two of her Sikh security staff on 31 October 1984 brought in its wake heavy reprisals for the Sikhs. However, the general elections of January 1985 saw the Sikhs busily involved in electioneering. Sikhs who had been in an angry mood and had felt totally disenchanted since the army's attack on their sacred shrines were drawn into the political arena once

again. Then followed the signing of an accord between the new prime minister of India, Rājiv Gāndhī, and the president of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal, Sant Harchand Singh Lauṅgovāl. But before the process had come full circle, the Sant was shot by an unidentified young man presumed to be an extremist Sikh youth. This happened on 20 August 1985 at the *gurdwārā* in Sherpur, not far from Lauṅgovāl.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kalia, D.R. *Sant Harchand Singh Loungowal : A Martyr for Peace*. Jalandhar, 1985
2. Tully, Mark and Saish Jacob, *Amritsar, Mrs Gandhi's Last Battle*. London, 1985
3. Sarhadi, Ajit Singh, *Punjabi Suba*. Delhi, 1970
4. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1993
5. Samiuddin, Abida, ed., *The Punjab Crisis, Challenge and Response*. Delhi, 1985

S.S.G.

HARCHAND SINGH RA'IS (1887-1954), philanthropist and Sikh reformist, was born the only son of Arjan Singh, a police sub-inspector, in 1887 at the village of Sursingh, in Amritsar district of the Punjab. He learnt Urdu and Punjabi at home and did not have any formal education. At the turn of the century, the family shifted to Lyallpur where Arjan Singh had been granted by government land in the newly developed canal colony. Harchand Singh grew up a rich landlord, and started taking interest in public affairs. When the outer wall of Gurdwārā Rikābgañj in Delhi was demolished by the government in 1913 to secure symmetry in their construction plans for the main buildings of New Delhi such as the Viceroy's house and the secretariat, Harchand Singh spearheaded a movement for the restoration of the masonry. To carry on his campaign, he launched from Lahore in 1914 an Urdu weekly, the *Khālsā Akhbār*. Among his co-workers were Master Tārā Singh, Tejā Singh Samundrī and Master Sundar Singh

Lyallpurī. This group, popularly known as the Lyallpur group, took a pioneer role in the Gurdwārā Reform movement in early twenties of the century. Harchand Singh also helped Master Sundar Singh Lyallpurī in sponsoring the *Akālī* (Punjabi) in 1920. In 1921, he officiated as president of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee during Bābā Kharak Singh's absence in jail. He represented Lyallpur (rural) constituency in the Punjab Legislative Council from 1923 to 1926.

Harchand Singh died on 20 February 1954 at Koṭā in Rājasthān.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Piār Singh, *Tejā Singh Samundrī*. Amritsar, 1975
2. Nirañjan Singh, Principal, *Jivan Yātrā Master Tārā Singh*. Amritsar, 1968
3. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975
4. Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Movement*. Delhi, 1978

Nj.S.

HARCHARAN DĀS (b. 1815), youngest of the five sons of Misr Ralīā Rām, began public life as an assistant in the customs department under the Sikh government of Lahore. During the *wazārat* of Rājā Hīrā Singh Ḍogrā, he was made commandant of 700 horse in the Mūlrājīā Ḍerā. In 1848, he was appointed by the Lahore Darbār an Adālatī or judge of Lahore with the honorary title of Rukn ud-Daulah, i.e. honoured member of the empire. After the annexation of the Punjab, he was appointed by the British an extra assistant commissioner which office he resigned in 1852. He resided at Amritsar and had a *serāi* (inn) built at his own expense for public welfare between the city of Amritsar and Lahore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

HARDĀS, BĀBĀ (d. 1541), or Hari Dās, the father of Gurū Rām Dās, was the son of Ṭhākur Dās, a Soḍhi Khatri of Chūnā Maṇḍī in Lahore, and Mātā Jsvantī. He was married to Anūp Deī, also called Dayā Kaur, of Bāsarke, a village in present-day Amritsar district of the Punjab. The couple were of a religious turn of mind and were known for their pious living. A son, who was named Jeṭhā (later Gurū Rām Dās), was born to them on 24 September 1534. According to Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *Baṅsāvalīnāmā*, they had two more children, Hardiāl, a son, and Rāmdāsī, a daughter. Bābā Hardās died when their eldest child, Jeṭhā, was only seven years old.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Chhibbar, Kesar Singh, *Baṅsāvalīnāmā Dasān Pāshāhīān Kā*. Chandigarh, 1972
3. Sahib Singh, *Jīvan-Britānt Srī Gurū Rām Dās Jī*. Amritsar, 1976

P.S.P.

HAR DEVĪ, RĀNĪ (d. 1839), daughter of Chaudhari Rām, a Salāriā Rājput of Aṭalgarh in Gurdāspur district, was married to Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. She immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband on 28 June 1839.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lal *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1957
3. Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh: Maharajah of the Punjab 1780-1839*. Bombay, 1962
4. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990

S.S.B.

HARDIĀL, PAṆḌIT (Paṇḍit Rām Diāl, according to Giānī Giān Singh, *Panth Prakāsh*), family priest of the Bedī clan of Talvaṇḍī Rāi Bhoi, was invited by Mahitā

Kālū to prepare the horoscope of his newborn son, the future Gurū Nānak. On learning from the Muslim midwife, Daultān, what marvellous portents she had witnessed, Hardiāl, says *Bālā Janam Sākhī*, insisted on seeing the child. As the child was brought out in its swaddling clothes, the Paṇḍit homaged it with folded hands and told father Kālū that his son would sit under canopy. On the thirteenth day after the birth, Paṇḍit Hardiāl came again to Mahitā Kālū's house, this time to name the child. He, according to *Bālā Janam Sākhī*, gave him the name Nānak Niraṅkārī, and predicted, "Both Hindus and Turks will reverence him; his name will become current on earth and in heaven. The ocean will give him the way; so will the earth and the sky. He will worship Niraṅkār, the One Formless Lord, and teach others to do so...." As Nānak entered his eleventh year, Paṇḍit Hardiāl was invited by the family to invest him with the *janeū*, or sacrificial thread of upper-caste Hindus which, from the evidence that Janam Sākhī and a hymn in the Gurū Granth Sāhib bear, he declined to wear.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Panth Prakāsh* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
4. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed. *Janamsakhi Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
5. McLeod, W.H., tr., *The B10 Janam Sakhi*. Amritsar, 1980
6. Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origins of the Sikh Faith*. Bombay, 1969

Gn.S.

HARDINGE PAPERS, private and public correspondence and public despatches of Lord Hardinge, Governor-General of India (1844-48), relating to the Punjab and the Sikhs. These papers are further categorized

as (i) Hardinge Family Papers, Penshurst (Kent), arranged and compiled in 1850 by Emily Hardinge and styled as Helen Lady Hardinge's Collection; (ii) Hardinge's private correspondence with Lord Ellenborough from September 1844 to June 1846 in Ellenborough Papers, preserved in the Public Records Office in London (No. PRO 30/12 (21/7)); and (iii) Hardinge's private correspondence with Sir John Hobhouse (June 1846-February 1848), preserved in the British Library and Museum (Broughton Papers, MS. No 36475). Besides these, official papers and despatches relative to the first Anglo-Sikh war were published in London in 1846 under the title *The War in India, Despatches of Viscount Hardinge, Lord Gough, Henry Smith, and other documents comprising the engagements of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Alival and Sobraon*. Hardinge's public despatches and official correspondence relating to the Punjab affairs are contained in the Blue Books: XXI, 1846 — *Hostilities on the North-Western Frontiers of India*; and XLI, 1847—*Papers relating to the Articles of Agreement between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar*.

Hardinge Family Papers contain Hardinge's letters to his wife and relations and friends in England. These repeat some of the common myths, such as that Rāñi Jindāñ, Mahārājā Rañjīt Siñgh's widow, was a desperate woman who, fearful of the temper of the Khālsā army, sent it across the Sutlej to its destruction and that a 60,000 strong Sikh army, with 150 guns, invested Firozpur, the ultimate concentration point of British troops for a war with the Sikhs. These papers also describe the action at Sabhrāoñ, Gulāb Siñgh's overtures to the British Government, and the terms imposed upon the Sikhs. "Thus I have punished the Sikhs," Hardinge wrote to his wife, "for their unprovoked aggression upon us by stripping them of one-third of their territory and making it over to a Rajpoot who is

to be independent of them." However, Hardinge never fully trusted Gulāb Siñgh: "I am rather discreet and moderate... I rather like diplomacy, when regulated by integrity... The man, whom I have to deal with, Gulab Singh, is the greatest rascal in Asia... We can protect him without inconvenience and give him a slice of Sikh territory which balances his strength in the same degree against theirs; and as he is geographically our ally, I must forget he is a rascal and treat him better than he deserves."

Ellenborough Papers, comprising Hardinge's private correspondence with Ellenborough (1844-46), throw light on events leading to the Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46. These documents provide information relative especially to the political conditions at Lahore during the prime-ministerships of Hīrā Siñgh and Jawāhar Siñgh; Gulāb Siñgh's overtures to the English; the march of the Khālsā army on Jammū for his chastisement; and the movement of British troops to Firozpur, Ludhiāñā and Ambālā.

Hardinge's private correspondence with Sir John Hobhouse, President of Board of Control, deals with the Peace Settlement after the Anglo-Sikh war and presents justification of his policy after the treaty of Bharovāl. Hardinge defends his avoidance of the annexation of the Punjab in favour of a set-up which tightened the grip of the English over the Punjab without adding to their responsibility. Extending the British frontier beyond the Indus would, according to him, have added to the military expenditure and the civil administration would have cost the Indian Government much more than the expected revenue. He thus argues the point with the Indian Board: "It is in reality annexation brought about by the supplication of the Sikhs, without entailing upon us the present expense and the future inconvenience of a doubtful acquisition... It relieves our finances from a heavy pressure,

and in the interval which may elapse, it is a subsidiary system without its injustices or its vices."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hasrat, B.J., ed., *The Punjab Papers*. Hoshiarpur, 1970

B.J.H.

HARDINGE'S PROCLAMATION to the chiefs of the protected cis-Sutlej states issued on 13 December 1845, two days after the Sikh army had crossed the Sutlej, is a declaration of war against the State of Lahore. Fear of possible repercussions in the cis-Sutlej Sikh states was responsible for this proclamation. The Proclamation accuses the Sikh army of having invaded the British territories. The British government, it maintains, had observed faithfully the conditions of the treaty of amity signed in 1809 with Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh since whose death the disorganized state of the Lahore government had compelled it to adopt precautionary measures for the protection of the British frontier. Active military preparations at Lahore had necessitated the advance of the British troops towards the Sutlej to reinforce the frontier posts. It was the intention of the British government to protect British territories, and punish "the violators of treaties and the disturbers of public peace." The Proclamation also declared the possessions of Mahārājā Duleep Singh on the left bank of the Sutlej confiscated and annexed to the British territories. The proclamation called upon the chiefs and the *sardārs* in the protected territories to cooperate with the British government for the punishment of the "common enemy," assuring them that the protecting power would promote their interests. Subjects of the British government, who shall continue in the service of the Lahore State, shall be liable to have their property on this side of the Sutlej confiscated, and have themselves declared to be aliens and the enemies of

the British government.

The myth that the Sikhs had violated the treaty and broken the peace without provocation must be dispelled. Hectic military preparations on the part of the British across the Sutlej had led the Sikhs to forestall them. A British army 45,000 strong, with 98 guns, had been assembled at the Sutlej frontier; a warlike flotilla of 60 gunboats of 3 tons each and 56 pontoons to bridge the Sutlej for an invasion of the Punjab was ready at Fīrozpur. Movements of British troops could scarcely be concealed from the Khālsā army *pañchāyats*, who insisted on the surrender of Rājā Suchet Singh's treasure buried in Fīrozpur, restoration of the village of Maurāñ, and a free passage for troops into their cis-Sutlej possession which had been virtually seized by the British. Refusing to deal with the Khālsā, the British declared that there was no recognized head of the State. Already on 6 December, the British forces at Ambālā and Meerut had moved forward towards Fīrozpur and Ludhiāñā; on 11 December they were still advancing towards the frontier when the Sikh army, in large numbers, crossed the Sutlej.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Hasrat, B.J., *Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968
2. Bal, S.S., *British Policy Towards the Panjab 1844-49*. Calcutta, 1971
3. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1956
4. Cunningham, Joseph Davey, *A History of the Sikhs*. London, 1849

B.J.H.

HARDINGE, SIR HENRY, First Viscount Hardinge of Lahore (1785-1856), Governor-General of India, was born on 30 March 1785, at Wrotham, Kent, England. He served in the Peninsular campaigns under the Duke of Wellington. In 1820, he was returned to Parliament as member from Durham. He

was chief secretary for Ireland in 1830 and again in 1834. He was secretary of war in Sir Robert Peel's cabinet, 1841-44. Hardinge was sent to India to replace his brother-in-law, Lord Ellenborough, as Governor-General in 1844. Like his predecessor, Lord Hardinge kept a watchful eye on developments in the Sikh kingdom. He continued military preparations, but resisted pressure from Whitehall for an early war with the Sikhs, in order to give himself more time. On 13 December 1845 a party of Sikhs in its own territory on the left of the River Sutlej was attacked by the British leading to the declaration of war upon the Sikh kingdom. During the seventeen months between Ellenborough's departure from India and the commencement of hostilities, Lord Hardinge had assembled 45,000 men and 98 guns on the advanced outposts on the Stulej, besides a river flotilla of 60 armed 3-ton boats to bridge the river. In the war, Hardinge, waiving his right to the supreme command, served as second-in-command to Sir Hugh Gough. Hardinge's policy towards the Sikhs, particularly his peace settlement and his deal with Gulāb Singh regarding the sale of Kashmīr to him, were assailed by the Whig Opposition in Parliament. He had avoided annexation, which he argued would involve political and financial liabilities. He commended instead his "political experiment" — annexation without encumbrances. Hardinge could never convince his friends and critics in England of the honesty of his deal with Gulāb Singh. The allegation that Gulāb Singh had bartered away the interests of his Sikh sovereign for recognition as a ruler, independent of Lahore, were freely made. It was said that Hardinge had granted him Kashmīr as a reward for his treachery towards the Sikhs.

After the first Anglo-Sikh war, Hardinge was created Viscount. In 1852, he succeeded the Duke of Wellington as Commander-in-Chief of the British army. He was promoted Field Marshal in 1855. He died on 24

September 1856.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1956
2. Hasrat, B.J., *Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968
3. Smith, Vincent, *The Oxford History of India*. Oxford, 1958
4. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol.II. Princeton, 1966

B.J.H.

HARDIT SINGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1924), one of the martyrs of Jaito, was the son of Bhāi Narain Singh Gill: mother's name Chand Kaur. Farming was the occupation of the family which lived in the village of Kālekī, 5 km east of Bāghā Purāṇā in Mogā *tahsīl* (subdivision) of present-day Farīdkoṭ district. Early in his life Hardit Singh went abroad to Malaya where he served as a policeman in Kuala Lumpur military police for five years, after which he returned to live in his native village. He happened to be in the village of Roḍe where a Jathā of Akālī volunteers was stopping overnight on its way to Jaito, then in the throes of a Sikh religious agitation. He felt so moved by the enthusiasm of the Akālī volunteers that he decided to stay on and join the agitation. As the Jathā reached the outskirts of Jaito on 21 February 1924, the state authority opened fire on it. Bhāi Hardit Singh was hit in the head and fell down.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Pratāp Singh Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975

G.S.G.

HARDIT SINGH, MALIK (1894-1985), administrator, diplomat and sportsman, was the second son of Sardār Bahādur Mohan Singh and Sardārni Lājvantī of Rāwalpīṇḍī, now in Pakistan. Born on 23 November 1894, Hardit Singh was coached privately at home until he was, at the age of 14, sent to

the United Kingdom where he joined Eastbourne Public School. Graduating from East Bourne, in 1912, he joined Balliol College, Oxford, where he received his B.A. Honours degree in Modern History in 1915. He was among the very few Sikh boys who, true to their religious faith, attended British schools and colleges with full-grown, untrimmed hair and a turban. He had the distinction of captaining the cricket teams, both at his school and college. World War I had broken out in 1914. Hardit Singh joined the French Red Cross as an ambulance driver in 1916, and in early 1917 was admitted to the Royal Flying Corps, later redesignated as Royal Air Force, as a fighter pilot, the first-ever Indian pilot to be commissioned. Early in 1919 Flying Lieutenant Malik Hardit Singh came back to India and, on 13 April 1919, he was married to Parkāsh Kaur, the youngest daughter of Bhagat Īshvar Dās, an eminent lawyer of Lahore. In July 1919 he returned with his bride to England, where he sat the Indian Civil Service examination at which he came through with flying colours. Back in India in January 1922, he started his new career as assistant commissioner of Sheikhūpurā district and was soon promoted to deputy commissioner. In 1930, he was posted as deputy trade commissioner to London and was transferred to Hamburg in Germany as trade commissioner in 1933. Returning to India in 1934, Malik served as deputy secretary and then as joint secretary in the Commerce Department of Government of India from 1934 to 1937. He served next as India's trade commissioner in Canada and then for five years in the United States of America. Back in India early in 1944, his services were borrowed by Mahārājā Yādavinder Singh of Paṭiālā. He served as the prime minister of the princely state of Paṭiālā from 1944 to 1947. After Independence, Malik Hardit Singh was appointed free India's first High

Commissioner to Canada. During the two years he remained in that post, he succeeded in having full citizenship rights granted to Indian settlers in Canada, most of whom were Punjabis, largely Sikhs. His next appointment was as India's Ambassador to France where he served until his retirement in 1957.

His last years were spent in Delhi. He died on 31 October 1985 after an year-long illness. Throughout his life he remained a devout, cheerful and hard-playing Sikh, serving with enthusiasm a host of associations and institutions he happened to be connected with. He was playing golf until the age of 88.

H.M.

HARGANĀN, village in Fatehgarh Sāhib district 8 km from Bassī Paṭhānān (30°-42'N, 76°-25'E), claims a historical shrine dedicated to Gurū Gobind Singh who stayed here for some time before proceeding to Rānvān, in the course of his journey from Kurukshetra to Anandpur in 1702-03. A Mañjī Sāhib was established in the village to commemorate the Gurū's visit. Some of the old buildings still exist and are being used for the Gurū kā Langar and for residential purposes, but the Mañjī Sāhib proper has been replaced by a modern complex completed under the supervision of Sant Indar Singh (d. 1943), who served the shrine for over 40 years. The Gurdwārā is now managed by a village committee under the auspices of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

M.G.S.

HARGOBIND, GURŪ (1595-1644), sixth in spiritual descent from Gurū Nānak, was born the only son of Gurū Arjan and Mātā Gaṅgā on Hār vadī 7, 1652 BK/19 June 1595 at Vaḍālī, now called Vaḍālī Gurū, a village near Amritsar. As a child, he escaped being poisoned by a jealous uncle and being bitten by a cobra thrown in his way. He also survived a virulent attack of smallpox and

grew up into a tall and handsome youth. He received his early education and training at the hands of two revered Sikhs of that time — Bhāi Gurdās and Bābā Buḍḍhā. The former taught him the religious texts and the latter the manly arts of swordsmanship and archery. He was barely 11 years of age when his father, Gurū Arjan, was martyred in Lahore. Gurū Arjan had on Jeṭh vadī 25 1663 Bk/25 May 1606 nominated him his successor and, according to the *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, sent him instruction “to ascend the throne fully armed, and have armed men, as many as you can, to accompany you.” For the ceremonies of succession which took place on 26 Hār 1663 Bk/24 June 1606, Gurū Hargobind chose himself a warrior’s equipment. He sat on a seat he had had erected in front of the Holy Harimandar, with two swords on his person, declaring one to be the symbol of the spiritual and the other that of his temporal investiture. *Hukamnāmās* were issued to *saṅgats* on Hār vadī 2, 1663 Bk/12 June 1606 to come with offerings of arms and horses. Gurū Hargobind maintained a retinue of fifty-two armed Sikhs. Many more came to offer him their services, and several of them were provided with horses and weapons. Manly sports became popular and bards such as ‘Abdullā and Natthā were engaged to recite heroic poetry. Gurū Hargobind combined with soldierly demeanour a compassionate disposition and carried out his spiritual office in keeping with the custom of his predecessors. “He,” as says the *Mahimā Prakāsh*, “arose three hours before daybreak and sat in seclusion, to concentrate on the Divine. Then he dressed himself and repaired to the presence of the Holy Book and began to recite it silently. None entered to interrupt him. None could fathom the depth of his spiritual absorption.”

Reports about the splendid style Gurū Hargobind kept led Emperor Jahāngīr to

pass orders for his detention in the Fort of Gwālīor. According to the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, the charge levelled against him was that he had not paid the fine imposed on his father. For how long he remained in the Fort cannot be stated with certainty. From forty days to twelve years (the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*), several different periods of time are mentioned. It seems that Gurū Hargobind remained in the Fort for a few months during 1617-19 whereafter he was required to stay in the royal camp under surveillance for some time. During his detention in Gwālīor, Sikhs made trips to the city in batches to see him and, when disallowed to enter the Fort, they proffered obeisance from outside its walls and returned. As time came for Gurū Hargobind to be released from the Fort, he came out on the condition that all other detainees were freed, too. He led fifty-two prisoners out of the Fort. *Bandīchor* (Liberator Benign) is the title by which he is remembered to this day. When at last Gurū Hargobind reached Amritsar, Sikhs illuminated the town. The anniversary of the event is still celebrated at Harimandar, the Golden Temple, with lights and fireworks.

Emperor Jahāngīr from now on continued to be conciliatory and, according to Sikh tradition, he delivered to Gurū Hargobind Chandū Shāh, who took part of the responsibility for the execution of Gurū Arjan and for his own incarceration. Chandū Shāh met with a violent end at the hands of the Sikhs. On his lands, also made over to him, Gurū Hargobind founded a new town which came to be known as Srī Hargobindpur. As the work commenced, Bhagvān Dās, a local landlord, objected and attacked the Sikhs with a party of his men. Bhagvan Dās was killed in the skirmish. His son, Ratan Chand, and Chandū Shāh’s son, Karam Chand, sought help from the Mughal *faujdar* of Jalandhar who sent a body of troops against Gurū Hargobind. They were repulsed

in the battle that ensued. Both these actions were fought in the vicinity of Ruhelā, the first on 28 Assū 1678 Bk/28 September 1621 and the second on 3 Kattak 1678 Bk/4 October 1621. At Srī Hargobindpur, the Gurū built along with the *dharamsāl* a mosque for the Muslims.

Further clashes with the Mughal authority broke out with the battle of Amritsar, which according to the *Bhaṭṭ Vahī Multānī Sindhī*, was fought on Baisākh 17, 1691 Bk/14 April 1634. Its immediate cause was only a minor dispute. Emperor Shāh Jahān, on a visit to Lahore, was out hunting in the neighbourhood of Amritsar. One of his favourite hawks flew and fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The royal messengers came to claim the bird, but the Sikhs refused to part with it. The emperor was annoyed and sent a body of troops under Mukhlis Khān, the *faujdār* of Lahore. The Sikhs fought back and Mukhlis Khān was killed in the encounter which took place at the site now occupied by the Khālsā College.

Soon afterwards Gurū Hargobind left Amritsar, this time taking with him the holy Granth Sāhib seated in the Harimandar. The first long halt was at Ḍaraulī, near Mogā, in present-day Farīdkoṭ district. From there Gurū Hargobind sent the Granth Sāhib with the family to Kartārpur. He himself sojourned in the Mālṡā, visiting his Sikhs and confronting, on 16 December 1634, the Mughal troops in yet another battle, this time at Lahirā, near Mehrāj, now in Baṭhiṇḍā district. Another armed clash took place at Kartārpur on 29-30 Baisākh 1692 Bk/26-27 April 1635, when Gurū Hargobind's own erstwhile Paṭhān follower, Painḍā Khān, led out a Mughal force against him.

Gurū Hargobind finally retired to Kīratpur where he spent the remaining nine years of his life in peace. The town was of the Gurū's own creation and had existed since Bābā Srī Chand had, according to the evidence of the Bhaṭṭ Vahīs, broken ground

at his request, on Baisākh *sudī* Pūranmāshī 1683 Bk/1 May 1626. The site had been gifted by Rājā Kalyān Chand of Kahlūr, one of the chieftains who had won their reprieve at Gwālīor through Gurū Hargobind's intercession. Kīratpur now became the centre of the Sikh faith. Sikhs came here from all parts to see the Gurū. Gurū Hargobind gave most of his time to religious devotions. Contact was maintained with *saṅgats* in far-flung places, and old warriors like Bidhī Chand were sent out as preachers. For Sikhs the roles of saint and soldier had become mutually complementary. About the Gurū himself, Bhāi Gurdās wrote: "Great hero is Gurū Hargobind. He is the vanquisher of armies, but his heart is full of love and charity." This synthesis of the heroic and the spiritual was Gurū Hargobind's distinctive contribution to the evolution of Sikh society.

Gurū Hargobind had travelled extensively in the Punjab spreading the word of Gurū Nānak. He had also visited places such as Nānakmatā and Srīnagar in Gaṛhvāl (where the famous Marāṭhā saint Samarṭh Rāmdās met him) in the east and Kashmir in the north. The journey to Kashmir was made in 1620 in the company of Emperor Jahāngīr, and Srīnagar, Bārāmūlā, Ūṛī and Puñchh were among the places visited. Gurdwārās in these and in many places in the Punjab and outside honour the memory of Gurū Hargobind.

Gurū Hargobind, like all of his predecessors, lived a married life. He had six children — five sons and a daughter. Gurdittā, Aṇī Rāi and the daughter Bibī Vīro were born to (Mātā) Damodarī, Sūraj Mall and Aṭal Rāi to (Mātā) Marvāhī and Tegh Bahādur to (Mātā) Nānakī. Two of his sons, Bābā Gurdittā and Aṭal Rāi, died in his lifetime.

Gurū Hargobind passed away on Chet *sudī* 5, 1701 Bk/3 March 1644 at Kīratpur. The cremation took place on the bank of the

River Sutlej at the site now marked by Gurdwārā Patālpurī.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevūñ*. Patiala, 1970
2. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
4. Satbīr Singh, *Gur Bhārī: Jvanī Gurū Hargobind Ji*. Patiala, 1983
5. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
6. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol.I. Delhi, 1973

F.S.

HARĪĀN VELĀN, GURDWĀRĀ, 1.5 km north of the village of Bajraur, 11 km southeast of Hoshiarpur (31°-32'N, 75°-55'E), is dedicated to Gurū Har Rāi. According to local tradition, Gurū Har Rāi visited here in 1651 on his way to Kiratpur. One Bābā Parjāpat brought wild creepers (*velān* in Punjabi) for the Gurū's horses. The Gurū blessed him saying that his creepers will ever remain green (*harīān* in Punjabi). Half a century later, a Sikh *saṅgat* from Darap region (Siālkoṭ district) proceeding to Anandpur to see Gurū Gobind Singh was, on 15 March 1701, waylaid and looted by the Gujjars and Raṅghars of Bajraur. As the *saṅgat* reached Anandpur and reported the incident to Gurū Gobind Singh, he deputed his eldest son, Sāhibzādā Ajit Singh, to chastise the miscreants. Sāhibzādā Ajit Singh humbled the residents of the village in a battle fought on 18 March 1701. A shrine was raised on the site where Sikhs killed in action were cremated. The present building was constructed sometime during the nineteenth century. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in a domed *pālakī* in the centre of the sanctum topped by a gold-plated pinnacle. A date-palm tree with green creepers climbing up along it marks the spot where Gurū Har Rāi's horse is believed to have been tethered and fed. The memorial

to the martyrs, reconstructed during the 1970's and named Gurdwārā Shahīdān, comprises a square domed sanctum, with decorative kiosks adorning the corners of the building. The shrine is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, but is managed by Taruṇā Dal Nihāngs. Congregations on the last day of the dark half of every month, i.e. *amāvasyā*, attract large audiences, and religious fairs are held on the first of Baisākh (mid-April) and the first of Māgh (mid-January).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

HARĪ, BHĀI, a Kohli Khatri, was one of the prominent Sikhs of Lahore in the time of Gurū Arjan. Once he, along with Bhāi Kālū and Bhāi Nānū, masons by trade, waited on the Gurū. According to Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, they spoke to him: "Lord, your hymns are elixir for the soul, and Sikhs recite them morning and evening. Are they all liberated irrespective of the merits of their actions?" The Gurū replied, "No, how can those who sing the sacred hymns only to feed their own ego or desire for pleasure be saved? They alone receive liberation who sing or listen with faith, and with concentration."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

HARĪ CHAND (d. 1688), ruler of the hill state of Haṇḍūr, modern Nālāgarh, who took part as an ally of Rājā Bhīm Chand of Kahlūr in the battle of Bhaṅgānī, fought in

1688, 10 km northeast of Pāoṅṭā. Although he was an adversary, Gurū Gobind Singh pays handsome tribute to his gallantry in his *Bachitra Nāṭak*: "The brave Harī Chand planted his feet firmly on the field and furiously discharged his arrows which went through and through his opponents." When one of the Gurū's cousins, Jit Mall, fell in single combat with Harī Chand, Gurū Gobind Singh mounted his charger and rode into the thick of the contest. He confronted Harī Chand and the action which ensued is thus described: "Harī Chand, in a rage, drew forth his arrows. He struck my steed with one and then discharged another at me, but God preserved me and it only grazed my ear in its flight. His third arrow penetrated the buckle of my waist-belt and reached my body, but wounded me not. As I felt the touch of the arrow, my wrath was aroused. I took up my bow and began to discharge arrows. Upon this my adversaries began to flee. I took aim and discharged another. The young chief, Harī Chand, was killed."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Delhi, 1973
3. Dhillon, Dalbir Singh, and S.S. Bhullar, *Battles of Guru Gobind Singh*. Delhi, 1990

S.S.B.

HARĪ CHAND, BHĀĪ, a Lamb Khatri of Bakālā in Amritsar district of the Punjab, was the father-in-law of Gurū Hargobind and maternal grandfather of Gurū Tegh Bahādūr. On the day Gurū Arjan, in deference to the wish of the *saṅgat*, rejected Chandū Shāh's proposal for the betrothal of his daughter to his son, Hargobind, two Sikhs stood up to offer instead the hands of their daughters. One of them was Bhāī Harī Chand, who entreated that the hand of his daughter, Nānakī, be accepted for the Gurū's son. Gurū

Arjan approved of the match although nuptials were to be postponed indefinitely in view of the very tender age of the bride-to-be. The marriage took place at Amritsar on 8 Baisākh 1670 Bk/4 April 1613.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevin*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj-Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

HARĪ DĀS, a physician resident of Talvaṅḍī Rāi Bhoi (now Nankāṅā Sāhib in Pakistan), the birthplace of Gurū Nānak. Although Gurū Nānak had from his early years been of a reflective nature and many in the village had divined his spiritual inclination, he was yet not quite indifferent to worldly affairs. He attended the village school and took out to pasture the domestic herd. But as time passed he, according to Janam Sākhī accounts, grew extra reticent and became absorbed in his own thoughts more than ever before. He mostly kept indoors and ate and drank but little. For over three months his condition remained unchanged and as says the *Purātan Janam Sākhī*, "The whole clan of the Bedīs became sad. They asked Father Kālū how he could remain sitting quietly when his son lay ill. He must call some physician to give him medicine." After the Muslim *mullā's* incantations and amulets had been rejected by Gurū Nānak saying, "How could they help others who wrote out God's name on bits of paper to sell it?" Harī Dās, the physician, was sent for. He held Nānak's wrist within his fingers and began to feel the pulse to diagnose the malady. Gurū Nānak told him that his sickness was not of the body, and broke into song:

They have called the physician to try his physic;

And he grips the arm and searches it for ailment;

Little doth the good physician know
That the ache is in the heart. (GG, 1279)
Harī Dās, a wise old man, understood
what Nānak meant and assured Bābā Kālū
that his son needed no healing.

“He is himself free from infirmity and
might well a healer be for others,” he said.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāī Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
2. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Panth Prakāsh* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
3. Vir Singh, Bhāī, ed., *Purātan Janam Sakhī*. Amritsar, 1982
4. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

HARĪ DĀS, BHĀĪ, along with Bhāī Lālū and Bhāī Bālū, Vij Khatrīs, once visited Gurū Arjan and requested to be initiated. Before initiation, the Gurū, according to Bhāī Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, instructed them thus: “Shed pride, attachment and malice, and do not think ill of others. Meet other Sikhs with a cheer and greet them with affection. Remember the fivefold path — speak politely; be humble; eat only out of what you earn by your honest labour; treat others with love; and share your victuals with them. This is the way to achieve liberation without renunciation.” The novitiates acted upon the Gurū’s words and were relieved of worldly perplexities, writes Bhāī Manī Singh in the *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. See Vārān, XI. 18

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

HARIDĀS, BHĀĪ, a Soinī Khatrī, was the

superintendent of the State jail in Gwālīor Fort during the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr (1605-27). When Gurū Hargobind was detained in Gwālīor Fort under the orders of the Emperor, Haridās treated him with great veneration and devotion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevūn*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.

HARIJAS GRANTH, by Bhāī Darbārī, is a collection of verse the first part (ff. 1-530) of which is, in imitation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, cast in *rāgas*, totalling thirty-four in number, adding Mālkauṅs, Mālvā and Hiṇḍol to the thirty-one employed in the Sikh Scripture. The only known manuscript of the *Harijas Granth*, comprising 918 folios, which has so far remained unpublished and which was, according to internal evidence (f. 760), completed on Thursday, Jeṭh vadī 13, 1860 Bk/20 May 1803, is preserved in the Gurdwārā Bhāī Darbārī at the village of Vairoke in Farīdkoṭ district. Bhāī Darbārī was a follower of Bhāī Abhai Rām who was fifth in the line from Bābā Mīharbān, leader of the schismatic Miṇā group of the Sikhs, and who later received the rites of Sikh baptism at the hands of Gurū Gobind Singh and came to be known as Abhai Singh. The *Harijas Granth* begins with the Sikh Mūl Mantra, here recorded in a somewhat changed order. Then follows a hymn attributed to Mahalā 7 or Nānak VII which here stands for Harijī. Then there is a *śloka* by Bhāī Darbārī in which he pays laudation to God and then to the first five Gurūs, thereafter praising the Miṇās who had broken away from the main Sikh tradition and set up a separate sect. The first major composition, untitled, imitates Gurū Nānak’s *Japu(jī)* and comprises like the latter 38 stanzas. Whereas the first part (ff. 1-530) of

the *Granth* contains hymns in different metres, forms and *rāgas*, the latter part (ff. 531-918) is not set in any *rāga* and is titled *Parchiān Bhagatān Kīān*, containing accounts of thirty saints such as Dhṛu, Prahlād, Janak, Sītā, Daropadī, Arjun, Ūdho, Rāmānand, Jaidev, Nāmdev, Trilochan, Kabīr, Ravidās, Sadhnā, Sain, Pīpā and Sūr Dās. The *Granth* represents an amalgam of Sikh and Hindu tenets. Some of a total of twenty *vārs* in the first part of the *Granth* are entirely devoted to eulogizing the various incarnations of God accepted in Hinduism. The author has stressed the transience of this world, and impressed on man need to be detached. Crucial is the role of the Gurū in helping man in his spiritual pursuit. The language of the *Granth* is a mixture of Punjabi and Sādh Bhākhā; the script is Gurmukhī.

P.S.P.

HARIJĪ, SOḌHĪ (d. 1696), a great-grandson of Gurū Rām Dās (1534-81) and head of the schismatic Miṇā sect from 1640 to 1696, was the second son of Bābā Manohar Dās, better known as SoḌhī Miharbān (1581-1640), the author of *Sachkhaṇḍ Pothī*, a *janam sākhi* or life-story of Gurū Nānak. The exact date of Harijī's birth is not known, but indirect evidence available would place it in the second decade of the seventeenth century. After Gurū Hargobind left Amritsar in 1635 and took up abode at Kīratpur in the Śivālīks, the control of the sacred shrines in the town fell into the hands of this line of the family with Harijī retaining charge of them for several decades. As Sikh chronicles record, it was *masands* appointed by Harijī who had Gurū Tegh Bahādur's entry barred into the Harimandar, the sanctum sanctorum, at the time of his visit to Amritsar in 1664.

Harijī, like his father SoḌhī Miharbān, was a prolific writer. His known works are: *Sukhmanī Sahaṅsarnāmā* (*Paramārath*), a commentary in prose on *Sukhmanī*

Sahaṅsarnāmā, a poetic composition by his father; *Goshṭiān Miharuān Jī Kīān*, a biography of his father written in the style of a *janam sākhi* and *Pothī Harijī* containing anecdotes relating to Gurū Nānak which later formed the middle part of what is known as *Miharbānvālī Janam Sākhi*, the other two parts being *Sachkhaṇḍ Pothī* by SoḌhī Miharbān and *Chaturbhuj Pothī* ascribed to SoḌhī Chaturbhuj, younger brother of Harijī. These three parts were published in two volumes by Khālsā College, Amritsar, in 1963. The *Pothī Harijī* portion comprising 62 *goshṭis* or discourses is contained in volume II. Another work ascribed to Harijī is *Shabad Salok SoḌhī Harijī Ke* (*Dhiāu Bihaṅgam Kā*), a manuscript of which is in the Dr Gaṇḍā Singh collection at Punjabi University Library, Paṭiālā.

According to Sevā Singh, *Shahīd Bilās Bhāī Manī Singh*. SoḌhī Harijī died on 17 April 1696. Two years later, on a request from the *saṅgat* of Amritsar, Gurū Gobind Singh assumed control of the Harimandar and other local shrines and appointed Bhāī Manī Singh to manage them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kirpāl Singh, *Janam Sākhi Pramparā*. Patiala, 1969
2. Sevā Singh, *Shahīd Bilās* (*Bhāī Manī Singh*). Ed. Giāni Garjā Singh. Ludhiana, 1961
3. Āhlūwālīā, Gurmohan Singh, *SoḌhī Hari Jī : Jivan te Rachnā*. Patiala, 1985

K.K.B.

HARĪ LĀL, BHĀĪ, and his brother, Bhāī Krishan Lāl, Brāhmaṅs of Kāshī who, disregarding caste prejudice and pride, joined the Sikh faith in the time of Gurū Arjan. According to Bhāī Kāhn Singh, *Gurushabad Ratanākar Mahān Kosh*, *ślokas* in Sahaskritī, a contemporary variety of Sanskritized diction, were composed by the Gurū for their instruction. The main point of this composition is that, of all gifts of God, the gift of His name is the most precious. Harī Lāl and his brother dedicated

themselves to spreading the message of Gurū Nānak and established *saṅgats* in the region of Kāshī (present Vārāṇasī).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Siṅgh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

T.S.

HARIMANDAR (lit. the House of God; *hari* = Viṣṇu, or God; *mandar* = temple, house), Golden Temple to the English-speaking world, is the Sikhs' most famous sacred shrine. Also called Srī Darbār Sāhib (the Exalted Holy Court), it lies in the heart of the city of Amritsar in the Punjab. The city in fact grew around what initially stood as the temple portal. The present structure could well be described as a golden beauty amid a glittering pool of water. It is a heaven of peace for the devotees as well as a rare attraction for the lay tourists. Its basic architectural design was conceived by the Fifth Nānak, Gurū Arjan (1563-1606), setting the building with a door in each of the four directions signifying its accessibility to all irrespective of caste and creed. Ghulām Muhay ud-Dīn, also known as Būṭe Shāh, *Twārīkh-i-Paṅjāb* (MS.), in the Dr Gaṇḍā Siṅgh Collection, Punjabi University, p. 139, states that Shāh Miān Mīr came to Amritsar at Gurū Arjan's request and "with his own blessed hand put four bricks, one on each side, and another one in the middle of the tank." Sohan Lāl Sūrī in his *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*, Ārya Press, Lahore, 1885, Book 1, pp. 28-29, says that Gurū Arjan went to Lahore to see Shāh Miān Mīr and sought his assistance in the construction of the tank and buildings at Amritsar. Giānī Giān Siṅgh, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā* (Urdu), Wazīr Hind Press, Amritsar, 1896, part 1, p. 96, is more explicit and states that the foundation of the building of the Harimandar was laid by

Miān Mīr. According to the current tradition, the Gurū had the cornerstone laid by the Muslim saint Mīr Muhammad (1550-1635), popularly known as Hazrat Miān Mīr, of Lahore, on 1 Māgh 1645 Bk/28 December 1588.

Work on the holy tank of Amritsar had been commenced in AD 1577 by Gurū Arjan's predecessor, Gurū Rām Dās (1534-81), on a site which, according to some sources, was purchased during the time of the Third Nānak, Gurū Amar Dās (1479-1574), from the inhabitants of the nearby village Tuṅg, and which, according to other sources, was a gift from the Mughal emperor Akbar (1542-1605) to the latter Gurū's daughter, Bībī Bhānī, married to Gurū Rām Dās. The habitation which developed around the tank first came to be known as Rāmdāspur, after the name of Gurū Rām Dās, or simply as Chakk Gurū (the Gurū's village). The tank was completed and lined by his son and spiritual successor, Gurū Arjan, who also raised the structure, Harimandar, in the middle of it, Sikhs, i.e. disciples, contributing with devotion the labour of their hands. Some of the leading contemporary Sikhs took a hand in excavating the tank and in raising the masonry in the middle of it. Counted among them are Bhāi Buḍḍhā, Bhāi Gurdās, Bhāi Sāhlo, Bhāi Bahilo, Bhāi Bhagatū, Bhāi Paīrā and Bhāi Kalyāṇā. The completion of the temple was consummated with the installation in it, on Bhādoṅ *sudī* 1, 1661 Bk/16 August 1604, of the Holy Scripture, the Ādi Granth, which Gurū Arjan had himself compiled. Bhāi Buḍḍhā, revered for his holiness since the days of Gurū Nānak, was named the first *granthī* or officiant. According to *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevin*, Gurū Arjan set the daily routine and liturgy, which are operative till today. *Kīrtan* or singing of scriptural hymns goes on the whole day and through the best part of the night, starting between 2 and 3 in the morning, depending on the season, and continues till late in the

evening. The Holy Book is then reverently escorted from the premises amid the chanting of the holy hymns to Koṭhā Sāhib at Gurū kā Mahal, the Gurū's chamber. The custom continued until the Holy Book came to be installed at Akāl Buṅgā, the edifice raised over the Akāl Takht, the Throne of the Timeless, raised by Gurū Hargobind in 1606. The Holy Book is ushered back into the sanctum sanctorum at the Harimandar between the hours of 4 and 5 the next morning. The interval between 11 p.m. and 2 a.m. is utilized for cleaning the premises and washing and scrubbing the floor of the Harimandar.

The control of the Harimandar passed into the hands of the schismatic sect of the Miṇās after Gurū Hargobind, who had succeeded Gurū Arjan in the spiritual line, left Amritsar (Gurū Chakk) in 1635 to settle at Kīratpur in the Śivālik hills. First Bābā Miharbān of the sect and then his son Harijī managed the shrine, the latter having had a long tenure of about 57 years from 18 January 1639 to 17 April 1696. It was during his stewardship that Gurū Tegh Bahādur, Nānak IX, was barred entry into the Harimandar at the time of his visit to Amritsar in 1664. Soon after the inauguration of the Khālsā in 1699, Gurū Gobind Singh, on a request from the Amritsar *saṅgat*, sent Bhāi Manī Singh (d. 1737) accompanied by Bhūpāl Singh, Gulzār Singh, Koer Singh Chandra, Dān Singh and Kīrat Singh to take charge of the Harimandar and the Akāl Takht on behalf of the Khālsā. Bhāi Manī Singh remained the custodian throughout the rest of his life except for a brief interval spent in Delhi in the service of Mātā Sundarī, widow of Gurū Gobind Singh.

Harimandar being the source of Sikh life and faith, remained the main target during the period of persecution by the Mughal rulers and by Afghān invaders from across the northwest frontier during the eighteenth century. In March-April 1709, the governor of Lahore set up a police post

at Amritsar and sent an army contingent to suppress the Sikhs. Yet they thronged the shrine, especially on festival occasions such as Baisākhī and Divalī. This continued even after the arrest and execution in 1716 of Bandā Singh along with a large number of Sikhs. At the Divalī of 1723, the holy premises were the scene of a conflict between the factions of the Sikhs, Tatt Khālsā, the puritans, and Bandaīs, who claimed Bandā Singh to be their mentor. An open clash was, however, averted at the intervention of Bhāi Manī Singh who suggested seeking, in settling the dispute, the guidance of the Gurū. Two pieces of paper with the Khālsā salutation "Vāhigurū Jī Kī Fateh" written on one and the Bandaī salutation "Fateh Darshan," an innovation introduced by Bandā Singh, on the other were set afloat in the holy tank from steps behind the Harimandar. The slip with "Vahigurū Jī Kī Fateh" inscribed on it kept floating while the other sank in water. This was interpreted to be a verdict in favour of the Tatt Khālsā which most of the Bandaīs then joined.

The Harimandar regained the bustle and glory of the days of Gurū Hargobind as Zakariyā Khān, the Mughal governor of Lahore, admitting how his unrelenting campaign against the Sikhs had failed to subdue them, made peace with them in 1733, offering them a large *jāgīr* and conferring the title of Nawāb upon their leader, Kapūr Singh of Faizullāpur, thus opening the way for them to come out of their hiding-places and station themselves at Amritsar. With the abrogation of the accord in 1735, Sikhs were driven back into their former haunts. Bhāi Manī Singh, custodian of the shrine, was captured and executed in 1737. Amritsar was occupied. Masse Khān, a Raṅghār Rājput landlord of Maṇḍiālā, who was appointed *kotwāl* or police commissioner of the town, befouled the *sarovar* and converted the Harimandar into an asylum for his

dancing girls. To avenge the sacrilege, two Sikhs, Bhāi Matāb Singh of Mirānkoṭ and Bhāi Sukkhā Singh of Mārī Kambo, setting out from their desert resort in Rājasthān, came to Amritsar, entered the Harimandar in disguise, killed Masse Khān, and rode back to safety. This occurred on 11 August 1740. In 1746, Lakhpat Rāi, a Lahore official, had the pool surrounding the Harimandar levelled up with sand. The Sikhs got the chance of having it cleared up three years later when the governor of Lahore, Mu'in ul-Mulk, nicknamed Mīr Mannū, slackened military operations against them to enlist their help in his expedition against Multān. After Mīr Mannū's death in November 1753, Sikhs had freer access to the Harimandar. Delhi government had lost control over the Punjab and Sikhs were establishing their sway through the *rākhī* system introduced by different *misl*s or commands of the Dal Khālsā, Amritsar falling within the area held by Sardār Hari Singh of the Bhaṅgī *misl*.

In 1757, the Afghān invader Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, returning from Delhi with his spoils, attacked Amritsar, desecrated the Harimandar and defiled the tank casting into it the waste and entrails of slaughtered cows. Sikhs wrested control of the shrine as Bābā Dīp Singh of the Shahīd *misl* led a band of warriors into Amritsar, himself falling fighting valiantly (11 November 1757), and had the holy tank cleaned by Afghān soldiers captured during their campaign undertaken jointly with Ādīnā Beg, the *faujdar* of Jalandhar Doāb, and the Marāṭhās against Ahmad Shāh's son, Prince Taimūr, and his deputy Jahān Khān. In 1762, during his sixth invasion of India, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī blew up the Harimandar with gunpowder. The Sikhs, however, rallied to return to Amritsar and celebrated there the festival of Dīvālī a few months later. After the conquest of Sirhind in January 1764, Jassā Singh Āhlūvālīā, commander of Dal

Khālsā, federated army of the Sikh *misl*s, gave a call for collecting funds for the reconstruction of the Harimandar. The *misl* Sardārs set aside part of the booty for this purpose. Money so raised was deposited with the bankers of Amritsar, and Bhāi Des Rāj of the village of Sursingh was entrusted with the supervision of the work and given a special seal, *Gurū dī Mohar*, to collect more funds. Bhāi Gurbakhsh Singh of the village of Lil, stationed at Akāl Buṅgā to look after the ruined Darbār Sāhib (Harimandar), turned out with his small contingent of 30 Nihāṅgs to challenge the Durrānī who had reached Amritsar on 1 December 1764 marching down unchecked during his seventh invasion. Bhāi Gurbakhsh Singh and his comrades-in-arms fought gallantly and fell to a man.

With Ahmad Shāh getting on in years and showing signs of exhaustion, Sikh *misl* leaders started occupying territory and ruling within their domains as autonomous chiefs, Amritsar and the holy Harimandar remaining their common rendezvous and cherished place of pilgrimage. Several *misl* chiefs made endowments in land for the maintenance of the shrine and of the Gurū kā Langar attached to it. They also constructed around the tank their *buṅgās* or rest houses to stay in during their visits to the Harimandar. Some of the *buṅgās* became in due course the centres of religious and secular instruction. The reconstruction of the Harimandar, the causeway and Darshanī Deoṛhī, the main gateway, was completed by 1776 and the renovation of the terrace around the pool by 1784. The *haṅsī* or canal bringing water from the River Rāvi to fill the Harimandar tank had been dug by 1781 under the supervision of two Udāsī *mahants*, Pritam Dās and Santokh Dās.

The Harimandar assumed its present appearance during the reign of the Sikh sovereign Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh (1780-1839). While its basic design barring minor

alterations and architectural embellishments remained the same as before, decorative art work on the walls and ceiling was carried out during this period. The source of its architecture cannot be related to any particular prototype, its elements lying in different contemporary or preceding architectural practices prevalent in the country. Broadly speaking, it may be called a mixture of the Mughal and Rājput models. What is most striking to the eye of a casual visitor as well as that of a connoisseur is the beauty of the Harimandar's superb setting and the richness of detail. The main building, a 12.25 metre square two-storeyed domed edifice, stands on a 19.7 metre square platform in the middle of the almost square *amrilsar* or *amrit-sarovar* (the Pool of Nectar), 154.5 x 148.5 metre in expanse and 5.1 metre deep, and connected to northwestern bank, by a 60-metre causeway bridge ending at a magnificent gateway called Darshanī Dēorhī. On the opposite side is added to the square sanctum sanctorum a half-hexagonal appendage sheltering Har kī Paurī, holy steps, a flight of steps leading to the waters of the tank.

The total ground plan of the Harimandar is thus a hexa-square. This leaves a 3.7 metre wide circumambulatory passage, uncovered on three sides and running through the semi-hexagonal appendage on the fourth. The building is divided into two floors. The ground floor has a central square where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated. The first floor is formed by an all-round gallery spreading over the space between the inner square and the outer walls and approached by stairs built on either side of the back opening leading to Har kī Paurī. While the facade on the ground floor is lined with white marble worked with richly decorated panels and pilasters, the whole exterior above it is covered with gilded plates of copper conferring upon the edifice the popular name of Golden Temple. The four door-openings at the ground floor have

multifoil arches, their shutters covered with gold-leafed copper sheets bearing beautiful embossed designs of flowers and birds and scenic motifs. The first floor facade is punctuated by numerous windows, some plain rectangles marked off by pilasters and top arches, others in the form of balconies thrown-out on carved brackets. An all-round wide awning at the roof level separates the decorated masonry on the top from the floors below. A low, fluted, semispherical dome topped by a tall ornamental pinnacle and an umbrella-shaped finial covers the central square. Arched copings on the sides with small solid domes and corner cupolas adorn the central dome. There are domed kiosks at the corners and smaller cupolas on the parapet.

The beauty of the interior is still more bewitching. Its richly ornamented floral designs, either painted in tempera, embossed in metal or inset in marble are a warm expression of the intense religious emotion of the Sikh faith captured in visual designs. Arabesques with floral designs in fine filigree and enamel work decorate the walls and the ceiling of the central hall. Its arches are ornamented with verses from the Gurū Granth Sāhib reproduced in letters of gold. There also are decorative inlaid figures and floral designs studded at places with semi-precious stones and pieces of reflecting glass in stucco. Hundreds of frescoes depicting floral patterns interspersed with animal motifs also decorate the walls. Walls along the stairs abound in some rare murals, among them a portrait of Gurū Gobind Singh on horseback out on a falconry excursion.

The marbled causeway is a bridge 60 metre long and 6.36 metres wide having 52 large and small spans called *svargdvāris* (lit. doors of heaven) formed by trefoil arches and rectangular pillars including those underneath the Harimandar itself. A special feature of the bridge is the construction of the inner narrower aqueducts connecting

the *svargdvārīs* on both sides of the bridge.

Darshanī Deorhī at the end of the bridge is built within the *sarovar*. It is a two-storeyed building divided by the pathway to the Harimandar into two wings, identical in architectural design though with slightly differing measurements. The ground floor houses some management offices and the first floor contains the *toshākhānā*, the temple treasury. The heavy portal, 3x2.4 metres, of 15 centimetres thick *shīsham* (*Dalbergia sissoo*) wood is covered with silver sheets ornamented with panels inlaid with artistic ivory work. Above the gate on either facade is a projected balcony, and above it is a *bukhārchā* (a rectangular kiosk with an elongated dome).

The composite management of the Darbār Sāhib (the Harimandar and the related shrines) by the *misl* chiefs was taken over by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh who claimed exclusive right to 'serve' and manage it. He appointed Desā Singh Majiṭhīā and later his son, Lahiṇā Singh Majiṭhīā, to manage the shrines. Bhāi Sūrat Singh, of Chiniot, was appointed manager of the Darbār Sāhib and of the *jāgīrs* or land grants endowed for its maintenance. Sūrat Singh's son, Giānī Sant Singh, who replaced his father as manager in 1806, was additionally charged with the ornamentation of the building with funds provided by the Mahārājā and princes and chiefs. After Giānī Sant Singh's death in 1832, his son Bhāi Gurmukh Singh was appointed to this duty. The position became hereditary in the family and it was Bhāi Gurmukh Singh's eldest son, Giānī Parduman Singh who, after a brief period in exile following the arrest and assassination of his father in 1843, was appointed to it.

The importance of the Harimandar in the religious and political life of the Punjab was not lost on the British, who upon their conquest of the Punjab in 1849 assumed the authority, like their predecessors, to the right the former rulers had exercised in con-

trolling the Darbār Sāhib. At the suggestion of Lahiṇā Singh Majiṭhīā, who had retired to Benāras in January 1848, Sardār Jodh Singh, an Extra Assistant Commissioner from the Punjab, was appointed to manage the Darbār Sāhib. The British authority had issued in 1847 public instructions mindful of religious scruples of the Sikhs. Also, a General Committee composed of some prominent Sikhs, with Rājā Tej Singh as president was appointed to oversee the affairs of the Temple. In one sense Jodh Singh was the executive officer of the Committee. He was the dominant power. For a decade following the annexation in 1849 the British government bore a direct hand in the management of the Darbār Sāhib. After the incidents of 1857, the government appointed a committee of Sikh nobles (1859) to nominate a *sarbarāh* (superintendent or manager) for the Golden Temple. The appointment was subject to the approval of the deputy commissioner of Amritsar. This arrangement continued till 1920 notwithstanding the fact that the Government of India had passed an Act in 1863: "An act to enable the Government to divest itself of the management of religious endowments." This Act required local governments to appoint trustees to whom powers and responsibilities for the management of religious institutions would be transferred and who would thereafter be autonomously self-perpetuating. In the case of Sikh shrines in Amritsar, collectively known as the Darbār Sāhib, the Punjab Government, virtually ignored the Government of India legislation. A meeting of the Sikh elite called by the deputy commissioner of Amritsar was held at the *koṭhī* (bungalow) of Rājā Tej Singh from 5 to 12 September 1859. Sardār Shamsheer Singh Sandhānvālīā, Bhāi Parduman Singh, Sardār Dyāl Singh Majiṭhīā, Sardār Mahtāb Singh Majiṭhīā, Rāi Mūl Singh, Rāi Sāhib Bachittar Singh, Sardār Jaimal Singh Khaṇḍālvālā, Sardār

Maṅgal Siṅgh Rāmgarhīā, Sardār Hardit Siṅgh Bhaṛāṇā, Sardār Lāl Siṅgh Talvaṇḍivālā, and Sardār Mīhān Siṅgh Bhāgovālīā drew up a manual called *Dastūr-ul-Amal* (managerial procedure) “for settlement of disputes among *pujārīs* (priests) and *rabābīs* (choristers), etc. and for the future management of Darbār Sāhib at Srī Amritsar Jī.” It laid down shares of different categories of priests and choristers in the income from offerings subject to good conduct and behaviour of the officiants. From 1849 to 1859, the government had virtually maintained a direct management. The first officially nominated *sarbarāh* was Jodh Siṅgh who also as part of his duty handled all cases relating to the Temple and could fine *pujārīs* for misconduct and exclude them from the Temple precincts for up to six months. His immediate successors in the line were Sardār Maṅgal Siṅgh Rāmgarhīā, Honorary Magistrate, Amritsar, and Risāldār Major Mān Siṅgh. Members of the first General Committee were Rājā Tej Siṅgh; Sardār Shamsheer Siṅgh Sandhānvālīā; Rājā Sūrat Siṅgh Majiṭhīā; Sardār Bhagvān Siṅgh, son of Jamādar Khushāl Siṅgh; Bhāi Parduman Siṅgh Giānī, Honorary Magistrate, Amritsar; General Gulāb Siṅgh Bhāgovālīā; Sardār Jaimal Siṅgh Khuṇḍāh; Sardār Sardūl Siṅgh Mān; Rāi Mūl Siṅgh, Honorary Magistrate, Lahore; and Sardār Rājā Siṅgh Mān. In 1883, the Committee included Rājā Harbaṅs Siṅgh of Sheikḥūpurā; Rājā Sāhib Diāl Siṅgh K.C.S.I., of Kishankot; Sardār Ajīt Siṅgh, Honorary Assistant Commissioner of Aṭārī; Sardār Thākūr Siṅgh Sandhānvālīā, Extra Assistant Commissioner; Captain Gulāb Siṅgh Aṭārī, Honorary Magistrate, Amritsar; Sardār Arjan Siṅgh Chāhalvālā; Rāi Kalyān Siṅgh, Honorary Magistrate, Amritsar; Sardār Attar Siṅgh of Bhadaur and Sardār Jagat Siṅgh, representative of the Mahārājā of Jīnd.

Translation of Administration Paper for the

Golden Temple, dated 12 September 1859

Administration Paper for the settlement of dispute among priests, choristers, etc., and for the future management of the internal affairs of the Sikh Temple at Amritsar drawn up at the suggestion of and in consultation with Rājā Tej Siṅgh, Sardār Shamsheer Siṅgh Sandhānvālīā, Sardār Dyāl Siṅgh, Sardār Mahtāb Siṅgh Majiṭhīā, Sardār Jaimal Siṅgh, Bhāi Parduman Siṅgh, Sardār Lāl Siṅgh, Rāi Mūl Siṅgh, Sardār Maṅgal Siṅgh Rāmgarhīā, Sardār Hardit Siṅgh Bhaṛāṇā, Bhāi Lahiṇā Siṅgh, Jodh Siṅgh, Bāvā Sundar Siṅgh and signed in the presence of the entire gentry of Amritsar district together with *pujārīs* of each shrine in the Darbār Sāhib (complex) assembled in a general meeting by the permission of Mr Frederic Cooper, Deputy Commissioner, District Amritsar, with the approval of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

Preamble

It is well-known that a dispute has been going on for some years among the *pujārīs*, *rāgīs* and *rabābīs* of Darbār Sāhib concerning the distribution of the votive offerings. The Deputy Commissioner in view of regard and respect for the holy shrine Srī Darbār Sāhib, the Gurdwārā of the Siṅghs of the entire Khālsā Jīo, and in order to settle the ongoing dispute as well as to make proper arrangements to avoid such disputes in future, had addressed letters to each of us on our suggestion and advice, and also forwarded judicial documents based on the enquiry and findings conducted in connection with the present case to the Rājā Sāhib and Sardār Shamsheer Siṅgh. So in response thereto all of us, considering it our duty to serve for the management of the Gurdwārā Sāhib, assembled at the residence of Rājā Tej Siṅgh. We have perused all the court papers. We have also enquired orally from the parties concerned and consulted clerical record of Darbār Sāhib. It is clear that the sole proprietor of this sacred institu-

tion for ever is Gurū Rām Dās: no other person has any title to proprietorship. The claim to the service of the said place or *chelāship* belongs equally to the entire *Khālsā* and the holy congregation. The *pujārīs* and others receive their wages from the offerings fixed according to their appointed dues for service performed.

First Grade

The *granthīs* of the Temple whose traditional duty is to attend upon Gurū Granth Sāhib. They are entitled to receive the proceeds of their respective *jāgīrs* granted by government. They may also keep any personal offerings which may be made to them, exclusive of their share in the general contributions on the floor of the shrine. It is arranged also that when one of the *granthīs* who have only a life-grant shall die, some provision out of the offerings and out of the perpetuity tenure of the original grantee shall be made; and it is considered that some assistance out of the lapsed tenure of the old *jāgīr*, as is the old custom, would be appropriate.

Second Grade

The *pujārīs* of the temple, whose duties are to arrange for the security of the offerings, compilation of the account of receipts and expenditure and related matters concerning Darbār Sāhib traditionally assigned to them by their superior officer.

Their rank is above that of the *rabābīs* and *rāgīs* for the reason that the latter have no concern with the above important offices. The *pujārīs* receive a certain fixed allowance out of the aggregate collections credited to the treasury of Darbār Sāhib in perpetuity from generation to generation.

There are six shares in the name of the following six persons and devolving upon their descendants:

1. Mān Singh, whose son is Jodh Singh, etc. — one share.
2. Nihāl Singh, whose sons are Rām Singh, etc. and Kirpā Singh—one share.

3. *Khushāl* Singh, whose sons are Gulāb Singh, and Kāhn Singh, etc. — one share.
4. Sahaj Singh, whose sons are Jit Singh, Bhāg Singh, Sher Singh and Chet Singh — one share.
5. Harī Singh (*ardāsīā*), whose sons are Devā Singh, Sher Singh, Gangā Singh and Ratan Singh — one share.
6. Dyāl Singh Dhūpiā, whose son is Jai Singh, etc. — one share.

An allowance of Rs 27/- at Rs 4.5 for each share is fixed for these six shareholders.

Third Grade

The *rāgīs* and *rabābīs* or choristers serve as hymn singers in the Darbār Sāhib. They are divided into 15 *chauñkīs* or choral groups as per the following detail.

The Rāgīs

1. Bhāi Mān Singh, Devā Singh
2. Misrā Singh
3. Bhāi Lahiṇā Singh
4. Ratan Singh, Sūr Dās
5. Gaṇḍā Singh, etc.
6. Āgyā Singh
7. Bhāi Bishan Singh (at night)
8. Bhāi Budh Singh, etc. (at night)

The Rabābīs

1. Bhāi Bosna, etc.
2. Bhāi Kāhnā, etc.
3. Bhāi Lālā, Sardārī
4. Bhāi Atarā, etc.
5. Bhāi Dittū
6. Bhāi Amīrā, etc.
7. Hirā Shikārpuriā

The *chauñkīs* perform *kīrtan* in Darbār Sāhib daily during their respective fixed hours, and are paid out of cash offerings of Darbār Sāhib (collectively) Rs 282 per month in perpetuity.

Fourth Grade

The gong-ringer, the treasurer, the key-keeper, clerk and other miscellaneous officials all receive certain salaries from the temple collections in perpetuity for their subsistence. In addition are gardeners, *pālki*-bearers and floorers, etc., who receive

monthly pay from the collections. Their appointment and dismissal are controlled by the Sarbarāh on report from the *pujārīs*.

Interlocutory Memo

The following are the replies of the convocation to four queries propounded by the Deputy Commissioner:

Ist — What are the customary rights of the *pujārīs*? Can they sell or mortgage their shares? Shall their next of kin automatically inherit them? or how shall it be disposed of?

Reply — Having carefully consulted the records of past years, and being well acquainted with traditional usage, it is clear that since *sammat* 1872, in the reign of the late Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, up to *sammat* 1908, during 36 years, they received Rs 5463 as pay only during 14 years, sometime for two, three, four, eight or twelve months in a year; while during the other 24 years they got nothing at all. Therefore the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Sardār Jodh Singh, cast the average of the rate of payment they would be entitled to. A result was attained, on 6 August 1852, that they were entitled to an equivalent of two months on the whole proceeds of the year's offerings. It was confirmed on 31 August 1852 by Messrs Saunders and Deputy Commissioner, Denison, former presidents, that in future they should get at the rate of two months per year. Although they have been paid accordingly, they have always been displeased. In our opinion, the decision of the Deputy Commissioner, on the representation of Sardār Jodh Singh on 17 April 1857 that three months should be allowed and which was also acted upon accordingly, for the year *sammat* 1913, was highly equitable. If that arrangement had been allowed to continue, there might have been no dispute. Because, if the collection of the *jāgīr* amounting to Rs 304 allowed to the *pujārīs* which formerly were cast into the treasury, be taken into consideration and divided among the six *pujārī* shares, the value will

be equivalent to five months' assets. The *pujārīs* now desire and pray that they may receive exactly in accordance with the rules in force during the reign of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. In our opinion too their petition for the future is justified. The rules of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh were, that after paying ten months' wages to the *rabābīs* and *rāgīs* and other personnel and defraying the miscellaneous expenses of the Darbār Sāhib, sometimes two months, sometimes four months, sometimes eight months, sometimes twelve months, according to the balance in hand, be paid to the *pujārīs*: sometimes in case of deficit nothing at all (it has been shown that out of the 36 years, in 24 years they received nothing). In future therefore it is proper in accordance with the above that after payment to the *rabābīs*, *rāgīs* and mendicants, and defrayment of three per cent towards miscellaneous expenses, the balance, whether more or less, be distributed among the six *pujārī* shareholders, as decided by the *sarbarāh* according to their several shares, on condition of good behaviour. Should ever possibly there remain in a whole year a balance after disbursement, it will be credited to the treasury of Gurū Rām Dās. On the question of right of sale or mortgage, no *pujārī* has a right or title to sell or mortgage his property in the six *pattīs*. The rights would devolve on successive heirs on condition of good behaviour. In the case of death without a male heir, transfer may take place by gift, in the presence of the shareholders of the *pattī*, to a grandson on the female side, or to a *chelā* on condition of his being a Hindu Sikh. But should there be a flaw or imperfection in the deed of conveyance, the right shall be reserved to other shareholders.

2nd Question — What should be the share-wise rate of payment to *rāgīs* and *rabābīs* out of the income of the Darbār Sāhib consistent with ancient customary

practice?

Answer — It is clear from official records of the Darbār Sāhib and the schedule prepared by the court in respect of the previous years that these men have been receiving payment for ten months in a year. In our opinion too it is equitable that they be paid accordingly in perpetuity, after deduction of certain trifles according to traditional usage. They are to perform their functions of hymn-singing in Darbār Sāhib daily at their appointed hours. Fifteen days of absence only can be allowed, on report to the *sarbarāh*, for special circumstances. But in case a *rāgī* or *rabābī* goes to a *rājā* or *sardār* for a period up to three months, he shall find his own substitutes, who shall remain until the return of the incumbent.

3rd Question — To whom should the account of the works and buildings of Sri Darbār Sāhib be presented in future?

Answer — These duties had in the Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's reign been performed by Bhāi Sant Singh and his descendants, and Bhāi Parduman Singh, his grandson, now performs the duties honestly and faithfully. It is believed that he will continue to be busy with the construction work with still greater zeal in future.

4th Question — Can the temple affairs be peaceably conducted without the support of government or not? If they can be, how? If not, what are the causes?

Answer — In our opinion this is not possible without the officially appointed *sarbarāh*, because without the *sarbarāh* disputes will supervene among the *pujārīs* and *rabābīs*, etc. In the first place, in the absence of the present supervisor there may be irregularities in the offerings. At the time of disbursement in the absence of a chief manager, distribution of dues will be impossible. In addition to this, the peaceful management of the temple and good repute of the government are closely allied. The *sarbarāh* does not and will not in future have

the slightest connection either now or hereafter with any religious question raised. It seems proper that there should be some responsible authority to supervise certain works to keep an eye on bad characters, to keep the general peace and avoid disputes or wrangles and to ensure disbursement of dues in his own presence. It will however be requisite that an upright honourable and unprejudiced Sikh or Hindu should perform this duty. At present Sardār Jodh Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner, possesses these qualities and runs the affairs very efficiently. After him the government may appoint a similarly qualified person.

In addition to the above decision, a general warning (in the spirit of Circular No.42, dated 8 April 1859, from Judicial Commissioner) is held out to all the *pujārīs*, *rāgīs*, *rabābīs*, etc., connected with the Darbār Sāhib, that persons connected with it should maintain the decorum enjoined by tradition, that none of them should enter the Darbār Sāhib drunk and that they should refrain from tampering with the offerings on which condition alone will they be entitled to their payments. In case of proved profligate conduct according to the terms of the circular quoted, the offender will not be entitled to his share.

A Darogah on a salary of Rs 6 a month shall continue to be appointed as of old to guard the offerings at the shrine; he shall be changed every six months.

Signed Frederic Cooper Deputy Commissioner, 12 September 1859, and other chiefs, citizens and priests of Akāl Buṅgā, Shahīd Buṅga and Jhaṇḍā Buṅgā.

After the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee assumed control in 1920 of the holy shrines at Amritsar, including the Harimandar, the Akāl Takht and Bābā Aṭal, a local committee under the chairmanship of Sardār Sundar Singh Rāmgarhīā was formed for their management. After the Gurdwārā legislation

had been placed on the statute book in 1925, the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee itself became the committee of management for the Harimandar as it did for other shrines at Amritsar, Tarn Tāran and Anandpur Sāhib. The secretary of the committee acting as manager of the shrines took over the responsibility for their general administration, buildings, accounts, etc, but the religious and ritualistic routine inside the Harimandar remained in the hands of the *granthīs*, *rāgīs* and *sevādārs* headed by Head Granthī of Srī Darbār Sāhib, a highly revered personage next only in importance to, if not equal with, the Jathedār of the Akāl Takht.

The Gurdwārā legislation adopted under the Act of 1925 remained in operation until well into the forties. Special legislation had to be passed in view of the fact that *gurdwārās* had vast properties, real estate and lands, attached to them. To secure legal rights to the new owners statutory provisions had to be made in the state's laws. In the laws thus brought on the statute book amendments were made from time to time. An amendment was proposed in 1944 and carried in the Punjab Legislative Assembly to provide representation for Sikh backward classes for whom 12 seats were now statutorily reserved. Another amendment provided for greater centralization of power and removed some of the restrictions on the use of funds for the Sikh educational and missionary activity. Formerly every Sikh adult, man or woman, had the right to vote. Certain conditions demanding stricter compliance of the religious code of the Sikhs were laid down. The initiator of most of these amendments was Giānī Kartār Singh, who was a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Further amendments were necessitated by the merger in 1956 with the Punjab of the state of Paṭiālā and East Punjab States Union. The jurisdiction of the Shiromaṇī Committee was by these

legislative amendments extended to the entire state of the Punjab including the territories of erstwhile princely rulers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārikh Srī Amritsar* [Reprint]. Amritsar, 1977
2. Thākar Singh, *Srī Gurdwāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
4. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Amritsar Sifatī dā Gharu*. Amritsar, 1977
5. Datta, V.N., *Amritsar Past and Present*. Amritsar, 1967
6. Madanjit Kaur, *The Golden Temple : Past and Present*. Amritsar, 1983
7. Patwant Singh, *The Golden Temple*. Delhi, 1988
8. Archer, W.G., *Paintings of the Sikhs*. London, 1966
9. Arshi, P.S., *The Sikh Architecture*. Delhi, 1986
10. Teja Singh, *Essays in Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944

I.J.K.

HARĪPURĀ, an old village 15 km west of Abohar (30°-8'N, 74°-12'E) in Firozpur district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Nānak and Gurū Gobind Singh. A deep pool of water to the north of the village was an ancient place of pilgrimage known as Baḍ Tīrath. Gurū Nānak had visited it during his travels in the region. So did Gurū Gobind Singh in 1706 soon after the battle of Muktsar. Gurdwārā Charan Pāk Pātshāhī I on the bank of the Baḍ Tīrath was established in 1876. The present building was constructed in February-March 1947 when the pool was also lined. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated on a platform at the far end of a flat-roofed rectangular hall. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. There are very few Sikh families in Harīpurā itself, but Sikh and non-Sikh devotees from the surrounding villages gather on every new moon to have a dip in the sacred pool and hold a *dīvān*. Larger gatherings take place on the new-moon day in Phāgun (January-February) and on the full-moon day of Kattak to mark the birth anniversary of Gurū Nānak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

HARĪ RĀM GUPTA, DR (1902-1992), teacher and historian, with Sikhs in the eighteenth century Punjab as his major theme in the exploration of which he spent a lifetime filled with unsparing labour. He was born in 1902 in a family of modest means living at the village of Bhūrevāl in Naraiṅgarh *tahsīl* of Ambālā district. He received his early education in rural schools. For higher education, he was able to transfer himself to metropolitan Lahore where after receiving his Master's degree, he took appointment as a lecturer in history at Forman Christian College. Leaving Lahore in 1947 in the wake of partition of the Punjab, he joined the University College at Hoshiārpur where he was professor and head of the department of history and Dean, University Instruction, from 1960 onwards. After his retirement in 1963, he served the Dev Samāj College for Women, Firozpur, as head of the postgraduate department of history for 14 years before he finally retired and shifted to Delhi. Meanwhile, he had been awarded a Ph.D. degree in 1937 for his thesis on the Evolution of Sikh Confederacies, the first doctoral degree in history awarded by the Pañjāb University, Lahore. In 1944, he was awarded a D. Litt. Research in Punjab history remained a lifelong passion with Dr Gupta. He was working on his monumental six-volume history of the Sikhs of which he was able to complete four. The fifth was in print when the end came in Delhi on 28 March 1992.

As a man Dr Harī Rām Gupta was a model of simplicity. He was unbelievably unassuming, totally absorbed in his academic and scholarly pursuit. The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, had conferred on him

the Sir Jādūnāth Sarkār Gold Medal in 1949. Kendarī Srī Gurū Singh Sabhā honoured him at a massive congregation which took place at Takht Srī Kesgarh Sāhib, Anandpur, on the occasion of Baisākhi (13 April) in 1981. The Punjab History Conference honoured him at its 23rd session at the Punjabi University, Paṭiālā, in 1989. Bhāi Vir Singh Sāhitya Sadan, New Delhi, presented to him Bhāi Vir Singh International Award at a function held on 15 December 1989.

Dr Gupta's works, besides the five volumes of his *History of the Sikhs* (between 1944 and 1982) and scores of research papers, are *Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar* in two volumes; *Life and Work of Mohan Lal Kashmiri* (1943); *Studies in the Later Mughal History of the Panjab* (1954); *Panjab on the Eve of the First Sikh War* (1956); *Marathas and Panipat* (1961); and *India Pakistan War 1965*, in three volumes.

M.G.S.

HARĪ SINGH, a native of Paṅḍorī, one of a number of villages of that name, 8 km northwest of Tarn Tāran in Amritsar district of the Punjab. He joined Bhāi Mahārāj Singh after the first Anglo-Sikh war and helped him in his campaign in the Mājha region against the British. He was with Mahārāj Singh throughout the second Sikh war. From Sūjovāl, in the latter half of 1849, he was sent to Ambālā to prepare the people of that area for a fresh revolt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahluwalia, M.L., *Bhai Maharaj Singh*. Patiala, 1972

M.L.A.

HARĪ SINGH, BHĀI (1889-1921), one of the Nankānā Sāhib martyrs, was born at Paṅḍorī Nijharān in Jalandhar district in November 1889, the son of Bhāi Sevā Singh and Māi Atar Kaur. On the opening of the Lower Chenāb Canal Colony, the family

migrated in 1897 to Chakk No. 91 Dhannuānā in Lyallpur (now Faisalābād) district, in Pakistan. Harī Singh enlisted in the 36th Sikh Battalion where he took the *Khālsā pāhul* and fought in the World War, 1914-18. A bullet wound tore apart his foot, incapacitating him. He was discharged with a pension of Rs 6 per month. Following the example of Jathedār Sundar Singh of his own village, he joined the *jathā* of Bhāī Lachhmaṇ Singh of Dhārovālī and attained martyrdom inside Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, Nankānā Sāhib, on 20 February 1921. The martyr's mother was granted a pension of Rs 115 per annum by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee of Amritsar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jīvan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

HARĪ SINGH, BHĀĪ (1897-1921), one of the martyrs of Nankānā Sāhib, was born in Assū 1954 Bk/July-August 1897, the son of Bhāī Kanhaiyā Singh and Māī Jioṇ Kaur of Chakk No 10, Thoṭhīān in Sheikḥūpurā district, now in Pakistan. He attended the village primary school and trained as a scripture-reader and as a singer of the holy hymns. He was a member of the village choir and recited with gusto ballads of Sikh martyrs. Harī Singh grew up into a handsome, lusty youth and excelled in rural sports such as wrestling, weight-lifting and *kabaḍḍī*. He enlisted in the army and served for some time in 27th Punjab (later 3/15 Punjab Regiment), and got his discharge at the end of the Great War in 1918. Meanwhile, his friend and mentor, Bhāī Nand Singh, had also resigned from the army and returned home. Both received the *Khālsā pāhul*, and set up a platform for reciting *gurbāṇī* and preaching the Singh Sabhā creed. Harī Singh joined the Akālī ranks and volunteered his services during the Gurdwārā

Rikābgaṇj agitation. On receiving the call for the liberation of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān at Nankānā Sāhib, he along with Bhāī Nand Singh joined the *jathā* of Bhāī Lachhmaṇ Singh of Dhārovālī and attained martyrdom on 20 February 1921. He was survived by his wife and three sons who were granted a family pension of Rs 175 per annum by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jīvan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

HARĪ SINGH BHANĠĪ (d. 1765), nephew and adopted son of Bhūmā Singh, was the founder of the Bhaṅgī *misl* or chiefship. Harī Singh received initiatory rites of the *Khālsā* at the hands of Bābā Dīp Singh Shahīd. At the time of the formation of the Dal *Khālsā* in 1748, Harī Singh was acknowledged head of the Bhaṅgī clan as well as leader of the Taruṇā Dal. He vastly increased the power and influence of the Bhaṅgī *misl* which began to be ranked as the strongest among its peers. He created an army of 20,000 dashing youths, captured Pañjvaṛ in the Tarn Tāran *parganah* and established his headquarters first at Sohal and then at Gilvālī, both in present-day Amritsar district. Lastly, he set himself up at Amritsar where he established a residential area with a market known as Kaṭrā Harī Singh, and started constructing a fort called Qilā Bhaṅgīān. Harī Singh constantly harassed the Afghān invader, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, during his invasions into India. A few months after the massacre of the Sikhs at Kup, near Mālerkotlā, in what is known in Sikh history as Vaḍḍā Ghallūghārā or the Great Killing (February 1762), Harī Singh attacked *Khwājā Sayyid kā Koṭ*, and seized from there a large quantity of arms. In 1763, along with the Kanhaiyās and Rāmgarhīās, he sacked

the Afghān stronghold of Kasūr. In 1764, he ravaged Bahāwalpur and Multān. Crossing the River Indus, he realized tribute from Balūchī chiefs in the districts of Muzaffargarh, Derā Ghāzī Khān and Derā Ismā'il Khān. On his way back home, he reduced Jhaṅg, Chiniot and Siālkoṭ. When Bābā Ālā Singh of Paṭiālā submitted to the authority of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in March 1765 accepting certain concession from him, the Taruṇā Dal under Harī Singh marched upon Paṭiālā to chastise him. Harī Singh was killed in this campaign, allegedly owing to the conspiracy of those who had been jealous of his growing influence. According to Khushwaqt Rāi, Harī Singh was poisoned to death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. IV. Delhi, 1982
3. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Sardār Jassā Singh Āhlūvātā*. Patiala, 1969

S.S.B.

HARĪ SINGH KAHĀRPURĪ, SANT (1888-1973), Sikh saint and preacher, was born in 1888 in a Liddar Jaṭṭ family of the village of Jiān, in Hoshiārpur district of the Punjab. He was the youngest of the three sons of Avtār Singh and Atar Kaur. He received instruction in religious texts from Sant Dalip Singh of Domelī. He grew up to be a youth of a strong, athletic build and enlisted in the 25th Punjab Battalion as a sepoy in 1904, serving in the North-West Frontier Province.

Under the influence of Sant Harnām Singh, who also belonged to the village of Jiān and who was also then serving in the army, his native religious inclination asserted itself and he became more and more preoccupied with *gurbānī* and meditation. He resigned from the army on 31 March 1909, and for the next four years served in

Gurū kā Laṅgar at the *derā* or monastery of the much revered saint, Sant Karam Singh of Hotī Mardān. He returned to the Punjab in 1913 and established, on the bank of a *cho* or seasonal rivulet, near Kahārpur village in Hoshiārpur district, his own *derā*, where he preached and ran a Gurū kā Laṅgar or community kitchen. Sant Harī Singh Kahārpurī, as he came to be known, gave himself to preaching the Sikh faith as well as to the spreading of modern education among the rural masses. He had Khālsā schools established at Kukkar Bārīān, Jiān, Nasrālā and Māhalpur. The last-named has since developed into a flourishing degree college. Sant Harī Singh Kahārpurī is also remembered for supervising, during 1936-44, the reconstruction of Takht Sri Kesgarh Sāhib at Anandpur, where he also renovated Gurdwārā Mañjī Sāhib and Gurū kā Tālāb. He also constructed *dharamsālās* at Jiān and Bārīān.

Sant Harī Singh Kahārpurī died on 18 November 1973.

G.S.P.

HARĪ SINGH NALVĀ (1791-1837), celebrated general of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, was born in April 1791, at Gujrañwālā, now in Pakistan, to Gurdiāl Singh, an Uppal Sikh and a *derādār* in the Sukkarchakkīā *misl*. The family originally came from Majīthā, near Amritsar. His grandfather, Hardās Singh, had been killed fighting against Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in 1762. His father, Gurdiāl Singh, had taken part in many of the campaigns of the Sukkarchakkīās — Chaṛhat Singh and Mahān Singh.

Harī Singh was hardly 7 years of age when his father died. His mother, Dharam Kaur, had to move to her parental home to live under the care of her brothers. There Harī Singh learnt Punjabi and Persian and trained in the manly arts of riding, musketry and swordsmanship. Dharam Kaur returned to Gujrañwālā when her son was about 13 years

old. In 1805, Harī Sīngh participated in a recruitment test for service in the Sikh army and so impressed Mahārājā Raṅjīt Sīngh with his skill at various drills that he was given appointment as a personal attendant. Not long after, he received the commission with a command of 800 horse and foot. This rapid promotion was owed to an incident in which he had cloven with sword the head of a tiger which had seized him. From that day he came to be known as Bāghmār, the tiger-killer, and earned the title of Nalvā.

Harī Sīngh was commander of a regiment at the time of the Mahārājā's final attack on Kasūr in 1807 and gave evidence of his prowess on the field of battle. He was rewarded with a handsome *jāgīr*. In the years 1809-10 he participated in the Siālkoṭ, Sāhivāl and Khushāb expeditions and in four (1810, 1816, 1817 and 1818) of Raṅjīt Sīngh's seven campaigns against Multān. He fought in the battle of Attock in 1813 as second-in-command to Dīwān Mohkam Chand, and in Kashmīr in 1814 and 1819. Kashmīr was occupied and, in 1820, Harī Sīngh was appointed its governor in succession to Dīwān Motī Rām. He restored order in the turbulent areas, and reorganized civil administration. The territory was divided into *parganahs*, each under a collector, and *thānās*, each under a *thānedār*. The habitual criminals were bound down and robbers infesting the forests were suppressed. Construction of forts at Ūrī and Muzaffarābād and *gurdwārās* at Maṭan and Bārāmūlā was undertaken and work was started on laying out a spacious garden on the bank of the River Jehlum. To alleviate the misery of the people in the wake of the unprecedented floods of 1821, he took measures to provide prompt relief. From Mahārājā Raṅjīt Sīngh, Harī Sīngh received a special favour when he was allowed to strike a coin in his own name. This coin, known as the Harī Sīnghī rupee, remained in circulation in the valley till the closing years of the nineteenth century. In 1822, he was assigned

to the Paṭhān territory of Hazārā on the northwest of the Sikh kingdom, where he remained for fifteen years and settled the disturbed area. He built a strong fort near Sālik Serāi, on the left bank of the Dor river, and on the road from Hasan Abdāl to Abbotābād and named it Harikishangarh, in honour of the Eighth Gurū. He also raised a town in the vicinity of the fort, Harīpur, which later grew into a busy commercial and trade centre. From 1827 to 1831, he was engaged in repelling Sayyid Ahmad Barelavī's fierce campaign against the Sikhs.

In 1834, Harī Sīngh finally took Peshāwar and annexed it to the Sikh dominions. Two years later, he built a fort at Jamrūd at the mouth of the Khaibar Pass and sealed it once for all for invaders from the northwest.

On 30 April 1837, as he was locked in a grave battle against the Afghāns under Akbar Khān, Harī Sīngh received four gun wounds, and two sabre cuts across his breast. He continued to issue orders as before, until he received a gunshot wound in the side. He mustered his failing strength for the last time and managed to ride up to his field tent, from where he was taken to the fort. Here the same evening the great general passed away. His last instructions were that his death should not be made public until the arrival of the Mahārājā's relief column.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sandhu, Autar Singh, *Harī Singh Nalwā* [Reprint]. Delhi, 1987
2. Hugel, Baron Charles, *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab*. Tr. T.B. Jervis [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
3. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. Patiala, 1983
4. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
5. Prem Sīngh, Bābā, *Harī Sīngh Nalwā*. Amritsar, 1937
Ar.S.S.

HARKISHAN DĀS, a *purohit* or family priest of Mahārājā Duleep Sīngh, who in 1883 went on a visit to the Mahārājā in England and stayed there as his guest for nearly two years.

When he returned to India in 1885, he brought with him offerings from the Mahārājā for the Golden Temple at Amritsar and for the *samādh* of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh at Lahore and that of Sardār Mahān Singh (Duleep Singh's grandfather) at Gujrānwālā. Accordingly, twenty-one basinfuls of *karah prasād* were distributed daily between 20 and 22 August 1885 among devotees at the Golden Temple, Akāl Buṅgā and other *gurdwārās* on behalf of the Mahārājā. Harkishan Dās was among those who received in 1886 a wire from Mahārājā Duleep Singh informing him of his proposed visit to India which however never materialized.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ganda Singh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement in the Panjab. (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence)*, vol. IV. Patiala, 1972

K.S.T.

HARKISHAN SINGH, BĀWĀ (1892-1978), educationist, lover of poetry and intellectual, was born at Derā Ismā'il Khān on 26 July 1892, the son of Bāwā Dasaundhā Singh. After taking his Master's degree in English literature from Forman Christian College, Lahore, in 1912, he joined the Khālsā College at Amritsar, as a lecturer in English. Later, he had a long spell at Khālsā College, Gujrānwālā, where he remained Principal for many a long year. Bāwā Harkishan Singh was among the pioneers of the Sikhs' Gurdwārā Reform movement of the 1920's. He attended the *divān* of the Khālsā Barādārī in Jalliānwālā Bāgh, Amritsar, on 12 October 1920, and accompanied the group to the Harimandar and the Akāl Takht, which event ushered in the movement for Panthic control of the Sikhs' sacred shrines. He was a member of the 9-member provisional committee appointed by the Amritsar deputy commissioner for the management of the Gurdwārās. The Sikhs formed on 15 November 1920 their own 175-member Shiromaṇī

Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Its first meeting was held on 12 December 1920. Bāwā Harkishan Singh was one of the Pañj Piāre who on this occasion checked on the religious claims of those present.

Bāwā Harkishan Singh took an active part in the Gurū kā Bāgh agitation of 1922. During the Akālī campaign demanding the restoration of the deposed Sikh Mahārājā of Nābhā to his throne, both the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal were outlawed by government. Three Professors of the Khālsā College—Bāwā Harkishan Singh, Professor Tejā Singh and Professor Nirañjan Singh—were taken into custody on 13 October 1923. Professor Tejā Singh was released on medical grounds, Professor Nirañjan Singh because of his basic objection to the aims of the movement. Bāwā Harkishan Singh served a longer term in jail and was released only when an overall settlement was arrived at with the government. Sardār Bahādur Mehtāb Singh, a senior leader of the agitation, offered to implement the provisions of the Gurdwārā Act as proposed by government. So did some other leaders, among them Bāwā Harkishan Singh. The hardliners such as Tejā Singh Samundrī and Master Tārā Singh who refused to accept the terms suffered further detention. In March 1927 when all detainees were set free the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee set up a forum to formulate the Sikh Rahit Maryādā, i.e. code of conduct for the Sikhs. Bāwā Harkishan Singh was one of the members of the committee.

The Sikh Gurdwārās Act provided for democratic elections to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. This gave birth to factionalism. Bāwā Harkishan Singh not only kept himself aloof from these internal acrimonious wranglings but also worked for amity among the groups. He along with some other Sikh leaders formed a society, Gur Sevak Sabhā, for this purpose in

December 1933. After several months of protracted talks and arguments, the Sabhā managed to bring round certain contestants from the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal and the Central Akālī Dal to agree on a common list of candidates for the 1936 shrine elections prepared by Sant Vasākhā Siṅgh and Sant Javālā Siṅgh. The unity so achieved however proved short-lived.

Bāwā Harkishan Siṅgh himself had no political ambitions nor had he ever sought any official position. He was of a shy and retiring nature. However, during the Punjabi Sūbā agitation of 1955, he was co-opted a member of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and, after the arrest of Master Tārā Siṅgh on 10 May 1955, elected its president. The *morchā* or agitation continued with the *jathās* or bands of volunteers daily shouting the banned "Punjabi Sūbā Zindābād" (long live the Punjabi state) slogan and courting arrest. In spite of the restraint shown by the Akālīs, police raided the Darbār Sāhib complex on 4 July 1955, burst tear gas shells on pilgrims and made many arrests. The *morchā* continued until the ban on sloganeering was withdrawn on 12 July 1955. Master Tārā Siṅgh on release resumed the presidentship and Bāwā Harkishan Siṅgh again became an unencumbered intellectual committed solely to the Panthic weal. He remained till the end the adviser and counsellor of the Sikh Panth. At all crucial moments and on all crucial issues, his advice was avidly sought. He never hankered after power or position. Positions of honour and dignity came to him unasked. In 1960, he was nominated a member of the prestigious Punjabi University Commission, but he did not take part in any of the meetings of the Commission. He was totally indifferent to fame and exhibition.

Earlier in 1955, he had been called upon to assist a very important Sikh committee in its political negotiations with the Government of India. He was named among the six Sikhs

to conduct the talks with the nominees of the government. He kept himself aloof from all active transactions, although he stayed put in Delhi for all those days in Sardār Hukam Siṅgh's residence to make himself available for advice and consultation. The committee on the government side was led by the Prime Minister Jawāharlāl Nehrū himself, but Bāwā Harkishan Siṅgh did not attend any of its sittings. He was of a unique calibre among the Sikhs of his time.

Bāwā Harkishan Siṅgh died on 20 August 1978 at the Military Hospital, Delhi Cantt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Harkishan Siṅgh, "Statement" (unpublished), Oral History Cell, Punjabi University
2. Nirañjan Siṅgh, Principal, *Jwan Yātrā Master. Tārā Siṅgh*. Amritsar, n.d.
3. Pratāp Siṅgh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975
4. Dilgeer, H.S., *Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal*. Chandigarh, 1980
M.G.S.

HAR KRISHAN, GURŪ (1656-1664), the eighth Gurū or prophet-teacher of the Sikh faith, was the younger son of Gurū Har Rāi (1630-61) and Mātā Sulakkhaṇī. He was born on 7 July 1656 at Kīratpur, in the Śivālik hills, in present-day Ropar district of the Punjab. As his time came, Gurū Har Rāi chose Har Krishan, then barely five years old, his successor and gave him his own seat, asking the Sikhs to look upon him as his very image. Gurū Har Krishan assumed the spiritual office upon the death of his father on 6 October 1661. He sat on the throne — a small figure very young in years. To quote Bhāi Santokh Siṅgh, *Śrī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, "The early morning sun looks small in size, but its light is everywhere. So was young Gurū Har Krishan's fame without limit." Those who came to see him were instructed in true knowledge. Gurū Har Krishan had a rare ability in explaining passages from the Holy Granth, and he delighted the hearts of his

disciples by his commentaries.

Rām Rāi, his elder brother, who had been passed over in favour of his younger brother, complained to the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzīb, and sought redress for the injustice done to him by his father. The Emperor summoned the young Gurū to Delhi through Rājā Jai Singh of Amber. Accompanied by his grandmother, Mātā Bassī, and his mother, Mātā Sulakkhaṇī, Gurū Har Krishan left for Delhi. He travelled through Ropar, Banūr, Rājpurā and Ambālā. Along the way, he instructed the disciples who came to call on him. As he neared Pañjokhrā, a village 10 km north-east of Ambālā, a Sikh spoke with humility, "Saṅgats are coming from Peshāwar, Kābul and Kashmīr. Stay here a day so that they may have the chance of seeing you, Master." The Gurū made a halt in the village of Pañjokhra.

In that village lived a learned Paṇḍit, Lāl Chand by name, who came to see the Gurū and spoke with derision: "It is said that you sit on the *gaddī* of Gurū Nānak. But what do you know of the old religious texts?" Chhajjū Rām, the illiterate, dark-skinned village water supplier, happened to pass by at that moment. Gurū Har Krishan asked Dargāh Mall to call him. As Chhajjū Rām came, the Gurū enquired if he would explain to the Paṇḍit the gist of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. The illiterate villager, says Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Suraj Granth*, astonished everyone by his lucid commentary on the sacred book. Lāl Chand's pride was overcome. Both he and Chhajjū Rām became the Gurū's disciples and travelled with him up to Kurukshetra. The former entered the fold of the Khālsā in Gurū Gobind Singh's time, and took the name of Lāl Singh. Lāl Singh met with a hero's death fighting in the battle of Chamkaur which took place on 7 December 1705.

According to *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*, Gurū Har Krishan visited the Emperor's court on

Chet *sudī* Naumī 1721 Bk/25 March 1664. The Emperor had planned a trial. He had two large trays laid out for the Gurū. One of these displayed ornaments, clothes and toys. The other had in it a holy man's cloak and cowl. Both were presented to Gurū Har Krishan. He rejected the tray containing ornaments and clothes and accepted the one containing the cloak. The Emperor was convinced of his eminence and thought he would invite him again and see him perform a miracle. Gurū Har Krishan guessed what the Emperor had in his mind. He told himself that he would not see his face again. He believed that no one should attempt a miracle and try to disturb the law of God. Gurū Har Krishan knew how his father had punished Rām Rāi, his elder brother, for misreading a scriptural verse and for showing feats in Emperor Aurangzīb's court.

Smallpox was then raging in Delhi as an epidemic. Gurū Har Krishan came out to tend the sick. Soon he was himself afflicted with the disease which ravaged his tender body. The Sikhs were overcome by grief. The Gurū's mother Mātā Sulakkhaṇī, became very sad. She said, in the words of Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Suraj Granth*, "Son, you occupy the *gaddī* of Gurū Nānak. You are the dispeller of the world's sorrow and suffering. Your very sight removes the ailments of others. Why do you lie sick now?" Gurū Har Krishan replied, "He who has taken this mortal frame must go through sickness and disease. Both happiness and suffering are part of life. What is ordained must happen. This is what Gurū Nānak taught. Whatever one does is His order. One must walk in the light of His command."

Gurū Har Krishan had himself taken out of Rājā Jai Singh's bungalow to a camp put up on the bank of the River Yamunā. The Sikhs were in despair and wondered who would take the *gaddī* after him. Gurū Har Krishan, to quote Bhāi Santokh Singh again,

instructed them in this manner: “Gurū Nānak’s throne is eternal. It is everlasting and will command increasing honour. The Granth is the Lord of all. He who wants to see me, let him with faith and love see the Granth. So will he shed all his sins. He who would wish to speak with the Gurū, let him read the Granth with devotion. He who practises its teachings will obtain all the four *padārthas*. He who has faith gains all. He who is without faith acquires but little. None in this world lives forever. The body is mortal. In the Granth abides the Gurū’s spirit. Daily bow your head to it. So will you conquer your passions and attain liberation.”

Gurū Har Krishan was in a critical state. Yet he did not fail to carry out his important responsibility before he left the mortal world. In his last moments, he was able to nominate his successor. He asked for the ceremonial marks of succession to be fetched. But all he could say was: “Bābā Bakālē.” He meant that the next Gurū would be found in the town of Bakālā. Gurū Har Krishan passed away on 30 March 1664. According to *Gurū kīān Sakhīān*, Mātā Bassī, the grandmother, asked Bhāi Gurdās of the family of Bhāi Bahilo, to start a reading of the Holy Granth in his memory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giānī Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kīān Sakhīān*. Patiala, 1986
3. Satibir Singh, *Ashtam Balbīrā*. Jalandhar, 1982
4. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
5. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of Sikh Gurus*. Delhi, 1973
B.S.A.

HARLAN, JOSIAH (1799-1871), adventurer and medical practitioner who served the British, the Sikhs and the Afghāns, was born in Philadelphia, U.S.A., in 1799. At the age of 24, he arrived at Calcutta and was employed

as an assistant surgeon by the East India Company and attached to the British army then operating in Burma (1824). After the war, Harlan proceeded towards the Punjab to try his luck there. At Ludhiānā, he met Shāh Shujā', the deposed king of Kābul, then a pensionary of the English, who engaged him as his secret agent and despatched him to Kābul to stir up a revolt in Afghanistan. He did not meet with much success in Kābul and came to Lahore to take up service under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh on an oath of fealty in the name of Christ. He also promised, in writing, to serve the Mahārājā honestly all his life and fight against his enemies. He also volunteered to keep supplying news about the British as well as about the Afghāns. Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh appointed him governor, on a salary of Rs 1,000 per month, of the provinces of Jasroṭā and Nūrpur, two districts then newly annexed to Lahore. In 1832, he became governor of Gujrat.

In 1835, during the Peshāwar campaign, Harlan and Faqīr 'Azīz ud-Dīn were Sikh envoys sent to Dost Muhammad's camp for negotiations, a duty they performed at great personal risk. Dost Muhammad had both of them interned with the intention of bargaining for Peshāwar. But their lives were saved by Sultān Muhammad Khān, Dost Muhammad's disgruntled brother.

Harlan, however, could not retain Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's favour for long. According to Sohan Lāl Sūrī, the court historian, Harlan was summoned to attend on Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh when he had an attack of paralysis of the tongue. Harlan, it is said, mentioned a fee of a lakh of rupees which was readily agreed to, but when Harlan insisted on money being paid beforehand, the Mahārājā was beside himself with rage and gave orders that he be stripped and put across the Sutlej, which was done.

In order “to avenge myself and cause him [Ranjīt Singh] to tremble in the midst of his magnificence,” Harlan entered, towards

the end of 1836, the service of Dost Muhammad who gave him command of his regular troops. It is said that it was at Harlan's instigation that Dost Muhammad had declared war against Rañjīt Singh culminating in the battle of Jamrūd in April 1837. Although the celebrated General Harī Singh Nalvā was killed in this battle, the Afghāns had to retreat without any gain.

In 1839, when the army of the Indus approached Kābul, Harlan was deputed to negotiate with the mission headed by Sir Alexander Burnes. As the British forces reached Kābul, Dost Muhammad fled to the mountains, and Harlan quickly shifted over to the British. Thereafter, he left Afghanistan for India from where he proceeded to Philadelphia.

Back home, Harlan settled down to a quiet life. He published an account of his adventures, *A Memoir of India and Afghanistan*. He died in San Francisco in October 1871.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
2. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
G.I.S.

HARNĀM KAUR, BĪBĪ (1882-1906), a pioneer in the field of women's education, was born on 10 April 1882 in a Siddhū Jaṭṭ family of Chand Purāṇā, a village in Fīrozpur district of the Punjab. Her father's name was Bhagvān Dās and mother's Rām Deī. Her own original name was Jiūṇī. Bhagvān Dās, a religious-minded person, had become a disciple of an Udāsī *sādhū*, Rām Dās, of Fīrozpur, after whose death he became the head of his *derā* or seminary. Here Jiūṇī and her mother joined him when the former was only an infant. She was a precocious child and had read *Pañj Granthī*, *Das Granthī* and *Hanūmān Nāṭak* before she was six years of age. She then joined the local Ārya Pāṭhshālā and learnt Hindi, but left off af-

ter six months because the Pāṭhshālā had no facilities to teach Gurmukhī. Later she was sent to the village of Daudhar, now in Farīdkoṭ district, where she studied for several years under Bhāī Dūlā Singh. Meanwhile, Bhāī Takht Singh, who had started a Gurmukhī school at Fīrozpur under the auspices of the local Singh Sabhā, offered to open a school exclusively for girls. The Singh Sabhā welcomed the proposal but was reluctant to let it be run by a bachelor. To overcome the difficulty, Jiūṇī's parents promised Takht Singh the hand of their daughter. The Kanyā Pāṭhshālā, lit. girls' school, was opened in Fīrozpur on 5 November 1892, and Jiūṇī joined it both to learn and to teach as an employee of the Singh Sabhā. Her betrothal to Takht Singh took place on 11 October 1893 and they were married on 8 May 1894. She received the new name of Harnām Kaur when she was administered on 15 July 1901 *pāhul* or the rites of the *Khālsā*.

The couple threw themselves heart and soul into their work. Harnām Kaur's monthly salary was Rs 6 and her husband's Rs 8. On 1 September 1900, tired of internal dissensions in the management of the Singh Sabhā, they quit service, but continued to teach privately. Early in 1903, Bībī Harnām Kaur persuaded her husband jointly to open a boarding school for girls at Fīrozpur. A number of parents offered to send their daughters to the boarding school which was named Sikh Kanyā Mahā Vidyālā and which started functioning from March 1905. Harnām Kaur worked hard to make the Vidyālā succeed. In addition to helping her husband at teaching, she looked after catering and lodging arrangements for their wards. She had also set up Istri Satsaṅg, a women's religious society, which held meetings in the afternoon of every Wednesday, and a *parchārak jathā* or missionary group. But she did not live long to serve the cause to which she had

dedicated herself, and died on 1 October 1906.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Karam Singh, *Jīvan Bībī Harnām Kaur*. Firozpur, 1907
2. Sūraj Singh, *Bībī Harnām Kaur*. Amritsar, 1908

Hn.S.

HARNĀM SINGH, BĀBĀ (d. 1927), an ascetic saint widely respected in the southern districts of the Punjab, was born the son of Bhāī Bīr Singh and Pradhān Kaur of the village of Mansūrvāl in Kapūrthalā district. His original name was Nihāl Singh. Leaving his home at the age of 13, he came in contact with a Nirmalā scholar, Sant Rām Singh, under whom he learnt to read the Sikh Scripture and studied Sanskrit texts of the Nyāya and Yoga schools. It was his wont to recite the *Japu* 101 times a day. Impressed by his devotion to *nām*, Sant Rām Singh renamed him Harnām (Harinām, lit. God's Name) Singh and directed him to be his own preceptor. Spending several years in meditation at Amritsar, Harnām Singh roamed about in the Doābā and Mālvā countries. Around 1891 he settled at Bhuchcho Kalān in Baṭhīṇḍā district. Here he stayed for the rest of his life, popular among high and low for his piety, austerity and occult powers. The place came to be known as Rūmī Derā where, besides seekers of boons, came disciples eager to receive instruction. Among the latter was Sant Nand Singh of Kalerān. Bābā Harnām Singh died on Poh *vadī* 9, 1984 Bk/18 December 1927.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Visākhā Singh, *Mālvā Itihās*. Kishanpura, 1954

G.S.G.

HARNĀM SINGH, BHĀĪ (1897-1921), son of Bhāī Sundar Singh and Māī Uttam Kaur, was among those who fell martyrs at Nankāṇā Sāhib on 20 February 1921. The traditional occupation of the family was weaving, but

Harnām Singh's father and grandfather took to peddling cloth. Harnām Singh was hardly five years old when the family migrated to and permanently settled as drapers at Shāhkoṭ, an upcoming market town in Sheikhūpurā district. He learnt Gurmukhī (Punjabi) at home and adopted tailoring as a profession. In 1914, he was administered the vows of the *Khālsā* by a group headed by Bhāī Mahitāb Singh Bīr. Harnām Singh got up a preaching outfit comprising, besides himself, his younger brothers, Bachan Singh and Dalīp Singh, and went around spreading the Singh Sabhā ideology, administering the rites of *amrit* and performing marriages in accordance with the Sikh ceremony of *anand*. He participated in the liberation of *gurdwārās* at Siālkoṭ (Bābe dī Ber), Chūhārkanā (Kharā Saudā) and Gojrā. Finally, he was one of the five volunteers of Shāhkoṭ who led by Bhāī Santā Singh joined the *jathā* of Bhāī Lachhman Singh Dhārovālī for their march towards Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, Nankāṇā Sāhib, where they attained martyrdom on 20 February 1921.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jīvan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938.

G.S.G.

HARNĀM SINGH, BHĀĪ (1901-1921), one of the Nankāṇā Sāhib martyrs, belonged to Chakk No. 38 Nizāmpur Devā Singhvālā, in Sheikhūpurā district, which contributed the maximum number of volunteers (15) from any single village to the corps of martyrs led by Bhāī Lachhman Singh Dhārovālī for the liberation of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān.

Bhāī Harnām Singh was born on 7 Magghar 1958 Bk/20 November 1901, the youngest son of Bhāī Īshar Singh and Māī Bhāgo. Of medium height and stoutly build, he excelled in rural sports such as weight-lifting and wrestling. He however gave up the latter sport after imbibing the *Khālsā*

pāhul to keep his vows inviolate. His presence at the reformists' *divān* held at Dhārovālī on 1-3 October 1920 proved a turning point in his life and he plunged himself into the Gurdwārā Reform movement with all his energy. He participated in the liberation of Gurdwārā Kharā Saudā. As the call came from Nankānā Sāhib, young Harnām Singh did not tarry a single day and forthwith joined the *jathā* of Bhāi Lachhmaṇ Singh of Dhārovālī. He consoled his distraught mother with the words that she had two other sons in the family. The *jathā* was massacred to a man by the killers on 20 February 1921.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jivan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

HARNĀM SINGH ṬUNḌĪLĀṬ (1882-1962), a *Ghadr* revolutionary, was born, in March 1882, the son of Gurdit Singh, a farmer of modest means, of Koṭlā Naudh Singh, in Hoshiārpur district of the Punjab. He learnt to read Gurmukhī in the village *dharamsālā* and joined the Indian army as he grew up. On 12 July 1906, he emigrated to Canada and thence to California in the United States of America in December 1909. There he worked in a lumber mill at Bridalville, Oregon. He attended a meeting of Indian immigrants at Portland in the beginning of 1912 which led to the formation of Hindustānī Workers of the Pacific Coast, later renamed Hindī Association of the Pacific Coast, but popularly known as the *Ghadr* Party. The first meeting of the Association was held on 31 March 1913 at Bridalville, where Harnām Singh was elected secretary of the local branch. In a party meeting at Sacramento on 31 December 1913, he was made a member of the central executive. Meanwhile, it had been decided to launch a weekly paper, *Ghadr* (literally rebellion), to be published in Urdu, Punjabi,

Hindi and other Indian languages. The first issue of the *Ghadr* in Urdu appeared on 1 November 1913, and its Punjabi edition followed in January 1914. To begin with, Lālā Hardayāl was its editor, with Kartār Singh Sarābhā and Raghubīr Dayāl as assistant editors. Later, Harnām Singh, with a few others, was also invited to join the editorial board. He wrote verse in Punjabi and contributed to the paper poems burning with patriotic fervour. He also acted as a bodyguard to Lālā Hardayāl, the party general secretary.

With the expulsion of Lālā Hardayāl from America in April 1914, party work at the Yugāntar Āshram, its headquarters in San Francisco, was redistributed. Harnām Singh was made editor of the *Ghadr*, with four others to assist him. Talk of an impending war between Great Britain and Germany was in the air, and the programme of the *Ghadr* Party was directed towards a planned rebellion in India as the British got involved in Europe. While Ūdham Singh Kasel started imparting military training to party volunteers and Kartār Singh Sarābhā went to the eastern coast to train as a flier-cum-aircraft mechanic, Harnām Singh learnt bomb-making from an American friend. During an experiment, on 5 July 1914, his left hand was blown off as a result of which his left arm had to be amputated well above the wrist. He was given by his comrades the new name of *Ṭunḍilāṭ*, the armless Lord. The epithet contained an ironic allusion to Sir Henry Hardinge, governor-general of India (1844-48) at the time of the first Anglo-Sikh war, who was called by the Punjabis *Ṭunḍā Lāṭ* because of his having lost a limb during the Napoleonic Wars. Upon the outbreak of World War I on 25 July 1914, the *Ghadr* Party directed its members and sympathizers to return to India forthwith. Harnām Singh came via Colombo and arrived in the Punjab on 24 December 1914. Disguised as

a holy man in ochre robes, he roamed the Doābā villages preaching the message of *Ghadr*. He also contacted, at the behest of the party, troops in Rāwālpiṇḍī, Bannū, Nowsherā and Peshāwar cantonments. The plan for a military and general rising on 21 February 1915, later advanced to 19 February 1915, having failed owing to betrayal by a police agent smuggled into the party cadre, Harnām Singh Ṭunḍilāt along with Kartār Singh Sarābhā and Jagat Singh of Sursingh escaped to the North-West Frontier Province to seek temporary refuge in Afghanistan and plan afresh. But receiving no support from that government, they turned back and arrived, on 2 March 1915, at Wilsonpur, a remount farm in Chakk No. 5 in Shāhpur (Sargodhā) district, to stay with one Rājindar Singh, a military pensioner and an acquaintance of Jagat Singh, himself an ex-soldier. Rājindar Singh, however, betrayed them to the police through Risāldār Gaṇḍā Singh of Gaṇḍviṇḍ, who held charge of a remount farm. All the three were arrested and taken to Lahore Central Jail, where they were tried in what is known as the First Lahore Conspiracy case. The trial by a special tribunal under the Defence of India Act 1914 began on 26 April 1915 and the judgement was delivered on 13 September 1915. Harnām Singh Ṭunḍilāt was one of the twenty-four sentenced to death with forfeiture of property. The *Ghadr* leaders refused to file an appeal, but the Viceroy on his own commuted the death penalty into life imprisonment in the case of seventeen of them, including Harnām Singh. He served six years in the Anḍamans and nine years in other jails in Madrās, Pune, Bombay and Montgomery. On 15 September 1930, he was released on medical grounds. He served another term in jail from 1941 to 1945. At the time of inter-communal turbulence in 1947, he helped Muslim residents of his village and the surrounding area to evacuate to refugee camps.

He died on 18 September 1962 after a brief illness.

Harnām Singh was a revolutionary poet and a writer of prose of considerable merit. Three collections of his poems have been published — *Harnām Lahirān*, *Kurīlī Sudhār* and *Harnām Sandesh*. His prose works include *Sachchā Saudā*, *Akhilāq te Mazhab*, both in Punjabi, and *Mazhab aur Insānīyat*, in Urdu.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jas, Jaswant Singh, *Desh Bhagat Bābe*. Jalandhar, 1975
2. Deol, Gurdev Singh, *Ghadr Pārṭī ate Bhārat dā Qaumī Andolan*. Amritsar, 1970
3. Jagjit Singh, *Ghadr Pārṭī Lahir*. Delhi, 1979
4. Puri, Harish K., *Ghadr Movement*. Amritsar, 1983
5. Mohan, Kamlesh, *Militant Nationalism in the Punjab 1919-35*. Delhi, 1985

G.S.Mr.

HARPĀLPUR, a village in Paṭiālā district about 20 km south of Rājpurā (30°-28'N, 76°-37'E), has a historical shrine called Gurdwārā Srī Mañjī Sāhib Pātshāhī IX, dedicated to Gurū Tegh Bahādur who, according to local tradition, visited the site on Māgh *sudī* 7, 1731 Bk/23 January 1675. The Gurū is said to have stayed under a banyan tree, about 100 metres north of the village. A modest-looking shrine was established here later. The banyan tree no longer exists, and the old shrine was demolished in 1933, when Sant Sundar Singh Virakt (d. 26 April 1935) commenced the construction of the present building. The building, a rectangular hall on a raised plinth, with a square sanctum, was completed after 1947. The ribbed lotus-dome has a gold-plated pinnacle, and there are decorative octagonal domed pavilions on top of the pillars at the corners. The Gurdwārā, managed by a local committee, runs a class for training young boys in scripture-reading and *kīrtan* as well as a government-aided primary school.

M.G.S.

HAR RĀI, GURŪ (1630-1661), the seventh Gurū of the Sikh faith, was the son of Bābā Gurdittā and grandson of Gurū Hargobind, Nānak VI. He was born on 16 January 1630 at Kīratpur, in present-day Ropar district of the Punjab. In 1640, he was married to Sulakkhaṇī, daughter of Dayā Rām of Anūpshahr, in Bulandshahr district of Uttar Pradesh. He was gentle by nature and had a devout temperament. He was Gurū Hargobind's favourite grandchild, and he had been given the name of Har Rāi by the Gurū himself. Once, record old texts, Har Rāi was returning home after his riding exercise. From a distance he saw Gurū Hargobind sitting in the garden. He at once got off his horse to go and do him homage. In this hurry, his robe was caught in a bush and a few of the flowers were broken from their stems. This pained Har Rāi's heart. He sat down on the spot and wept bitterly. Gurū Hargobind came and consoled him. He also advised him : "Wear your robe by all means, but be careful as you walk. It behoves God's servants to be tender to all things." There was a deeper meaning in the Gurū's words. One must live in this world, and yet be master of oneself.

Gurū Hargobind knew Har Rāi to be the fittest to inherit the "light" from him. He nominated him as his successor and consecrated him Gurū before departing this life on 3 March 1644.

Gurū Har Rāi kept the stately style Gurū Hargobind had introduced. He was attended by 2,200 armed followers, but no further conflict with the ruling power occurred. He established three important preaching missions called *bakhshishes* for the spread of Gurū Nānak's teaching. First was that of Bhagvān Gir, renamed Bhagat Bhagvān, who established missionary centres in eastern India. The second was that of Saṅgatīā, renamed Bhāi Pherū, who preached in Rājasthān and southern Punjab. Gurū Har Rāi also sent Bhāi Gondā to Kābul, Bhāi

Natthā to Dhākā and Bhāi Jodh to Multān to preach. The ancestors of present-day families of Bāgaṛiān and Kaithal preached in the Mālvā region. Gurū Har Rāi himself travelled extensively in this area and a large number of people accepted his teaching. He confirmed the blessing earlier bestowed by Gurū Hargobind on a poor boy, Phūl, who became the founder of the families of Paṭiālā, Nābhā and Jind. These families ruled in their territories in the Punjab until recent years.

Kīratpur was Gurū Har Rāi's permanent seat. Here disciples and visitors came to seek blessings and instruction. The Gurū kept the daily practice of his predecessors. The institution of *laṅgar*, community eating, continued to flourish. Gurū Har Rāi chose himself the simplest fare which was earned by the labour of his own hands. In the morning, he sat in the *saṅgat* and explained the Sikh doctrine. He did not compose any hymns of his own, but quoted those of his predecessors in his discourses. He often repeated to his followers the following verses of Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān* (XXVIII. 15):

A true Sikh rises before the night ends,
And turns his thoughts to God's Name,
To charity and to holy bathing.
He speaks humbly and humbly he walks,
He wishes everyone well and he is joyed
to give away gifts from his hand.
He sleeps but little,
And little does he eat and talk.
Thus he receives the Gurū's true
instruction.
He lives by the labour of his hands and
he does good deeds.
However eminent he might become,
He demonstrates not himself.
He sings God's praises in the company
of holy men.
Such company he seeks night and day.
Upon Word is his mind fixed,
And he delights in the Gurū's will.

Unenticed he lives in this world of enticement.

Gurū Har Rāi was at Goindvāl when Dārā Shukoh, heir apparent to the Mughal throne, entered the Punjab fleeing in front of the army of his brother, Aurangzīb, after his defeat in the battle of Sāmūgarh on 29 May 1658. At Goindvāl, where he arrived in the last week of June 1658, he called on Gurū Har Rāi, and sought the consolation of his blessing. The prince was of a liberal religious disposition, and had a natural inclination for the company of saintly persons. He was especially an admirer of the famous Muslim Sūfi, Mīān Mīr, who was known to the Sikh Gurūs. Sikh tradition also recalls how Dārā Shukoh had once been cured of a serious malady with herbs sent to him by Gurū Har Rāi. In his affliction now he readily took the opportunity of having an audience with the Gurū. According to Sarūp Dās Bhallā, *Mahimā Prakāsh*, Gurū Har Rāi deployed his own troops at the ferry to delay Aurangzīb's army which was pursuing Dārā close at his heels.

Gurū Har Rāi left Goindvāl on a tour of the districts where the Sikh faith had taken root in the time of his predecessors. He travelled further on to Kashmīr. The Baisākhī of 1660 was celebrated at Siālkot in the home of Nand Lāl Purī, grandfather of Haqīqat Rāi, the martyr. The journey was resumed in the company of Sikhs such as Makkhaṇ Shāh, the Lubāṇā trader, and Ārū Rām, father of Kirpā Rām Datt who later led to the presence of Gurū Tegh Bahādur a group of Kashmīrī Paṇḍits driven to dire distress by State persecution. Gurū Har Rāi arrived at Srīnagar, via Mārtaṇḍ, on 19 May 1660, and visited Moṭā Tāṇḍā, the village to which his disciple, Makkhaṇ Shāh belonged. On his way back, he stopped at Akhnūr and Jammū. At the latter place, the local *masand*, Bhāi Kāhnā, waited on him with the *saṅgal*.

Dārā Shukoh's meeting with Gurū Har Rāi was misrepresented to Emperor Aurangzīb. Highly coloured stories were carried to him. His officials and courtiers reported to him that Gurū Har Rāi was a rebel and that he had helped the fugitive prince, Dārā. Further, that the Sikh Scripture contained verses derogatory to Islam. The Emperor asked Rājā Jai Singh of Amber to have Gurū Har Rāi brought to Delhi. The Rājā's envoy, Harī Chand, who reached Kiratpur on the Baisākhī day of 1661, presented the royal summons. Gurū Har Rāi wondered why he had been called to Delhi and, to quote Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, he said, "I rule over no territory, I owe the king no tax, nor do I want anything from him. There is no connection of teacher and disciple between us, either. Of what avail will this meeting be?" He sent instead his elder son, Rām Rāi, his minister, Dīwān Dargāh Mall, escorting him. According to the *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*, Gurū Har Rāi blessed his young son as he seated him in the carriage and exhorted him: "Answer squarely and without fear any questions the Emperor may ask. Exhibit no hesitation. Read the Granth attentively as you make halts on the way. The Gurū will protect you wherever you might be." Gurdās, of the family of Bhāi Bahilo, was asked to accompany Rām Rāi with a copy of the (Gurū) Granth Sāhib. In order to please the Emperor, Rām Rāi deliberately misread one of the lines from the (Gurū) Granth Sāhib. This was reported by the Sikhs accompanying him to Gurū Har Rāi, who anathematized him for altering Gurū Nānak's utterance. Debarred from presence before the Gurū, Rām Rāi retired to Dehrā Dūn. Gurū Har Rāi chose his younger son, Har Krishan, to be his successor and had him anointed as Gurū before he passed away at Kiratpur on 6 October 1661.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971

2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Panth Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1970
4. Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giāni Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986
5. Satibir Singh, *Nirbhau Nirvair*. Jalandhar, 1984
6. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
7. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Delhi, 1973
8. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I, Princeton, 1963

B.S.

HAR RĀIPUR, a village 19 km north of Baṭhiṇḍa (30°-14'N, 74°-59'E), is sacred to Gurū Har Rāi, who once stopped here during his travels across the Mālvā region. The old name of the village, still current in popular usage, was Bhokhṛī. It was changed during the late 1960's to Har Rāipur in honour of Gurū Har Rāi. Gurū Gobind Singh is also said to have visited Bhokhṛī. The present building of Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Har Rāi Sāhib, 400 metres to the northwest of the village, was constructed in 1928. It consists of a hall, in front of the domed sanctum, half-octagonal in shape. Gurū kā Laṅgar and residential rooms are in an adjacent compound. A *sarovar* and a pavilion for larger gatherings have been added in recent years. The Gurdwārā is under the control of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, but the land attached to it is still in the possession of the former *mahant*.

M.G.S.

HARSARAN DĀS was newswriter of the British government at the Sikh capital of Lahore who sent his reports to the political agent at Ludhiānā. His despatches cover the period of political turmoil at Lahore from the death of Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh, 8 November 1840, to the assassination of Mahārājā Sher Singh, 15 September 1843. He refers to the

differences that arose between the Sikh Darbār and the British government, particularly on account of the Darbār's plans to occupy the two frontier territories of Swāt and Buner. Harsaran Dās had reported in his diaries that Sikhs had received a secret agent from Nepal and that the Gorkhā general, Matābar Singh, had paid a clandestine visit to Lahore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

B.S.N.

HARSĀ SIṄGH, GENERAL (d. 1887), son of Shām Singh, was a soldier in the Khālsā army, and commanded one of the regiments of the French brigade. He had the rank of general under Mahārājā Sher Singh. In 1848, he fought on the side of Dīwān Mūl Rāj at Multān. He was deprived of his *jāgīrs* by the British after the Punjab was annexed in 1849. During the uprising of 1857, he enlisted in the 11th Bengal Lancers as a Risāldār. He retired in 1860 with the title of Sardār. Sardār Harsā Singh was a Provincial Darbārī and resided at Sultānviṇḍ, Amritsar. His son, Jasvant Singh, also a Risāldār in the 11th Bengal Lancers, received the Order of Merit for his services in connection with the Afghān Boundary Commission.

Harsā Singh died at Amritsar in 1887.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

HARSUKH RĀI, GENERAL (d. 1867), son of Gurdit Singh served in Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's army and was in the first instance attached to a cavalry unit under Prince Khaṛak Singh. His next appointment was as Adālatī or judge at Multān under the Sikh governor of the province, Dīwān Sāvan Mall,

but he soon returned to the army. In 1836, he secured a ranked position in the Sikh court which he held until 1839, when he was sent again to Multān to take charge of the salt customs. Mahārājā Sher Singh made him administrator of Sheikhūpurā. When Jawāhar Singh became prime minister in 1844, he dismissed Harsukh Rāi from service and confiscated his *jāgīrs* for his alleged involvement in intrigues with Prince Pashaurā Singh against him. Harsukh Rāi again came into favour when power passed into the hands of Rājā Lāl Singh who created him a general in the army.

On the annexation of the Punjab, Harsukh Rāi was appointed by the British a Tahsildār. Harsukh Rāi died at Amritsar in 1867.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
S.S.B.

HĀRŪ, BHĀĪ, Vij Khatrī, a Sikh of Gurū Arjan's time known for his devotion and humility. He received instruction from the Gurū himself and learnt how individual effort was necessary to self-realization even though God's grace was the final arbiter.

The name figures in Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 20.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

HARVEY, an English physician who was employed by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh in 1838, as a medical officer in the army. In the latter half of 1839, he fell sick and left the Punjab.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India*. [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

HASANPUR-QABŪLPUR, twin villages separated only by a narrow lane, in Paṭiālā district, about 15 km southeast of Rājpurā (30°-28'N, 76°-37'E), are sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur and Gurū Gobind Singh. Gurū Gobind Singh is said to have come here as a child from Lakhnaur in 1670, and Gurū Tegh Bahādur during his tour of the Mālva in 1672-74. According to local tradition, two Muslim Shaikhs, Azmat and Bāhrā, served the Gurūs with devotion and were rewarded with special letters of appreciation. A small domed *gurdwārā* was constructed by the local *saṅgat* in 1918. This is now enclosed in a high-roofed rectangular hall. The shrine named Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Naumī Ate Dasmī is within the revenue limits of Hasanpur, but is managed by a joint committee of the two villages, Hasanpur and Qabūlpur.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

HASSŪ, BHĀĪ, a blacksmith, was a devotee of Gurū Nānak. According to *Purātān Janam Sākhī*, he and Bhāi Sīhān, a washerman, accompanied the Gurū during his travel through Kashmīr. They reduced to writing hymns uttered by Gurū Nānak during this journey.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Vir Singh, Bhāi, ed., *Purātān Janam Sākhī*. Amritsar, 1982
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

Gn.S.

HAṬHĪ SĪNGH (d. 1783) was the son of Ajīt Sīng, adopted son of Gurū Gobind Sīng's widow Mātā Sundarī. When Mātā Sundarī disowned Ajīt Sīng for his profligacy and moved from Delhi to Mathurā, she took with her Haṭhī Sīng and his mother, Tārā Bāi. As he grew up, Haṭhī Sīng, too, like his father, became a pretender to gurūship. He used to substitute his own name for Nānak in scriptural hymns and claim them as his own. Disgusted with his behaviour, Mātā Sundarī discarded him and came back to live at Delhi. Haṭhī Sīng, after the sack of Mathurā by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, migrated to Burhānpur in Madhya Pradesh, where he established a *saṅgat* of his own. He died there without an heir in 1783. His *samādh*, i.e. memorial shrine, is situated in the premises of Gurdwārā Baṛī Saṅgat, Burhānpur.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Chhibbar, Kesar Sīng, *Baṅsāvalīnāmā Dasān Pātshāhīn Kā*. Chandigarh, 1972
2. Santokh Sīng, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Padam, Piārā Sīng, and Giānī Garjā Sīng, eds., *Gurū kiān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986

Gn.S.

HAṬHŪR, village 20 km south of Jagrāoṅ (30°-47'N, 75°-28'E) in Ludhiānā district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Chheviṅ Pātshāhī, commemorating the visit in 1634-35 of Gurū Hargobind. The present building raised during the 1980's is a five-storeyed structure with the sanctum at the far end of a large assembly hall, on the ground floor. The Gurdwārā is maintained by the local *saṅgat* and is managed by a village committee.

Jg.S.

HĀṬHŪ SĪNGH, of Kahnā Kāchhā, a village in Lahore district (now in Pakistan), was an eighteenth-century Sikh warrior. According to Ratan Sīng Bhaṅgū, *Prāchīn Panth*

Prakāsh, once while fighting against Durrānī invaders, his horse stumbled and fell over him. Hāṭhū Sīng could not drag himself out soon enough and was taken prisoner by the enemy. He was escorted to the presence of Ahmad Shāh, the Durrānī king, who ordered that he be thrown in front of a ferocious elephant to be trampled over. As the story goes, the royal orders were carried out but the elephant did not budge the ground. Hāṭhū Sīng was then cast amid two elephants facing each other. As the animals pulled their weight in opposite directions, his body was split into two.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bhaṅgū, Ratan Sīng, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914

M.G.S.

HAUMAI is a term which recurs frequently in the Gurū Granth Sāhib in reference to the spiritual state of those who have not discovered the way of liberation and peace. Literally, the word means 'I am', implying egoism reckoned as a spiritual and moral disease. It is, says Gurū Amar Dās, a filth which clings to man, a polluting presence which torments its victims while resisting all attempts on their part to wash it away: "*jagi haumai mailu dukhu pāiā malu lāgī dūjai bhāi; malu haumai dhoī kivai na utarai je sau tirath nāi* — in this world the filth of *haumai*, the clinging dirt of worldly affection, bring suffering. The foulness of *haumai* will not be removed, though one may bathe at a hundred places of pilgrimage" (GG, 39). It would not let its victims turn to God for, says Gurū Amar Dās again, "*Haumai* and remembrance of God's Name are at variance with each other. The two will not live in the same abode — *haumai nāvai nālī vīrodhu hai dui na vasahi ik thāi*" (GG, 560). *Haumai*, declares Gurū Rām Dās is "*man antari rogu*" — an inner disease within the human *man* (psyche) which afflicts the obstinate

manmukh (ego-centred man). In the *man* is the canker of *haumai*, the source of confusion and apathy in the self-willed and the base (GG, 301). It is, according to Gurū Nānak, an ever-present condition, dominating the whole of a man's life as it lays hold of him: "In *haumai* he comes and in *haumai* he goes; in *haumai* he is born and in *haumai* he dies; ... in *haumai* he pays regard, sometimes to virtue and sometimes to vice..." (GG, 466). There is, however, a remedy and Gurū Rām Dās, having identified *haumai* as an inner disease, proceeds to name the infallible antidote: "*Man antari haumai rogu hai bhrami bhūle manmukh durajanā / Nānak rogu gavāi mili satigur sādhu sajanā* — the disease is overcome, Nānak, as one meets the true Gurū in company with the truly devout" (GG, 301). Kabīr describes the result: "Mere words achieve nothing; One finds inner peace only as *haumai* flees" (GG, 325).

Haumai is thus a spiritual disease, a condition which dominates the *man* or psyche of the *manmukh*. From it flow all the ignorance, selfishness and depravity which mark people dwelling in sequestration from the Gurū and God. To overcome its fatal effects, the *manmukh* must become a *gurmukh*, turning his affections away from his *man* (mind) and fastening them instead upon the Gurū, i.e. God. Those who do this by regular disciplined meditation on the Divine Name and by singing His praises in fellowship with the devout purge themselves of the evil which chains them to the wheel of suffering. Liberated from its bonds, they find that peace and total tranquillity which endure forever.

The fundamental importance of the concept of *haumai* in Sikh teaching is easily understood when one observes with what frequency the word occurs in Scripture and what emphasis it receives. It is also relatively easy to understand the general sense in which the word is used — i.e. to designate the primary affliction of unregenerate mankind.

Finding an English translation is, however, much more difficult; no precise equivalent in fact exists. What seems accessible though is a cluster of approximate terms which may communicate an understanding of *haumai*. Although it appears in the Gurū Granth Sāhib as a single word, *haumai* was in fact formed by juxtaposing two words, a verb and a noun. Its two syllables are made up of *hauñ*, being a verb, in the first person, and *mai* (ñ), the equivalent of 'I' in Kharī Bolī and Punjabi. The result might therefore be translated as 'I am'. This immediately suggests 'ego' as an appropriate translation, one which certainly comes as close to a literal rendering as English will provide. Many writers have, for this reason, used 'ego' when translating *haumai* into English. This is, however, open to two objections. The first is that 'ego' has already been appropriated as a translation for the distinctively different Sanskrit word *ahankāra* which is merely descriptive and not qualitative. The second is that the word has become progressively less precise in English usage and may now be employed in at least three different senses, none of which truly corresponds to *haumai*.

A stronger possibility is pride, the word which was used by Max Arthur Macauliffe as a translation and which obviously met with the approval of Bhāi Kāhn Singh of Nābhā. In his *Gurmat Mārtand*, Kāhn Singh lists *haumai* and *hañkāras* as a single category, adding to them other closely related terms such as *abhimān*, *khudī* and *gumān*. Their choice implies, however, an exact identity, and whereas this does occasionally seem to apply to the Gurū Granth Sāhib usage of both words, the relationship normally appears to be one of intimate cause and effect rather than precise correspondence. Whereas *haumai* describes the basic affliction of the *manmukh*, words such as *garab* and *hañkār* are characteristically used to designate pride as an inevitable result rather than as the actual seat of the problem. It must, however, be

remembered that 'pride' (*ahaṅkāra*) is reiterated in Gurbānī as the most insidious of the Five Evils and *haumai*, being its origin, is therefore a malignant and deep-seated spiritual and moral disease. Considered in this way, the connotation of the term becomes clearer, though its rendering as 'egoism' and even 'pride', in default of a more precise term, has to remain. Other possibilities include 'self-willed obstinacy,' 'self-centredness'. The conclusion which seems most appropriate is that *haumai* is not precisely translatable. One must therefore seek to understand these terms in their Gurū Granth Sāhib context. In this manner we may hope to understand the Gurū's concept of the human *man* and the disease of *haumai* to which it is subject.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944
2. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990
3. Nirbhai Singh, *Philosophy of Sikhism*. Delhi, 1990
4. Kāhn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurmat Māntaṅḍ*. Amritsar, 1962
5. Pratāp Singh, Giāni, *Gurmati Philāsphā*. Amritsar, 1971

W.H.M.

HAYĀT KHĀN (d. 1688), one of the disbanded officials of the Mughal army who, along with five hundred Paṭhān soldiers, was recruited by Gurū Gobind Singh at Pāoṅṭā Sāhib, on the recommendation of Pīr Buddhū Shāh of Saḍhaurā. On the eve of the battle of Bhaṅgānī, he however deserted the Gurū and joined the hill chiefs against him. Hayāt Khān was challenged in the battle by Kirpāl, the *mahant* or head of the Udāsī *sādhūs*. Kirpāl killed Hayāt Khān with his heavy club. The feat is described by Gurū Gobind Singh in a vivid image in his *Bachitra Nāṭak*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*.

2. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
3. Senāpati, Kavi, *Srī Gur Sobhā*. Patiala, 1968
4. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

G.S.

HAZĀRĀ SĪNGH, BHĀĪ (1902-1921), one of the Nankāṇā Sāhib martyrs, was born on 15 Poh 1958 Bk/27 December 1901, the son of Bhāi Lāl Singh and Māi Nand Kaur, farmers of Chakk No. 64 Baṅḍālā Nihāloāṇā, in Lyallpur (now Faisalābād) district, in western Pakistan. Hazārā Singh was drawn into the Sikh movement for the reform of Gurdwārā management, then raging in the Punjab. He joined the *jathā* (corps of volunteers) of Bhāi Lachhmaṅ Singh of Dhārovālī which, on 20 February 1921, met with a savage fate at the hands of the assassins hired for the purpose by the custodians of the Sikh shrine of Nankāṇā Sāhib. Some of the *jathā* were roasted alive upon a pile of firewood sprinkled with kerosene oil. Hazārā Singh was one of the three persons who could be recognized even after the blaze had swept through them.

Hazārā Singh was survived by his wife and infant daughter. The family declined to receive any relief or pension sanctioned by the Shiromaṅī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee for the martyr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jwan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

HAZĀRĀ SĪNGH, GIĀNĪ (1828-1908), scholar and educator, was born in Amritsar in 1828. He also used to inscribe his name as Bhāi Hazārā Singh Giānī as well as Hazūr Harī. His father, Bhāi Sāvaṅ Singh, was employed in the Golden Temple as a store keeper. The family had migrated from Harappā, now in Pakistan, to settle in Amritsar. Early in his career, Hazārā Singh

was apprenticed to Sant Chandā Singh, famous in his day in classical Sikh learning. Besides the Sikh texts, he studied Persian and Sanskrit and acquired facility in both. He had strong literary inclinations nurtured by his association with the education department set up by the British after the occupation of the Punjab in 1849 and by the Singh Sabhā renaissance which provided new creative incentives. He was an active member of the Amritsar Singh Sabhā and acted for a while as one of its secretaries. In the education department, Hazārā Singh worked as an inspector for vernacular schools. He prepared textbooks in Punjabi such as *Bhūgol Mañjarī*, *Bhūgol Darpaṇ*, *Prīlam Gaṇit*, *Hind dā Sugam Itihās*, *Itihās Prashnotrī*, *Gurmukhī Parkāsh* and *Dulhan Patrikā*. He rendered Shaikh Sā'adī's Persian classics, *Gulistān* and *Bostān* into Braj verse and adapted Nazīr Ahmad's famous Urdu novel *Mirāt ul-Arūs* into Punjabi which was published under the title of *Dulhan Darpaṇ*. In Punjabi, he wrote *Sūraj Prakāsh Chavarnikā*, which is an abridged version of *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, and the biographies of Gurū Har Rāi and Gurū Har Krishan. His more enduring works were *Gurū Granth Kosh*, a dictionary of the Gurū Granth Sāhib initiated by him but which received its current form from his daughter's son, Bhāi Vir Singh, celebrated Sikh savant and poet, and *Vārān Bhāi Gurdās* (4 vols) which is a commentary on the *vārs* of Bhāi Gurdās.

Giānī Hazārā Singh died on 27 September 1908 at the ripe age of eighty.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Balbir Singh, *Srī Charan Hari Visthār*. Dehra Dun, 1945
2. Harbans Singh, ed., *Bhāi Vir Singh Abhinandan Granth*. Delhi, 1954
3. Vir Singh, Bhāi, *Vārān Bhāi Gurdās*. Amritsar, 1962
4. Harbans Singh, *Bhai Vir Singh*. Delhi, 1972

Hn.S.

HĀZĀR NĀMAH, an apocryphal composition in verse attributed to Gurū Nānak. The work is a discourse on the control of five lusts. It commends virtues of honesty, dutifulness, humility, truthfulness, justice, contentment and faithfulness.

T.S.

HEHRĀN is a village in Ludhiānā district, on the Gurū Gobind Singh Mārg, 11 km north of Rāikoṭ (30°-39'N, 75°-37'E). Gurdwārā Pātshāhī VI ate X at Hehrān commemorates the visits of Gurū Hargobind and Gurū Gobind Singh. The former visited it during his tour of the Mālvā at the request of Bhāi Hamīrā, a devoted Sikh. When Gurū Gobind Singh came here after the battle of Chamkaur in 1705, a Sikh *dharamsālā* was in existence here, with Kirpāl Dās Udāsī, a veteran of the battle of Bhaṅgānī, as its head priest. Kirpāl Dās was delighted at the unexpected visit of the Gurū, but when he learnt that he had been expelled from Anandpur by imperial forces who might be in pursuit of him, his enthusiasm turned into cold politeness. Afraid of the possible consequences of sheltering a rebel, he gave a hint to the Gurū not to linger on at Hehrān, but hasten to a safer place. The Gurū told him to shed his fear and remain firm in his faith. The Udāsī *ḍerā* continued to flourish under Kirpāl Dās and his successors.

After the adoption of the Sikh Gurdwārās Act of 1925, the old *ḍerā* was replaced by a new building, work on which started on 15 June 1951. The new Gurdwārā building consists of a large rectangular hall built on a high plinth with a verandah all around. The *prakāsh asthān*, a square-shaped room open on one side, within the hall has a lotus dome above it. Largely-attended assemblies take place on the opening day of every Bikramī month. The birth anniversaries especially of Gurū Nānak, Gurū Hargobind and Gurū Gobind Singh are celebrated with special

ferveur. Two holy relics are also preserved here — one, a bedstead used by visiting Gurūs and a hearth used for cooking their food. The Gurdwārā owns agricultural land and some real estate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgrahi*, Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

HEMĀ, BHĀĪ, a devout Sikh of Khānpur, a village now known as Khān Chhāprī, 8 km west of Goindvāl (30°-22'N, 75°-9'E) in Amritsar district of the Punjab, who would extend the hospitality of his humble thatched hut, *chhaprī* in Punjabi, to any Sikh or holy man. Once, during the winter season, Gurū Arjan, while travelling through the countryside with a few attendants, was suddenly caught in rain and storm near Khānpur. As records the author of the *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevīn*, his attendants knocked at the doors of several well-built mansions, but none opened to give them shelter. The Gurū then took them to Bhāī Hemā's hut. It was an unexpected delight for Hemā to receive and serve the Gurū. He gave the Gurū the only blanket he had, and himself, exposed under the leaking roof, prepared a frugal fare which he adoringly served to the holy guest and his Sikhs. Gurū Arjan was very pleased and composed, extempore, the hymn beginning with the lines: "Handsome and prosperous is the thatched hut in which God's praises are recited; useless, utterly useless are the mansions where He is not remembered." (GG, 745).

Bhāī Hemā was taken ill owing to sudden exposure in the cold night. Gurū Arjan stayed with him during his sickness. But Hemā did not survive and died, as had been his wish, in the Gurū's arms. The Gurū himself performed the obsequies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevīn*. Patiala, 1970
2. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

T.S.

HEMĀ, BHĀĪ, a devout Sikh of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, along with his brother (Nagāhīā) and father (Lakkhī Shāh) and another person by the name of Nāik, son of Kāhnā, brought the headless body of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, after he was executed at Delhi's Chāndnī Chowk under imperial orders, to his home at Rāisinā (Delhi). Since cremation in the open would not have been possible, they brought the body into the house, which they put aflame. This happened on Maghar *sudī* 6, 1732 Bk/AD 1675.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giānī Garjā Singh, eds. *Gurū kiān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986

D.S.

HEMĀ KAPĀHĪ, BHĀĪ, was a resident of Sultānpur Lodhī in the present Kapūrthālā district of the Punjab. He was in cotton (*kapāh*) trade for which reason he was known as Kapāhī. He embraced the Sikh faith in the time of Gurū Amar Dās and also received instruction from Gurū Arjan. He was known for the spiritual enlightenment he had achieved. The name figures among the leading Sikhs of the times of Gurū Amar Das (*Vārān*, XI. 21).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pralāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

HEM KUNṬ SĀHIB, GURDWĀRĀ SRĪ, lit. Receptacle of Ice, situated in the Himalayas at a height of about 15,210 feet above sea

level and located in Chamolī district of Uttar Pradesh, is dedicated to Gurū Gobind Singh. Gurū Gobind Singh in his autobiographical work, *Bachitra Nāṭak*, has said that before his birth he had been meditating on the Mahā Kāl (God) at a place which he described as “Hemkuṇṭ Parvat adorned with seven peaks where earlier the king Paṇḍūrāj (a character in the epic *Mahābhārata*) had practised austerities.” The exact spot was not known until Paṇḍit Tārā Singh Narotam (1822-91), well-known Nirmalā scholar, determined its location after referring to the *Mahābhārata* texts (1. 119) alluded to in the *Bachitra Nāṭak*. Later Sant Sohan Singh of Tehrī Gaṛhvāl actually surveyed the area and found the place in 1934, and with the financial assistance and encouragement from Bhāi Vīr Singh (1872-1957), the Sikh savant, constructed a modest 3-metre square shrine in 1936. After his death on 13 February 1939, Havildār Modan Singh, an ex-army sergeant, served the place with extraordinary devotion for the next 21 years. He not only maintained the shrine at Hemkuṇṭ, but also established Gurdwārās Gobind Ghāt (height 6,000 feet) and Gobind Dhām (height 10,500 feet) to serve as base camps for pilgrims visiting Gurdwārā Hem Kuṇṭ Sāhib. Before his death in December 1960, Havildār Modan Singh also set up Srī Hem Kuṇṭ Sahib Management Trust. The Trust, with headquarters at Kānpur, has also replaced the building at Hem Kuṇṭ Sāhib with a new and more spacious one, and has also constructed two more *gurdwārās* along the route — one each at Srīnagar (Gaṛhvāl) and Joshī Maṭh — and has been running Gurū kā Laṅgar and rest camps at all these places for the pilgrims.

Gurdwārā Hem Kuṇṭ Sāhib stands on the bank of a sweet-water lake (circumference roughly 2.5 km) in a narrow valley surrounded by high mountains capped by seven peaks (*saptaśrṅga*). The place is inaccessible during winter. Even in summer it is visited only during the day, the pilgrims

coming back to Gurdwārā Gobind Dhām because lack of enough oxygen at that height makes an extended stay at the top shrine impossible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*
2. *Itihās, Guide... Srī Hemkuṇṭ Sāhib*. Kanpur, 1979
M.G.S.

HEMŪ SOINĪ, BHĀĪ, a Sikh resident of Shāhdarā, 5 km north of Lahore, once visited Gurū Arjan. He was accompanied by Bhāi Rāmā and Bhāi Jattū, both from Shāhdarā. They supplicated with folded hands: “O True King! We regularly hear *kīrtan* and religious discourses, but we retain not what we hear. Be kind to tell us how we shall be saved.” The Gurū, according to Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, said, “Retention depends upon a combination of hearing, believing, repeated reflection and practising what one hears, believes and reflects upon. Follow this path and you shall be liberated from the cycle of birth and death during this life itself. You shall be *jīvanmukta*.”

The name of Bhāi Hemū Soinī occurs in Bhāi Gurdās’s roster of leading contemporary Sikhs. See his *Vārān*, XI. 24.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

HEST, a Greek national, who, before joining the Sikh army in 1843, was the commandant of Hyderābād artillery. According to Carmichael Smyth, he was killed at Lahore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India* [Reprint] Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

HIKĀYĀT is the title given to the eleven tales, in Persian verse but in Gurmukhī letters, in the *Dasam Granth*, immediately after the *Zafarnāmah*. The title 'Hikāyat' does not occur in the actual text, but most of the tales have a verse, coming after two or three invocational lines in the beginning, which contains the phrase '*hikāyat shunīdem*' (we have heard the story of...). *Hikāyat*, being the plural of *Hikāyat* (story, tale), is adopted as the title for these tales.

Each tale is meant to emphasize a moral lesson. The subject matter of the tales is in keeping with the literary taste and style of mediæval India and ranges from the romantic and chivalrous to the fantastic and the macabre. Six of these eleven tales are Hindi tales retold in Persian. Hikāyat 4 is Chritra 52 of the *Chritropākhyān*, where an intrepid *rānī* defeats the obdurate Rājā Subhaṭ Singh in battle in order to marry him. Hikāyat 5 is the Persian version of Chritra 267. Some other stories from *Chritropākhyān* have likewise found their way into these *hikāyāt*. All the verses as well as *hikāyats* are numbered, but *hikāyat* one is not traceable. The first tale which comes after the *Zafarnāmah* is numbered two. Some scholars have suggested that *Zafarnāmah* proper should be treated as *hikāyat* number one while others give number one to the first four verses occurring at the beginning of *hikāyat* two. These verses are in praise of God and are mainly in Sanskritized Braj.

The first (tale 2) *hikāyat* is about a *rājā*'s four sons who were tested for their fitness to rule. The three elder sons were given great wealth which they soon squandered. The youngest son was given some seeds which he planted. From the harvest he was eventually able to build cities like Dehli—a possible lesson for Emperor Aurāngzīb and his sons. The *Hikāyāt* reaches the climax of horror in tale 12, where a Paṭhān woman from fear of her husband kills her lover, cooks him, and serves him up as a special feast to her hungry

husband and his friends, thus winning his approval.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ashta, Dharam Pal, *The Poetry of the Dasam Granth*. Delhi, 1959
2. Loehlin, C.H., *The Granth of Guru Gobind Singh and the Khalsa Brotherhood*. Lucknow, 1971
3. Jaggī, Rattan Singh, *Dasam Granth Parichaya*. Delhi, 1990
4. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Dasam Granth Darshan*. Patiala, 1990

C.H.L.

HIMMAT SINGH, BHĀĪ (1661-1705), one of the Pañj Piāre, or the Five Beloved, celebrated in Sikh history, was born in 1661 at Jagannāth in a low-caste family of water-suppliers. He came to Anandpur at the young age of 17, and attached himself to the service of Gurū Gobind Singh. Bhāī Himmat, as he was called before his initiation, was one of the five Sikhs who one by one offered to lay down their heads in response to the Gurū's successive calls made at an assembly of the Sikhs especially summoned on the occasion of Baisākhī of 1756 Bk corresponding to 30 March 1699. He along with the other four received the vows of the *Khālsā* at Gurū Gobind Singh's hands and was renamed Himmat Singh. Himmat Singh proved a brave warrior and while at Anandpur, he took part in battles with the surrounding hill chiefs and imperial commanders. He died in the battle of Chamkaur on 7 December 1705.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Chhibbar, Kesār Singh, *Baṅsāvalīnāmā Dasān Pātshāhīn Kā*. Chandigarh, 1972
2. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Chandigarh, 1968
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Sī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

S.S.A.

HIMMAT SINGH JALLEVĀLĪĀ (d. 1829), son of Chaudharī Gulāb Rāi, a Baiṅs Jaṭṭ of

Māhalpur, in present-day Hoshiārpur district of the Punjab, joined the Sikh forces which conquered Sirhind province in 1764, and secured for himself the village of Jallā, whence the family derived its cognomen of Jallevālīā. He later acknowledging the supremacy of the Nābhā chief joined his service. He represented the Nābhā ruler at the negotiations which led to the cis-Sutlej chiefs being taken under British protection in 1809. In 1812, he was induced by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh to leave Nābhā and become his *wazīr* which office he held until his death in 1829. He and his four brothers were given in *jāgīr* Alāvalpur, in Jalandhar district, with a revenue of over a lakh of rupees. Himmat Singh also received two villages south of the Sutlej from Fateh Singh Āhlūvālīā, the Kapūrthālā chief. The famous Jalliānvālā Bāgh in Amritsar, the scene of the killing of hundreds of unarmed, defenceless Indians by a senior British military officer on 13 April 1919 belonged to Himmat Singh Jallevālīā. Himmat Singh's elder son, Albel Singh, was killed fighting for Ranjīt Singh, on the banks of the Jehlum in 1825. On Himmat Singh's death the village of Alāvalpur passed on to his heirs subject to the provision of 180 horsemen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

HINDĀL (HANDĀL), BHĀĪ (d. 1648), a prominent Sikh of the time of Gurū Rām Dās, was the son of Gājī, a resident of Jaṇḍiālā, 19 km east of Amritsar. His mother's name was Sukkhī. He was married to Uttamī, daughter of Hamzā, a Chahal Jatt. He received initiation at the hands of Gurū Amar Dās and continued to be in attendance upon his successor, Gurū Rām Dās. He spoke but little, and remained absorbed in devotion. As he once sat

kneading flour in the Gurū kā Laṅgar, Gurū Rām Dās suddenly stepped in. Hindāl rose instinctively to make his obeisance. Since the wet flour was adhering to his hands, he, as says *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, put them behind his back so that they did not smear the Gurū's feet when he touched them, and threw himself at his feet. The Gurū was pleased with his humble devotion. "Thy love is pleasing to my heart, Hindāl," he said. "Thou hast my blessing. Completed is thy service. Return now to thy native town and spread the True Name." Hindāl went back to Jaṇḍiālā and began to preach as instructed by the Gurū. He lived to a ripe old age and remained a true Sikh to the end. As a preacher he had made many disciples who were called Hindālīās or Nirañjaniās, i.e. the unsullied ones. However, after his death the Hindālīās became an heretic sect under his son, Bidhī Chand, who compiled a *granth* and a *janam sākhī* of his own. In both he sought to exalt Hindāl and belittle Gurū Nānak. In the eighteenth century, the Nirañjaniās helped the government in persecuting Sikhs. Haribhagat Nirañjaniā of Jaṇḍiālā was a notorious informer who caused the arrest and execution of countless Sikhs. Among them were Bhāī Tārū Singh and Matāb Singh Mīrānkoṭiā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prachīn Panth prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914
4. Vīr Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Ashtgur Chamatkār*. Amritsar, 1971
Gr.S.

HĪRĀ SĪNGH (c. 1706-1767), founder of the Nakaī *misl* or chiefship, was a Sandhū Jatt of the village of Bahiṛvāl, near Chūniān, in Lahore district, now in Pakistan. He was born the son of Chaudharī Hem Rāj, headman of

the village. In 1731, he received the initiatory rites of the *Khālsā* at the hands of the celebrated *Bhāi Manī Singh*, and took to the adventurous and daring way of life of the Sikhs of those days. A number of young men of neighbouring villages joined him in his exploits, and he collected a lot of goods and many cattle, camels and horses. When the Sikhs sacked *Kasūr* in 1763 and conquered *Sirhind* in 1764, *Hirā Singh* occupied *Bahirvāl*, *Chūniān*, *Dīpālpur*, *Jambar*, *Jethūpur*, *Kaṅganvāl* and *Khuḍiān*. He established his headquarters at *Chūniān*, 60 km from *Lahore*, on the road from *Firozpur* to *Multān*, and laid the foundation of the *Nakaī* principality — so called after the name of the region known as *Nakkā* over which *Hirā Singh* dominated.

Hirā Singh was killed in action in 1767 at *Pākpaṭṭan* which he had attacked.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Panjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.
2. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963
3. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. IV. Delhi, 1982

S.S.B.

HĪRĀ SĪNGH (b. 1835), son of *Kirpāl Singh*, a *jāgīrdār* of the village of *Saḍhaurā* in *Ambālā* district of the *Punjab*, was born in 1835. He was one of the twenty-two *sūbās*, i.e. governors or deputies, appointed in different parts by the *Nāmdhārī* hierarchy. In 1869, *Hirā Singh* led a deputation of the *Kūkās* to *Mahārājā Raṅbīr Singh* of *Kashmīr* who, at their request, agreed to raise a *Kūkā* regiment to which about 150 men were recruited. The regiment was, however, disbanded after two years under pressure of the British government. *Hirā Singh* was arrested along with *Bābā Rām Singh* at *Bhaiṇī Sāhib* in 1872 after the *Mālerkoṭlā* incidents. Set at liberty, he visited *Rangoon* in August 1880, to see

Bābā Rām Singh then under detention there. *Hirā Singh* was arrested at *Calcutta* on 1 November 1880 on his return journey to the *Punjab*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Fauja Singh, *Kuka Movement*. Delhi, 1965
2. Ahluwalia, M.M., *Kukas: The Freedom Fighters of the Panjab*. Bombay, 1965
3. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Kūkiān dī Vithiā*. Amritsar, 1944

M.L.A.

HĪRĀ SĪNGH (1875-1929), a *Ghadr* revolutionary, was born at the village of *Charaṛ*, in *Lahore* district, the son of *Māhṇā Singh*. He left home as a young man and adventured abroad, reaching *China* where he made a considerable amount of money. He had his links with the radical elements and was in *Hong Kong* when he was banished from the *Colony* for his political activity (December 1914). Spending some time in *Saigon* and *Bangkok*, he returned to *India*. He continued to mix with the *Ghadr* migrants who had returned home from *America* and travelled to various places in *Sindh* and *Balūchistān*, ostensibly to purchase cattle but in reality to further the cause of the revolution. He seduced the *sovārs* of the 23rd *Cavalry* at *Lahore* to join hands with the members of the *Ghadr* party. On 9 June 1915, he was arrested and tried in what was known as the *Supplementary Lahore Conspiracy Case*, 1915. On 30 March 1916 he was awarded death sentence which was later commuted to one of life imprisonment. He spent 13 years in different jails before he died on 6 February 1929 of a serious abdominal ailment in the *Civil Hospital* at *Belgaum*, in present-day *Karnāṭaka* state.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Puri, Harish K., *Ghadr Movement*. Amritsar, 1983
2. Mohan, Kamlesh, *Militant Nationalism in the Panjab 1919-35*. Delhi, 1985

3. Jagjit Singh, *Ghadr Pārī Lahir*. Delhi, 1979
4. Deol, Grudev Singh, *Ghadr Pārī ate Bhārat dā Qaumī Andolan*. Amritsar, 1970

M.L.S.

HĪRĀ SĪNGH, BHĀĪ (1880-1921), one of the Nankānā Sāhib martyrs, was the eldest of the four sons of Bhāī Būṭā Singh and Māī Bhāgaṅ, farmers of modest means living in village Ṭaungānvālī in Gujranwālā district (now in Pakistan). Under the influence of Bhāī Varyām Singh, Hīrā Singh turned an Akālī and was drawn into the movement for the reform of Gurdwārā management. He went through the rites of Khālsā initiation and attended the Akālī conference at Dhārovālī on 1-3 October 1920. He participated in the campaign for the liberation of Gurdwārā Kharā Saudā on 30 December 1920, and joined Bhāī Lachhmaṅ Singh's *jathā* for the liberation of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, Nankānā Sāhib, where he along with others was mowed down on 20 February 1921 by the hired assassins of Mahant Naraiṅ Dās, the custodian of the Nankānā Sāhib shrine.

Since he had not married, his martyrs' pension of Rs 15 per month, granted by the Shiomaṅī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, was received by his mother.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jvan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

HĪRĀ SĪNGH DARD, GIĀNĪ (1889-1965), journalist and author, who in his early youth began writing religious and patriotic poetry in Punjabi under the pseudonym of "Dard", later absorbed into his name, was born on 30 September 1889 in the village of Ghaghrot, in Rāwalpīṅḍī district, now in Pakistan. His father Harī Singh, who belonged to a Brāhmaṅ family of Puñchh, had come to settle in Rāwalpīṅḍī and embraced the Sikh faith. Hīrā Singh attended the Christian

Mission School at Rāwalpīṅḍī and was in 1907 appointed an octroi clerk in the local Municipal Committee which employment he resigned to become a teacher at the Singh Sabhā school at Chakk No 73 J.B., in Lyallpur district. While working at the school, he passed the Vidvān (Proficiency), and Giānī (Honours) examinations in Punjabi from the Pañjāb University, Lahore. During this period, he wrote poems on Sikh historical personages and events of which two collections *Uphkārān dī Vainnagī* (Samples of the Deeds of Charity) and *Sikh Bachchio Jāgo* (Wake up Sikh Youth), were published in 1912 and 1913, respectively.

Hīrā Singh took part in the agitation for the restoration of the wall of Gurdwārā Rikābgaṅj demolished by the British. He brought out a pamphlet on this issue which excited the entire Sikh community. He was among those who, in 1915, held a recitation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib in his school and offered prayers for the *Komagata Maru* passengers who had fallen martyrs to British bullets at Budge Budge Ghāt of the Huglī in Calcutta. For this he had to undergo arrest.

When in 1920, Master Sundar Singh Lyallpurī started the Punjabi daily, *Akālī*, from Lahore with Maṅgal Singh as editor, Hīrā Singh was appointed an assistant editor. The newspaper was strongly anti-government and Hīrā Singh had to undergo a series of imprisonments. Coming out of jail in 1924, he launched a literary monthly *Phulvārī*, which was to become a landmark in Punjabi letters. The *Phulvārī* was published from Amritsar up to 1930 and thereafter, till its cessation in 1942, from Lahore, when Hīrā Singh was arrested in the Quit India movement.

During those early years of the freedom movement in the country, Hīrā Singh served as secretary of the Sikh League and as a member of the Shiromaṅī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar. He was

also a member of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee as well as of the All-India Congress Committee. He was one of the founders, with Sir Shahāb ud-Dīn and Shri S.P. Singhā, of the Punjabi Sabhā.

After the partition of the Punjab in 1947, he settled in Jalandhar and revived the *Phulvārī*. His views were now pronouncedly leftist. His publications of this later period include verse collections, *Hor Agere* (Yet Further), 1950, and *Chonave Dard Suneh* (Selected Messages from Dard), 1954, *Panth, Dharam te Rājnītī* (Panth, Religion and Politics), 1950, *Navīn Bhārat de Rājasī Āgū* (Political Leaders of New India), 1952, and *Merīān Kujh Itihāsik Yādān* (Some of My Historical Reminiscences), 1955. He tried his hand at short story writing also and published, in 1953, a slender volume *Ās dī Tand te Hor Kahānīān* (The Thread of Hope and Other Stories). His *Punjabi Sāhit dā Itihās* (History of Punjabi Literature), 1953, written from the Marxist point of view, was chiefly meant as a textbook for students. He visited Malaya in 1938 and combining his experiences in that country with those of nearer home, he published a travel diary, *Brijbhūmī te Malāyā dī Yātrā*, 1958.

Hīrā Singh died after a long illness on 22 June 1965 at Jalandhar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mohan Singh, *History of Punjabi Literature (1100-1932)*. Amritsar, 1956
2. Piār Singh, *Tejā Singh Samundrī*. Amritsar, 1975
3. Dard, Hīrā Singh, *Merīān Kujh Itihāsik Yādān*. Jalandhar, 1955

S.S.S.

HĪRĀ SĪNGH ḌOGRĀ (1816-1844), prime minister of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore from 17 September 1843 to 21 December 1844, was born the eldest son of Rājā Dhiān Singh in 1816 at Rāmgarh, about 25 km from Jammū. Dhiān Singh, an influential courtier, introduced his son to his patron

Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh who took very favourably to the young boy. He treated him with great generosity from the very beginning, bestowing upon him the title of Rājā in 1828 and, then, proclaiming him Farzand-i-Khās, i.e. the favoured son. He granted him numerous *jāgīrs* which totally amounted to nearly five lakh of rupees annually. When after the assassination of Mahārājā Sher Singh and Rājā Dhiān Singh, Raṅjīt Singh's five year old son, Duleep Singh, was proclaimed Mahārājā of the Punjab on 17 September 1843, Hīrā Singh assumed the office of prime minister. But he failed to consolidate his position. What earned him unpopularity was the appointment of Paṅḍit Jallā as his deputy. He confiscated the fiefs of the Sandhānvālīā *sardārs* who were responsible for the murders of Mahārājā Sher Singh, Kaṅvar Partāp Singh and Rājā Dhiān Singh. Hīrā Singh had Bhāi Gurmukh Singh, a revered Sikh divine, and Misr Belī Rām murdered for their having opposed his father's proposal to crown him Mahārājā after the death of Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh. He also put in jail Jawāhar Singh, brother of Queen Mother, Mahārānī Jind Kaur, and exiled from Lahore his own uncle, Suchet Singh Ḍogrā, both of whom were considered rivals to his position. At the instance of his uncle Gulāb Singh Ḍogrā who helped him concoct some false letters, he confiscated the lands of Kaṅvar Kashmīrā Singh and Kaṅvar Pashaurā Singh, two of the surviving sons of Raṅjīt Singh. He also sent a force against them under Gulāb Singh. This assault on the princes caused much resentment among the troops who turned against the Ḍogrā prime minister and forced him to restore their *jāgīrs* and release Jawāhar Singh from captivity. Hīrā Singh's intrigues reached their culminating point in his designs against Bābā Bir Singh, a soldier turned a religious saint, who had set up his own *dera* in a small village, Naurāngābād in Amritsar district, secluded from courtly

machinations. He was a true well-wisher of the dynasty of Ranjīt Singh and was deeply grieved at the disaster which had overtaken it through the envy of the courtiers. His personal influence greatly perturbed Hīrā Singh who sent troops to attack his citadel in the village, where Prince Kashmīrā Singh and Atar Singh Sandhāñvālīā had taken asylum. The attack upon Bābā Bīr Singh and a subsequent attempt by Hīrā Singh's favourite, Paṇḍit Jallā, to poison Mahārānī Jind Kaur aroused the ire of the Sikh army. Hīrā Singh abandoned Lahore with 4,000 of his trusted troops and several cartloads of gold and silver removed from the treasury, but a Sikh force led by Jawāhar Singh and Shām Singh Aṭārīvālā overtook him on the way, killing him along with his adviser, Paṇḍit Jallā, on 21 December 1844.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lal, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Smyth, G. Carmichael, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*. Calcutta, 1847
3. Hasrat, B.J., *Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968
4. Fauja Singh, *After Ranjīt Singh*. Delhi, 1982
5. Khushwant Singh, *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*. Calcutta, 1962

S.S.C.

HĪRĀ SĪNGH KALĀL, of Pasrūr in Siālkoṭ district, went in company with Ṭhākūr Singh Sandhāñvālīā travelling to England in 1884 to meet Mahārājā Duleep Singh. On his return to India, he is said to have acted as an intermediary between the Rājā of Kashmīr, Bābā Khem Singh Bedī and Mahārājā Duleep Singh. In November 1885, the Mahārājā wrote to him to engage 20 servants for him and bring them to Bombay. In April 1886, Hīrā Singh received a telegram from Duleep Singh intimating that the latter had started from England. Hīrā Singh engaged a batch of servants and took them to Bombay. On receiving the news of the Mahārājā's detention at Aden, he returned to the Punjab,

the Mahārājā's bankers at Bombay defraying the travel expenses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ganda Singh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement in the Panjab (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence)*. Patiala, 1972

K.S.T.

HĪRĀ SĪNGH, MAHĀRĀJĀ SIR (1843-1911), born on 19 December 1843, the son of Sukkhā Singh of Baḍrukkhāñ, ascended the throne of Nābhā state on 10 August 1877 after Rājā Bhagvān Singh who had died issueless and without adopting an heir. Hīrā Singh ruled for forty years and did much for the welfare of the people of the state and of the Sikhs in general. He despatched contingents of troops to fight in most of the major frontier campaigns and was duly rewarded by the British with many honours, including the titles of Rājā-i-Rājgān and Mahārājā. Mahārājā Hīrā Singh provided funds for the establishment of the Khālsā Printing Press at Lahore, supported the Khālsā College at Amritsar and promoted the reformist (Anand) form of Sikh marriage. He also patronized Max Arthur Macauliffe who was then engaged in his monumental work, *The Sikh Religion*.

Mahārājā Hīrā Singh was one of the ablest of Nābhā rulers — wise, liberal and pious. Legends about his justice and munificence are still current in the countryside. He died at Nābhā on 25 December 1911 and was succeeded by his son, Ripudaman Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, *The Rajas of the Punjab*. Delhi, 1977
2. Ganda Singh, *The Patiala and East Panjab States Union*. Patiala, 1957
3. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983

S.S.B.

HĪRĀ SĪNGH RĀGĪ, BHĀĪ (1879-1926), eminent exponent of Sikh devotional music,

was born in 1879 at Farūkā, in Shāhpur district, now in Pakistan. His father's name was Bhāi Bhāg Sīngh and mother's Satbharāi. Bhāg Sīngh was well versed in classical music and played string instruments such as *sāraṅgī* and *tāūs*. Hīrā Sīngh joined the middle school at Sāhīvāl, but soon left it to study the religious texts with Bhāi Māhṇā Sīngh of Farūkā. He learnt music from his father who performed *kīrtan* in the village *gurdwārā*. At the age of 15, he was married to Bībī Bhāvāñ (renamed Prem Kaur). He attended the Nirañkāri Darbār at Rāwalpiṇḍī and Nāmdhāri Darbār at Bhainī, and subsequently joined the *jathā* of Sant Atar Sīngh in whose company he also went on a pilgrimage to Srī Abchal Nagar Hazūr Sāhib, Nānded. In 1897, he settled down, with his wife, at Amritsar, working with the Khālsā Tract Society which brought him under the influence of Bhāi Vīr Sīngh and deepened his study of the Sikh scriptural writings. He started to learn playing the harmonium from Mahant Takht Sīngh. His father soon joined him in Amritsar and the two formed a *rāgī jathā*, or choir, which soon became the most famous ensemble reciting *kīrtan* at Sikh gatherings. Hīrā Sīngh led the *kīrtan* interspersing it with exposition of the sacred verse, as his father accompanied him on the *tāūs*. He joined the Chief Khālsā Dīwān founded in 1902, and worked tirelessly towards promoting its programme of religious and social reform and of education among Sikhs. By his *kīrtan* and discourses, he kept vast audiences spellbound. Many entered the Sikh fold under his influence. The story is told of Hājī Muhammad Miskīn who was among the audience listening to Bhāi Hīrā Sīngh's *kīrtan* in Gwālīor in 1925. The Hājī had very diligently manufactured a rare piece of art — a whisk made of 1,45,000 strands of sandalwood fibre—which he desired to present as an offering at an appropriate place of worship. He felt so moved that he accompanied Bhāi Hīrā Sīngh to Amritsar and, on his advice, offered the precious article

at the Golden Temple. The whisk is still preserved in the Golden Temple *toshākhānā* or treasury.

Bhāi Hīrā Sīngh was one of the principal fund-raisers for the Sikh Educational Conference which set up schools in many parts of the Punjab. He helped to found in 1908 a Khālsā high school at Farūkā which after the partition of 1947 was restarted in Ambālā Cantonment.

In the middle of 1924, Bhāi Hīrā Sīngh was taken ill with cancer of the stomach. He died at Dehrā Dūn on 2 September 1926.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Avtār Sīngh, Bhāi, and Gurcharan Sīngh, *Gurbānī Saṅgīt*. Patiala, 1976
2. *Sīngh Sabhā Patrikā (Bhāi Sāhib Rāgī Hīrā Sīngh Vishesh Avāk)*. Amritsar, 1979

B.I.S.

HĪRĀ SĪNGH, SANT (d. 1949), head priest of Takht Sachkhaṇḍ Srī Hazūr Sāhib Abchal Nagar, Nānded, in Mahārāshṭra, was born the son of Bhāi Karam Sīngh of Sehṇā, in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab. He received his early education and religious instruction in his village and this allowed him to read the Gurū Granth Sāhib felicitously. As he grew up, he went to Nānded and settled there for good, serving at the Takht Sāhib as a scripture-reader. He was appointed head priest on 24 October 1918 and continued in the position until relieved at his own request in 1944. But he was reappointed after a short break and remained head priest until his death in 1949. Sant Hīrā Sīngh, during his tenure in the high office, scrupulously guarded the sanctity of the sacred shrines and the interest of the Sikhs of Nānded. He was widely known for his pious character and for his knowledge of the Sikh sacred lore.

N.S.A.

HISĀB-I-AFWĀJ-MAHĀRĀJĀ RANJĪT SĪNGH, Persian MS. No. 622, in the Oriental

Public (K̲hudā Bux) Library, Paṭnā, is a manual of the accounts of Mahārājā RaṆjīt Sīng̲h's army. It is a highly illuminated manuscript with gold-ruled borders, size 12"x 7^{1/2}", 477 folios, written in mixed *shikastā* and *nasta'līq*, with equivalents of essential details, especially the figures, given in Gurmukhī. The anonymous author gives no date of its completion. The work provides information concerning Mahārājā RaṆjīt Sīng̲h's military administration — recruitment, equipment, scales of pay, organization and composition of the different branches of the Sikh army and its accounts. The three main sections it deals with are: Infantry (ff. 1-135), Cavalry (ff. 136-203a), and Artillery (ff. 204a-477a). The entries in most cases commenced with *barāwards* or muster rolls prepared by the commanding officers of different units. There are also *barāwards* of the *paṭtans* or battalions and of the *zambūr khānā* or light artillery, of swivel guns and of the *topkhānā* or arsenals. The regimental staff of the regular State-paid army consisted of generals, colonels, *kumedāns* or commandants, *ajūṭans* or adjutants, *mehjars* or majors, *sūbahdārs*, *jamādārs*, *havaladārs*, *nāiks*, *sarjans* or sergeants. The regimental list is invariably followed by an account of the camp-followers under the title *amlā*, and these include quartermaster, *munshī* or writer, *mutasaddī* or accountant, *granthī* or scripture-reader, *jhandābardār* or ensign, *lāngrī* or cook, *saqqā* or water-carrier, *daftarī*, *sārbān* or camel driver, bugler, drummer, trumpeter, piper, *khalāsī* or tent-pitcher, *beldār*, spadesman or sapper and miner, *āhangar* or blacksmith, *najjār* or carpenter and *gharyālī* who struck the hour. The *zambūrkhānās* which came under infantry had a *kumedān* or commandant with a monthly salary of 340 rupees. Here in place of the *amlā*, we have *lawāhiqs*, i.e. followers or domestics — *munshī*, *mutasaddī*, *mistrī*, *sārbān*, *sipāhīs* and *nafars* each of whom received a monthly salary between seven to nine rupees.

The military accounts of the three arms are given under sub heads: infantry regiments, cavalry squadrons, and artillery, partly organized on the European model. The accounts of each infantry regiment and cavalry have been shown under their respective commanding officers. Each regiment was divided into companies and the pay and allowances of the officers of the eight companies of infantry and the cavalry squadrons are given under their respective names. The account of each regiment closes with a statement about the *amlā* and the *mutfarriqāt* or general miscellaneous expenditures such as those on repairs, light, stationery and pensions called *dharamārth*, ranging from two to five rupees to the heirs, widows and children of those incapacitated or killed in action. In similar format is the account of artillery establishments. Each commanding officer under whose name the expenses of his establishment are shown was attached to or had been in charge of a field gun. Each gun had a figurative designation representing a concept in terms secular, religious or mythological. The pay and allowances of officers attached to each gun are shown under their respective names. The account closes with a statement of miscellaneous expenses. A large number of officers attached to the artillery were Muslims. No distinctions of caste or creed were made in recruitment. In the Sikh army were represented several different races and nationalities. Besides Sikhs, there were in its ranks Hindus, Gurkhās, Afghāns, Punjabi Muslims, Rājput̲s and Europeans. References occur in the work to the French General, Allard. Among other foreigners who figure in it are John Holmes Kumedān and his son, Perron Feringhee Kumedān, Lawrence Feringhee, Monsieur Court, Francis Bahādur and de la Roche.

S.H.A.

HISTORY OF THE PUNJAB (and of the Rise,

Progress and Present Condition of the Sect and Nation of the Sikhs) is an anonymous work in two volumes ascribed variously to T.H. Thornton (Catalogue of the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar), H.T. Prinsep (Catalogue of the Khālsā College, Amritsar), and William Murray (Catalogue of Dwarkā Dāss Library, Chaṇḍigarḥ). Completed on 11 May 1846 and first published in 1846 by Allen and Co., London, and reprinted in 1970 by the Languages Department, Punjab, Paṭiālā, the book is the first detailed history of the Punjab and the Sikhs. The bulk of the work (chapters VI to XVI) is based on *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab* by Prinsep who had himself made extensive use of the papers of Murray, whereas the last nine chapters (XVII to XXV) are based on the Ludhiānā Agency Records and other contemporary sources. The first volume, comprising eleven chapters, deals with the hydrography of the Punjab (Ch. I), topography of the Punjab and its socio-economic *milieu* (Ch. II) and early and medieval history of the Punjab (Chs. III and IV). The author identifies the Sikhs with the ancient tribes of the Scythian Getes and also describes various Sikh sects and institutions such as Udāsīs, Suthrāshāhīs, Rām Rāīs, Nirmalās, *gurmatā*, Akālīs, etc. Sikh history from 1708-91, with special reference to the military exploits of Bandā Siṅgh Bahādur, his arrest and execution, invasions of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and the establishment of the *misls* is dealt with in chapters VII to IX. The remaining two chapters deal with Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh's occupation of Lahore and his subsequent conquests. Volume II, comprising chapters XII to XXV and appendices I to VIII, covers the reigns of Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh and his successors, the first Anglo-Sikh war, submission of the Lahore Darbār and the post-war settlement. The book echoes the official version of the war favouring the British. About Ranjīt Siṅgh, it says:

"Humanity, indeed, or rather a tenderness for life, in spite of some acts of harshness, was a trait in the character of Runjeet Singh: There is no instance of his having wantonly imbrued his hands in blood" (pp. 180-81). Further: although totally illiterate, Ranjīt Siṅgh could dictate orders on State business with natural intelligence (p. 176); he possessed a sharp intellect and retentive memory, and audited all the revenue accounts (p. 177); his passion for horses amounted almost to insanity; he took great delight in military parades and display; neither a bigot nor unconcerned in matters of religion, he was scrupulous in the performance of the rules of Sikhism (p. 184); a regiment of amazons (nautch girls) of superb beauty entertained him in his hours of relaxation (p. 182); his conduct towards the British was "marked with sagacity" (p. 198). The book contains a firsthand account of Ranjīt Siṅgh-Auckland meeting at Fīrozpur (November 1838). In the preparation of this work the author seems to have made use of all the sources in English then available, but none in Punjabi or Persian. The chapters on the rise of Sikhs and their religion, and their institutions are primarily based on Malcolm and the author repeats the errors made by him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*. Delhi, 1991
2. Fauja Singh, *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1978
3. Khurana, Gianeshwar, *British Historiography on the Sikh Power in Punjab*. Delhi, 1985

B.S.

A HISTORY OF THE REIGNING FAMILY OF LAHORE, bearing the full title *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore with some account of the Jummoo Rajahs, the Seik Soldiers and their Sirdars; with notes on Malcolm, Prinsep, Lawrence, Steinbach, McGregor and the Calcutta Review*, by

Major G. Carmichael Smyth, of the third Bengal Light Cavalry, was first published in 1847 and reprinted in 1970 by the Languages Department, Punjab, Paṭiālā, and in 1977 by Vikrānt Press, Delhi. As stated in the Introduction, written at Jalandhar on 5 January 1847, the book was compiled "partly from native manuscripts, and partly from information collected from Seik service; but chiefly from the notes of a Captain Gardner of the Seik Artillery."

Personally Smyth emerges from the Introduction as an ardent advocate of expansionist policies in whose eyes British rule was a blessing to be extensively conferred. He was critical of the British Indian government which, he thought, was hesitant, for fear of the public opinion back at home, to pursue an aggressive policy towards the Punjab.

The first of the five sections of the book traces the history of Raṅjīt Siṅgh's family and the career of the Mahārājā up to the occupation of Lahore, skipping the latter part of his career for, as says the author, it had been "too often told" to warrant repetition. For this account he depended primarily on oral tradition collected, directly or indirectly, from the subjects of the kingdom of Lahore. The second section, comprising twelve chapters, relating to court intrigues by which kings were made and unmade in quick succession after the death of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh, and an additional one on the Anglo-Sikh war, is the longest and, from the author's viewpoint, the most important part of the book. This rather detailed account of the Sikh dynasty covering a period of about six years is based entirely on the notes of Captain Gardner. Although the numerous events of these years are presented in the chronological order with a certain rationale imposed upon them, very few dates are mentioned and of those mentioned none is of any significance. Smyth considers this material as the core of the

whole work and, in fact, he might not have at all attempted this work without this core. Since this material was taken from the notes of Captain Gardner, he refers to himself as editor, and not author, of the book. The chapter on the Anglo-Sikh war endeavours to prove the English thesis that the conflict was the result of the desire of Mahārājā Jind Kaur and Lāl Siṅgh to punish the Sikh army which was no more under their control. The Sikh soldiers fought hard and well, but were betrayed by their commanders, notably Lāl Siṅgh (cavalry) and Tej Siṅgh (infantry). Gulāb Siṅgh, who came to negotiate with the British terms of peace on behalf of the Sikhs, was also not their well-wisher and bargained to obtain Jammū and Kashmīr for himself.

The section, entitled "Miscellaneous Notices," comprises brief notes on Akālī Phūlā Siṅgh, Zorāwar Siṅgh, a minister and military leader under Gulāb Siṅgh, Fateh Khān Ṭiwāṇā, who in conjunction with Chatar Siṅgh Aṭārīvālā had Prince Pashaurā Siṅgh murdered, the mutiny in Kashmīr and the Sūdhan revolt. The fourth section, comprising two chapters, traces the history of the Jammū family and describes briefly the careers of Gulāb Siṅgh, Dhiān Siṅgh and Suchet Siṅgh till they became the vassals of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh.

The Appendix contains information likely to be of use to the prospective masters of the Punjab. To provide an insight into the social and political history of the people that inhabited the land, the author has commented upon extracts from Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs*, Prinsep's *Life of Runjeet Singh*, Lawrence's *Adventures of an Officer in the Punjab*, Steinbach's *Punjab, The Medieval and Literary Journal* for January 1845, and the *Calcutta Review* for August 1844. This is followed, besides listing among other things the natural and cultivated produce of the Punjab, by an abstract showing the disposition of the Sikh army as of 1 July 1844, a

description of the boundary of the Punjab in 1845, a list of principal Sardārs and their group affiliations, the strength of the standing army of the Punjab in 1845, a list of the European officers in Sikh service, the amount of revenue for 1844, and a list of the products and manufactures of commercial interest.

Haughtiness, contempt and sneer are woven into the texture of Smyth's language. One merit of the work lies in the use the author makes of the notes of Captain Gardner which, in any case, are available separately. Smyth was publically reprimanded by the Government of India for his "infamous book" when it was brought to its notice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Fauja Singh, ed., *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1978
2. Khurana, Gianeshwar, *British Historiography on the Sikh Power in Punjab*. Delhi, 1985
3. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*. Delhi, 1991
4. Grewal, J.S., *Guru Nanak in Western Scholarship*, Delhi, 1992

J.S.G.

THE HISTORY OF THE SIKHS by W.L. M'Gregor, a surgeon in the British Indian army, was first published by James Madden, London, in 1846, in two volumes, and reprinted by the Languages Department, Punjab, Paṭiālā, in 1970. The first volume is sub-titled "containing the lives of the Gooroos; the history of the independent Sirdars, or Missuls and the life of the great founder of the Sikh monarchy, Maharajah Runjeet Singh" and is devoted entirely to these themes. Obviously, it is based on the works of Ahmad Shāh's *Tārīkh-i-Hind* and Prinsep's *Life of Runjeet Singh*. The second volume, sub-titled "containing an account of the war between the Sikhs and the British in 1845-46," deals with events after the death of Maharājā Ranjīt Singh up to the end of the first Anglo-Sikh war.

The first volume comprises, besides Introduction, eighteen chapters, the first six of which are devoted to the Gurūs — one to Gurū Nānak, founder of the Sikh faith, second to the succeeding eight Gurūs and the next four to Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, the tenth and last in the line of the Gurūs or prophet-teachers. The next two chapters deal with the career of Bandā Siṅgh Bahādur and with developments leading to the establishment of Sikh *mists* or political chiefships. The three succeeding chapters, based almost entirely on *Tārīkh-i-Hind*, deal with six of the twelve Sikh *mists*, namely the Bhaṅgī, the Faizullāpurīā, the Rāmgarhiā, the Kanhaiyā, the Āhlūvālīā and the Sukkarchakkīā. The author left out the remaining *mists* because of their having accepted British suzerainty and thus, in his opinion, not falling within the purview of his study. The last seven chapters, a large part of which he based on Prinsep and Ahmad Shāh, are devoted to the Sikh sovereign, Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh.

The second volume, comprising eighteen chapters, begins with the death of Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh and, alluding to courtly conspiracies which followed it and describing the Anglo-Sikh wars, concludes with Punjab's annexation by the British. The reign of Mahārājā Duleep Siṅgh forms a major theme of this volume. The author's treatment of the period is coloured by the prevalent British viewpoint.

The book suffers from many errors of fact as well as of interpretation. It has little appreciation for Sikhs as a people and, in imitation of earlier Persian chronicles, refers to them, especially Bandā Siṅgh, in unflattering terms. The author does not deny the title of greatness to Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, but he fails to comprehend the essential nuances of Sikh religion and philosophy. He considers Nau Nihāl Siṅgh as the last sovereign in the Ranjīt Siṅgh lineage and states that the Sikh army during the reign of Duleep

Singh had become "so arrogant that no longer confining itself to the Punjab, it aimed at the conquest of Hindustan and imagined itself capable of overthrowing the British supremacy." M'Gregor's book is not plain history, yet it is valuable source material. The purposes, prejudices and attitudes of the author will however have to be taken into consideration while making use of it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Fauja Singh, ed., *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1978
2. Khurana, Gianeshwar, *British Historiography on the Sikh Power in Punjab*. Delhi, 1985
3. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*. Delhi, 1991
4. Grewal, J.S., *Guru Nanak in Western Scholarship*. Delhi, 1992

J.S.G.

HOBHOUSE, SIR JOHN CAM (1786-1869), later Lord Broughton, an English writer and statesman, was the eldest son of Sir Benjamin Hobhouse. Born at Redland, near Bristol, England, on 27 June 1786, he was elected to the House of Commons from Westminster in 1820. He served in Lord Grey's government (1832-34), in Melbourne ministry (1837-38), and Lord John Russell's cabinet (1846-52).

As president of the Board of Control, Hobhouse directed the Home Government's policy towards the Punjab and the Sikhs for nearly 15 years. He supported Auckland's adventure for the restoration of Shāh Shujā' to the throne of Afghanistan with the help of the Sikhs though it turned out to be a disaster. Hobhouse was responsible for the suppression of some of the documents relating to the first Anglo-Sikh war in the *Blue Book*, published in 1846. J.D. Cunningham's reference to the suppressed papers in his *A History of the Sikhs* so much aroused him that he ordered the Government of India in 1849 to dismiss him from service.

Five bulky volumes of Sir John Hobhouse's private correspondence with Auckland, Hardinge and Dalhousie in the British Library furnish a good deal of information on the Punjab and the Sikhs. Hobhouse-Auckland Correspondence (May 1836-June 1841) gives fresh information on Sikh policy towards Sindh and Afghanistan. Hobhouse-Hardinge Correspondence (September 1846-February 1848) unfolds the schemes behind the first Anglo-Sikh war. Dalhousie-Hobhouse Correspondence (January 1848-March 1853) discloses how the British invasion of the Punjab in 1848 had been designed by Dalhousie, how the annexation of the Punjab had been preplanned at Fort William, and how Hobhouse and the Board of Control initially following a policy of drift and indecision in giving support to Dalhousie had ultimately fallen in line.

After his retirement, Sir John Hobhouse spent most of his time in literary pursuits. He died at Berkeley Square, England, on 3 June 1869.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Hasrat, B.J., ed., *The Punjab Papers*. Hoshiarpur, 1970
B.J.H.

HOLĀ MAHALLĀ or simply Holā, a Sikh festival, takes place on the first of the lunar month of Chet which usually falls in March. This follows the Hindu festival of Holī. The name Holā is the masculine form of the feminine-sounding Holī. *Mahallā*, derived from the Arabic root *hal* (alighting, descending), is a Punjabi word signifying an organized procession in the form of an army column accompanied by war-drums and standard-bearers and proceeding to a given spot or moving in state from one *gurdwārā* to another. The custom originated in the time of Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) who held first such march at Anandpur on Chet *vadī* 1, 1757 Bk/22 February 1701.

Unlike Holī during which people playfully sprinkle colour, dry or mixed in water, on each other, the Gurū made it an occasion for the Sikhs to demonstrate their martial skills in simulated battles. This was probably done forestalling a grimmer struggle against the imperial power following the battle of Nirmohgarh in 1700. Holā Mahallā became an annual tourney held in the open ground near Holgarh Fort across the rivulet Charan Gaṅgā, northwest of the town of Anandpur Sāhib. The popularity of this festival may be judged from the fact that out of five Sikh public holidays requested by the Khālsā Diwān, Lahore, in 1889, government approved two — Holā Mahallā and the birth anniversary of Gurū Nānak. The festival has now lost much of its original military significance, but Sikhs in large numbers still assemble at Anandpur Sāhib on this day and an impressive and colourful procession is taken out in which the Nihāṅgs in their traditional panoply form the vanguard, parading their skill in the use of arms as also at horsemanship and tent-pegging.

Mahallā on Māghī fair is also observed at Muktsar, sacred to Chālī Mukte, and at Takht Srī Abchalnagar Hazūr Sāhib, Nāndēd, in Mahārashṭra. At the latter place, the procession is led by a white horse believed to be a scion of the favourite blue-black stallion of Gurū Gobind Singh.

S.S.V.B.

HOLKAR, JASVANT RĀO (d. 1811), Marāṭhā chief of Indore, who, defeated at Ḍīg and Fatehgarh in 1804 by the British, moved northwards to obtain succour from the cis-Sutlej Sikh rulers and from Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh. Accompanied by his Ruhilā ally, Amīr Khān, he arrived in 1805 at Paṭiālā, where he received assurances of help from the Sikh chiefs assembled there. Meanwhile, Lord Lake's army came in hot pursuit of the Marāṭhā refugee. On hearing the news of Lake's arrival at Pānīpat, he crossed over

into the Jalandhar Doāb and ultimately reached Amritsar. Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh, who was then camping near Multān, hastily came to see him. According to Sohan Lāl Sūrī, the official Lahore diarist, the Mahārājā was hospitable to his "unwelcome guest," and kept him in royal style. A congress of the Khālsā was held to decide what Raṅjīt Singh might do to help Holkar. The Sikh ruler was counselled against engaging in an armed conflict with the British. It is also recorded that the Mahārājā's decision was based on a "command" obtained from the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Raṅjīt Singh, nevertheless, interceded with the British on behalf of Jasvant Rāo as a result of which a treaty was made between him and the East India Company. The Marāṭhā ruler secured the greater part of the territory which had been seized by the British.

Jasvant Rāo Holkar became insane in 1806 and died on 20 October 1811.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt -ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963
3. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
S.S.B.

HOLMES, JOHN (d. 1848), a Eurasian soldier of fortune, who started his career as a trumpeter in the Bengal Horse Artillery. In September 1829, he left the British, and joined Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's army as a gunner, eventually rising to the rank of colonel. He took part in the battle of Peshāwar (1834) and the battle of Jamrūd (1837). He accompanied General Ventura on his hill campaign of 1840-41, and helped the British in forcing their way through the Khaibar Pass in 1842. He had also served in a civilian capacity as *kārdār* (revenue officer) of Gujrāt for two years (1835-36). John Holmes had simultaneously been acting as a British spy and supplying secret information to the Ludhiānā Political Agency. After the

first Anglo-Sikh war, he was, as a reward for his services, retained in the Sikh army when most of the other European officers were given their discharge. He was posted at Bannū where, in October 1848, the Sikh troops under his command mutinied and killed him for his treasonable conduct.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

HOME MISCELLANEOUS SERIES is a manuscript series of records in the India Office Library, London. It is not chronologically arranged, and seems to have been classified to absorb surplus or duplicate copies of records which could not be included in the regular series. Many of the papers in this series relate to Sikh affairs and they include private letters of Captain Mathews, the Deputy Commissar of Ordnance at Fatehābād to the Acting Adjutant-General, C.F. Falgan. Captain Mathews, who visited Lahore in his private capacity, was treated with much consideration by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. While a royal guest at Lahore, Mathews got himself involved in local intrigues, particularly with the Mahārājā's estranged wife, Mahitāb Kaur, who sought British aid in subverting the Mahārājā's power. His reprehensible conduct displeased the authorities in Calcutta, and he was recalled forthwith (Vol. 292, No 21, ff. 97-126). Also included in the series are Metcalfe's *Memoirs of Hindoostan West of the Jumna (1805-06)*, a document which refers to Lake's transactions in the cis-Sutlej region and Holkar's intrusion into the Punjab (Vol. 256A, No 23); Secret Committee's Memorandum on Metcalfe's Mission to Lahore, a document which admits the Mission's failure to engage Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh in a defensive alliance but which succeeded in obtaining information about the Sikh kingdom, its military resources, and the character of its

rule (Vol. 511, No 80); despatches of Metcalfe from Lahore which contain correspondence relative to the supposed Ranjīt Singh-Daulat Rāo Scindia intrigues against the British government in 1809 (Vol. 592, Nos 16-35 and 33-44); Ranjīt Singh-Minto correspondence, and despatches of Ochterlony and Seton giving highly useful information on the policy of the British government towards the Sikh ruler (Vol. 593, Nos 15-24); despatches of Metcalfe, Edmonstone, Close and Ochterlony on Anglo-Sikh affairs till 1810 which include a letter (No 32) dealing with the terms and import of protection granted to the cis-Sutlej Sikh and other chiefs; despatches of Edmonstone, Carey and Seton which include Ranjīt Singh-Minto correspondence and Ochterlony's proclamation to the cis-Sutlej Sardārs, dated 3 May 1809; and miscellaneous despatches connected with early British transactions with the Lahore Darbār, and correspondence of the Gurkhā General, Amar Singh Thāpā, soliciting British aid against Ranjīt Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hasrat, B.J., ed., *The Punjab Papers*. Hoshiarpur, 1970
B.J.H.

HOMMUS, a Spaniard, who joined the Khālsā Darbār's service in 1842. He was employed in the gunpowder factory. Shortly afterwards he fell ill and died at Lahore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

HONIGBERGER, DOCTOR JOHN MARTIN (1795-1865), physician to the court of Lahore from 1829 to 1849 and known to his Sikh contemporaries as Martin Sāhib, was a Transylvanian born at Kronstadt in 1795. He combined with his medical knowledge an ardent spirit of enquiry and adventure. He

had a great fascination for the East. He left his home in 1815, and wandering through Europe, Russia, Turkey, Syria and Jerusalem, reached Cairo, where he joined the Turkish military medical service. In 1822, he heard about an outbreak of plague in Syria and resigned his post to study the disease in which he became a specialist. He set up practice in Damascus, but moved on again after a few years and arrived at Baghdad where he was employed by the Pasha as his personal physician, with the additional charge of a local hospital. Having heard, from a travelling merchant, of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh's generosity and the welcome the Europeans met with at his court, Honigberger decided to proceed to the Sikh capital. He set out in the winter of 1829 and reached Lahore in four months' time.

Raṅjīt Siṅgh was out on a military expedition when Honigberger arrived at Lahore and did not return until the rainy season. During the interval, Honigberger established his reputation as a physician. The first patient he attended, and successfully treated, was Achilles, adopted son of General Allard, who had long been suffering from a fistula on the spine. He also journeyed to Kashmīr, where he cured Rājā Suchet Siṅgh of a chronic disease.

In 1833, Honigberger suddenly became homesick and made up his mind to go back to Transylvania. Raṅjīt Siṅgh had developed such a liking for him that he was loath to let him go. He raised his salary and even offered him governorship of a province. "But such was my longing to depart," writes Honigberger in his book, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, "that not even the Raja's Koh-i-Noor, valued at Rs 5,00,000 would have tempted me to remain."

Travelling overland, he passed through Afghanistan, Central Asia and Russia, and finally reached his home in 1834, after an absence abroad of almost twenty years. But he stayed there only for six months before

embarking on his travels again. After visiting several European countries, he arrived at Constantinople. During this journey, he had met in Paris Dr Hahnemann, the father of homoeopathy. He became deeply interested in the new system of medicine, and practised it at Constantinople from 1836 to 1838.

In 1838, on hearing, from Ventura, that Raṅjīt Siṅgh was critically ill and desired him to return to Lahore, Honigberger abandoned his practice, went to meet Ventura at Alexandria, and returned with him to Lahore via Bombay. Here his old offices were restored to him. His immediate concern was the fast failing health of the Mahārājā, who was almost paralyzed and had lost his speech. A mixture prepared by Honigberger enabled the ailing monarch to sit up and speak, and he continued to attend on him. A newsletter, *Punjab Akhbār*, dated 6 June 1839, states: "He (Raṅjīt Siṅgh) complained to the physicians that he felt very weak and uncomfortable in consequence of his using the talc powder but that he liked the drug brought to him by Ruttun Singh *Gudvaee* last night from Doctor Martin.... Doctor Martin was ordered to give some effectual medicine like the drug he had given..." But no medicine could save the Mahārājā who died on 27 June 1839.

Honigberger had since married a Kashmīrī woman. He continued to stay in Lahore and witnessed many of the tragic scenes such as the death of Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Siṅgh and the assassination of Mahārājā Sher Siṅgh. He was dismissed by Paṇḍit Jallā but was re-employed after the latter's death. He continued in service even after the lapse of Sikh sovereignty and was in charge of gaol and the asylum for lunatics which he had himself founded. But he soon fell out with his British superior, Dr McGregor, and resigned. The British government, however, granted him a pension of Rs 500 per month,

payable in Europe, and he retired to Hungary with his two children, who during his service in Lahore were sent to school at Mussoorie. He died in 1865.

Honigberger's memoirs, published in London in 1852 under the title *Thirty-five Years in the East*, contain in addition to a record of his life, adventures and experiences, much valuable information about historical events as well as about life, manners and customs in the Punjab of his days. His primary interest, however, was his profession. He gives in his memoirs a comprehensive medical vocabulary, profusely illustrated by drawings of medical plants, and details of diseases and their remedies in homoeopathic, allopathic, Āyurvedic and Ūnānī systems of medicine. Homoeopathy claimed his first love.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Honigberger, John Martin, *Thirty-five Years in the East*. London, 1852
3. Waheeduddin, Faqir Syed, *The Real Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1976
4. Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1957
5. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
6. Prem Singh, Bābā, *Khālsā Rāj de Badesī Karinde*. Amritsar, 1945

S.S.B.

HUḌĪĀRĀ, 20 km southeast of Lahore along the Lahore-Khālṛā road, claimed a historical shrine commemorating the visit of Gurū Hargobind, who had once halted here travelling from Lahore to Amritsar. This Gurdwārā was managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee until 1947 when it was abandoned at the time of mass migrations following the partition of the Punjab.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurdūāre Darshan*. Amritsar,

1923

3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurdūārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

HUKAM, Arabic *hukm* for command, order, decree, law, has acquired in Sikh usage a metaphysical shade connoting the Divine Law or Order, regulating the entire universe. Its importance in Sikh theology is indicated by its occurrence at the very beginning of the Ādi Granth (Gurū Granth Sāhib, the Sikh Scripture), in the first verse of the *Japu*. In the penultimate line of the stanza, Gurū Nānak puts the fundamental question of how enlightenment is to be gained:

How is Truth to be attained?

How is the veil of falsehood torn asunder?

In the final line of the stanza, he provides the answer:

Nānak, thus it is written:

Submit to the *hukam*,

Walk in its way.

In the next stanza, Gurū Nānak proceeds to explain the nature of *hukam*:

The *hukam* is far beyond our describing, though all that exists is its visible expression.

All life was created by *hukam*, and by *hukam* alone distinction comes to some.

Some are exalted by the *hukam*, some are abased;

Some must suffer while others find joy.

Some receive by the *hukam* blessing,

Others are from birth to birth rotated.

All come within the *hukam*, none beyond its authority.

They who comprehend the *hukam*, O Nānak,

Renounce their self-centred pride.

Several conclusions regarding the nature of *hukam* emerge from this description. The first is that just as Akāl Purakh (Person

beyond Time) Himself is in his fullness beyond human comprehension, so too is the *hukam*, in its total range, more than the understanding of man can grasp. Secondly, however, it can be understood to a sufficient degree and this much at least a man can comprehend that *hukam* is the source of those differences and distinctions in men's condition which are seemingly beyond human control. It is the principle which determines different forms of created beings. It determines who will rank virtuous and who will be cast into the pit of vice, who will find happiness and who will suffer misery, who will obtain release and who to circuiting from birth to death to birth be decreed. Thirdly, all are subject to *hukam*; all are under its authority. Fourthly, understanding of this divine principle leads to the destruction of man's self-centred pride, the cause of his alienation from God and of his suffering. In stanza III of the *Japu* again *hukam* is set forth as the principle which regulates the cosmos in accordance with the divine intention:

The *hukam* of Him who exercises *hukam* directs the path ahead.

Forever is He rejoiced, declares Nānak, forever free from care.

This divine Order is manifested in a variety of ways. It is represented as the agent of creation:

By Thy *hukam* Thou didst create all forms (GG, 150).

It determines the regular cycle of human existence:

My friend, (you who) trade (in the things of the world),

In the first watch of the night
(the first stage of the human life),

You are placed in the womb in accor-

dance with the *hukam* (GG, 74).

All are under it:

Speaking, seeing, moving, living, and dying — all are transitory.

Thou, the True (Lord), having established the *hukam*,

Placed all under it (literally, in it) (GG, 145).

And it gathers into a single principle the sum total of all God's activity:

(Of itself, i.e. apart from the *hukam*) the soul does not die.

And it neither sinks nor crosses over.

He who has been active (in creation) is still active.

In accordance with the *hukam*, we are born and we die.

Ahead and behind the *hukam* pervades all (GG, 151).

This principle is most immediately perceptible in the laws governing the structure and functioning of the physical universe. It also regulates such dichotomies as *udkarkh* and *ākarkh* (expansion and contraction of manifest reality) and *sañjog* and *vijog* (unification and alienation of beings and events). But *hukam* is not only constructive energy or a controlling power; it also signifies ethical discipline. In moral terms, it is the law of *karma*, the law of cause and effect. This is as much an aspect of the *hukam* principle as the regular movement of the physical universe. Indeed, it is a vital aspect, for on a number of occasions Gurū Nānak explicitly affirms the law as a given fact. The conclusion which must be drawn from this is that each individual should perform those deeds which will, in accordance with the law of *karma*, bring the supreme reward. The *hukam* is sure. The goal of human life is to know or understand *hukam*, to accept it and to mould one's

life in conformity with it.

But *hukam* is beyond the reach of human comprehension. Knowledge of *hukam* is not an intellectual accomplishment, it is a spiritual achievement. Knowing *hukam* does not mean knowing its nature, scope and bounds. Knowing *hukam* is realizing the existence of such a principle. This is internal comprehension, not an external or physical perception. Even such a realization is possible only through the grace of God, and it can fall to the lot of him alone who has subordinated his will to the Will of the Gurū (God).

Obedience to the *hukam* or bringing one's life in harmony with the principle of *hukam* is stressed, but realization of *hukam* is a mystical experience. It cannot be explained through the medium of human language. The realization of *hukam* is not merely the feeling of the existence of such a principle, but it is also the attainment of a blissful internal sight. With this inner light one can see or know the ethical path which one has to follow under *hukam*.

Man does have the necessary measure of freedom to make a decision to live in conformity with the *hukam*. The capacity for him to exercise free will also permits him to live in discord with the *hukam* instead of in harmony with it. This faculty is obviously of critical importance, for the manner in which it is exercised brings either release or continued transmigration. Disharmony is the normal condition, but it does not lead to truth and its inevitable consequence is continued movement within the cycle of transmigration, with all the attendant sufferings of this condition. Submission, on the other hand, leads to union, the consequence whereof is freedom. He who recognizes the *hukam* perceives the truth, which makes men free; and he who has recognized it brings his life into conformity with it and ascends to that eternal union with Akāl-Purakh which transcends all

expression.

Some other terms used in the Sikh Scripture in line with *hukam* are *āgiā* (Sanskrit *ājñā*), *amar* (Arabic *amr*), *phurmān* (Persian *farmān*), and *rajā* (Arabic *razā* and Punjabi *bhāñā*). These are, however, not identical with it. While *amar* and *phurmān* both mean command, they refer to a particular order, fiat or commandment rather than to a system like the divine Order signified by the Sikh concept of *hukam*. *Āgiā*, too, means command but it also stands for permission, a connotation not in accord with the firm nature of the *hukam*. *Rajā* and *bhāñā* emanate from divine Will and Pleasure, but the translation of *hukam* as 'will' or 'pleasure' is unsuitable in the context of Gurū Nānak's usage, for it fails to convey his precise meaning and is liable to be equated with the Islamic doctrine of the Will of Allah. In the thought of Gurū Nānak the *hukam* signifies the divinely instituted and maintained principle governing the existence and movement of the universe. It controls the universe, physical and psychical, and governs everything within it. The principle is regular and constant, and to the extent that it can be comprehended, it functions according to a predictable pattern. This regularity and consistency distinguish it from the Muslim concept. In Islam the divine Will is at least unpledged whereas the *hukam* of Gurū Nānak's belief is definitely pledged and dependable. An apter translation of *hukam* would be "divine Order." The double meaning of the English word better reflects the range of meaning covered by *hukam*. The word "order" can mean both the regularity of a system and also a command. In Gurū Nānak's usage, *hukam* covers both of these meanings, though not exclusively one or the other as is the case with the translation.

The *hukam* is accordingly an all-embracing principle, the sum total of all divinely instituted laws; and it is a revelation of the nature of Akāl-Purakh. In this latter sense it is identical in meaning with *śabda*, the

Word. The identity is of the same nature as that which links *śabda* with *nām* and *gurū*, with differing functions postulated only in order to bring out the fundamental truth with greater clarity. The creation is constituted and ordered by the *hukam*; and in this creation, physical and otherwise, the *śabda* is made manifest in order that the *nām* may be truly revealed. Understanding *hukam* means understanding God's Will and intention (*bhāṇā* or *razā*), just as understanding the *śabda* helps to perceive the glories of the *nām* which lie manifested all around or hidden within the self. Herein is Akāl-Purakh revealed as single, as active, and as absolute; as Nirāṅkār (the One without form), as Nirāñjan (the One without blemish), as the eternal One beyond all that is transient and corruptible. By understanding the *hukam* and meditation upon *nām* through the *śabda* one annihilates one's *haumai* (self-centred pride) and finds the ultimate reward of harmony and peace.

The process is a gradual one, but discipline and persistence lead progressively upwards and the ultimate reward is absolute harmony and peace. With the disciple in the final stage of union (*sach khaṇḍ*) there is absolute fulfilment of the *hukam*.

As the *hukam*, so too the deed! (GG, 8)

Summing up, *hukam* is that vital principle which creates, sustains and regulates the universe. All creatures get birth, live and die under the definitive order. Evil and virtue both are the creation of *hukam*. If one is good, it is because of the *hukam*; if somebody is bad that too is under the *hukam*. The *hukam* is the controlling authority of the Supreme Being who is true. His *hukam* as such is also true. The aim of life is to realize *hukam* and to abide by it. This realization is, finally, attained through the grace of God.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944
2. Nirbhai Singh, *Philosophy of Sikhism*. Delhi, 1990
3. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990
4. Kāhn Singh, *Gurmat Mārtaṇḍ* Amritsar, 1962
5. *Sikh Rahit Maryādā*. Amritsar, 1975

W.H.M.

HUKAM CHAND, DĪWĀN (1807-1869), son of Mahārājā Rañjīt Singh's minister, Dīwān Bhavānī Dās, was appointed a *daftarī* or record-keeper on the establishment of Prince Khaṛak Singh in 1836 and was promoted the following year to the rank of *kārdār* or administrator of Satgharā. In 1840, he was sent to Bannū under the orders of Rājā Suchet Singh for the realization of State revenue. Mahārājā Sher Singh conferred upon him the title of Dīwān. In 1847, he was ordered to accompany Lieut Herbert Edwardes to Bannū whom he continued to assist in the settlement of the district until the commencement of the second Anglo-Sikh war. After the British occupied the Punjab in 1849, they allowed him to retain a *jāgīr* worth 2,300 rupees near Pākpaṭṭan. In 1855, he was appointed *tahsildār* of Pasrūr, in Siālkoṭ district, which post he resigned in 1858. Hukam Chand died in 1869.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lal, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

HUKAMNĀMĀ, a compound of two Persian words *hukm*, meaning command or order, and *nāmāh*, meaning letter, refers in the Sikh tradition to letters sent by the Gurūs to their Sikhs or *saṅgats* in different parts of the country. Currently, the word applies to edicts issued from time to time from the five *takhts* or seats of high religious authority for the Sikhs — the Akāl Takht at

Amritsar, Takḥt Srī Kesgarḥ at Anandpur Sāhib (Punjab), Takḥt Harimandar Sāhib at Paṭnā (Bihār), Takḥt Sachkhaṇḍ Srī Hazūr Sāhib at Nāndeḍ (Mahārāshṭrā) and Takḥt Damdamā Sāhib at Talvaṇḍī Sābo (in Baṭhiṇḍā district of the Punjab). Letters addressed to Sikhs by historical personages such as Bābā Gurdittā, the elder son of Gurū Hargobind, Mātā Sundarī and Mātā Sāhib Devī, widows of Gurū Gobind Singh, and Bandā Singh Bahādur are also included in this genre. Some of the letters of the later Gurūs to *saṅgats* or prominent Sikhs have in recent years been traced and published in two collections, with most of the material common to both, the first entitled *Hukamnāme*, edited by Gaṇḍā Singh (Paṭiālā, Punjabi University, 1967), and the second *Nisāṇ te Hukamnāme*, edited by Shamsheer Singh Ashok (Amritsar, Sikh Itihās Research Board, Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, 1967). A separate anthology of Gurū Tegh Bahādur's *hukamnāmās*, in Devanāgarī transcription and with an English translation, was published by Punjabi University, Paṭiālā, in 1976. All *hukamnāmās* were originally written in Punjabi, in Gurmukhī characters. Those of Gurū Hargobind as also most of Gurū Tegh Bahādur's are believed to have been written in their own hand. It appears, however, that in the time of Gurū Gobind Singh, the text was written by a scribe while the Gurū put down on the top of the letter an authentication mark, an invocation or some direction. There is a near uniformity in the format of the *hukamnāmās*. The earlier ones bore no date; from AD 1691 onwards they were usually dated and also, at times, numbered. Later on, the practice of recording at the end of the text the number of lines in the body of the letters also came into vogue. The scribes began the text with the words, *Srī Gurū jī kī āgiā hai* (It is the order of the revered Gurū, or the revered Gurū desires), preceded by the formula *Ik*

Onkār Gurū Sati, later *Ik Onkār Satiguru* (Remember One God, the True Gurū). Bandā Singh Bahādur (1670-1716), blessed by Gurū Gobind Singh himself, introduced a seal in Persian script as authentication mark and recorded the initial formula to read as *Ik Onkār Fateh Darsanu* (God is One, Victory to (His) Presence), and the text began with *Sache Sāhib dī āgiā hai* (by order of the True Master). *Hukamnāmās* of Mātā Sundarī begin with the words *Srī Mātā jī dī āgiā hai*, and those of Mātā Sāhib Devī with *Srī Akāl Purakh jī kī Khālsā Srī Mātā Sāhib Devī jī dī āgiā hai* (Mātā Sāhib Devī's order to the Khālsā of the Timeless One).

Apart from their importance to the Sikhs as the sacred remembrances of the Gurūs, the *hukamnāmās* are invaluable historical documents. Names of persons and places to which they are addressed provide clues to the composition, socially, of early Sikhism and its spread, geographically. One of the earliest *hukamnāmās* discovered is a missive addressed by Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644) to *saṅgats* at Paṭnā, Ālamgaṅj, Sherpur, Bīnā and Monghyr, in Bihār, and includes no fewer than 62 names of prominent Sikhs belonging to those communities. *Hukamnāmās* of Gurū Tegh Bahādur (1621-75) and Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) are addressed to *saṅgats* as far apart as Dhākā, Chiṭṭāgoṅg and Sylhet in the east and Paṭan, present-day Pākpaṭan, in Pakistan in the west. In addition to blessings from the Gurūs and acknowledgement of the devotees' gifts, these letters contain instructions for the followers to cultivate love and prayer as well as indications with regard to the offerings they might bring. The demands ranged from cash contribution in the form of gold or *hunḍīs* (bills of exchange) to pet birds, garments, weapons, cannons and war elephants. Sometimes these demands are written in abbreviated forms. The *hukamnāmās* which are dated help to fix the chronology of certain events.

For instance, letters instructing Sikhs not to recognize *masands*, or tithe-collectors, but to bring their offerings directly to the Gurū on the occasions of Baisākhī and Dīvālī are all written during 1699 or later, confirming the abolition of the institution of *masands* simultaneously with the creation of the *Khālsā* on 30 March 1699. The almost identical letters, both dated 1 Kārtik 1764 Bk/2 October 1707, while informing the *saṅgats* at Dhaul and Khārā of Gurū Gobind Singh's meeting with the Emperor (Bahādur Shāh), enjoined upon them to present themselves duly armed when the Gurū arrived in Kahlūr (Anandpur). This was not to be, for the Gurū passed away at Nānded, in the South, a year later, but the Gurū's intention of returning to the Punjab is clearly established. The *hukamnāmās* are important linguistically as well and provide crucial clues for tracing the development of the Gurmukhī script and Punjabi prose.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ashok, Shamsheer Singh, ed., *Nisān te Hukamnāme*. Amritsar, 1967
2. Ganda Singh, ed., *Hukamnāme*. Patiala, 1967
3. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990

G.S.

HUKAM SINGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1921), son of Bhāi Ghanaiyā Singh Dhillon and Māi Har Kaur of the village of Dīngariān in Jalandhar district, was born at his mother's house in Hazārā village in the same district and spent his early childhood there under the care of his maternal grandfather, Shām Singh, an educated and dedicated Sikh. But Hukam Singh himself remained illiterate. By the time he reached his paternal home he had grown up into a strong and lusty youth. He was married at the age of 14.

After the opening of the Lower Chenāb Canal Colony, the family got land and set-

led permanently in Chakk No. 91 Dhannūānā in Lyallpur district. Early during the 20th century Hukam Singh, during one of his biennial pilgrimage visits to Anandpur Sāhib, received the rites of *Khālsā pāhul*. Every year he visited the holy Nankānā. As time went by, he grew increasingly conscious of the maladministration of the shrines and of the depravity of the *mahants* who controlled them. Most notorious among them was Mahant Narain Dās, custodian of the holy Nankānā. As the call for the liberation of the Nankānā rang out, Hukam Singh forthwith joined the *jathā* of Bhāi Lachhman Singh Dhārovālī, and attained martyrdom on 20 February 1921. See NANKĀNĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE. His widow declined with humility a family pension offered by the Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsheer, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jīvan*. Nankānā Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

HUKAM SINGH MALVAĪ (d. 1846), soldier and *jāgīrdār* in the Sikh times, was son of Dhannā Singh Malvai, an important official of the Sikh kingdom. Like his father, Hukam Singh served the Lahore Darbār. In January 1839, he, along with his brother Bachittar Singh, escorted Shāhzādā Taimūr to Peshāwar. In 1841, after Mahārājā Sher Singh had ascended the throne, Hukam Singh was sent to Kullū to capture the fugitives, Lahiṇa Singh Sandhānvālīā and Kehar Singh Sandhānvālīā. For his valuable services he was granted a handsome increase in his *jāgīrs*.

Hukam Singh was killed in the battle of Sabhrāon in February 1846.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

2. Prem Singh, Bābā, *Khālsā Rāj de Usrayye*, vol. II. Hoti Mardan, 1944

J.R.G.

HUKAM SINGH, SARDĀR (1895-1983), politician, parliamentarian and jurist, famous for his ready repartee, was born at Montgomery (Sahīwāl) on 30 August 1895, the son of Shām Singh, a businessman of moderate means. Hukam Singh had his preliminary acquaintance with Punjabi letters at the local *gurdwārā* and matriculated in 1913 from Government High School, Montgomery, under its headmaster, Bāwā Dasaundhā Singh, father of the famous Akālī leader and teacher of English literature, Bāwā Harkishan Singh, who had influential contacts in the Akālī party. He graduated from Khālsā College, Amritsar, in 1917. At the Khālsā College he distinguished himself as a member of the College Hockey XI. He was a contemporary of the legendary hockey player Lālī or Lāl Singh who died prematurely falling a victim to hockey rivalry. Hukam Singh used to say that had Lāl Singh lived, no one would possibly have heard of the second maestro, Dhiān Chand.

Graduating college, Hukam Singh took up government service and became an inspector in the Co-operative Department, but resigned to resume his studies. He passed his LL.B. examination in 1921 from Law College, Lahore, and set up practice as a lawyer at Montgomery, where he established himself securely in the profession as well as in the civic life of the town. A devout Sikh, he also took part in the Gurdwārā Reform or Akālī movement. When Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee was declared unlawful and most of its leaders arrested in October 1923, the Sikhs formed another Parbandhak Committee. Sardār Hukam Singh was a member of this Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and was one among those who were arrested on 7 January 1924 and sentenced

to two years imprisonment. He was elected a member of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee at the first elections held under the Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925, and continued to be elected successively for many years. He took part in the anti-Simon Commission agitation in 1928 and was injured and arrested during police baton charge on a procession in the streets of Montgomery.

Montgomery, town as well as the district, fell in the predominantly Muslim majority region of the Punjab, and Sikhs and Hindus faced a grave threat to their lives at the hands of Muslim fanatics especially during the riots that broke out following the declaration of partition of the country in August 1947. Most of them including Hukam Singh's own family took refuge in the walled compound of Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Singh Sabhā of which he himself was the president. He went about the town evacuating people from their houses, burying the dead and evacuating the dying to hospital at grave personal risk. He was at the top of the rioters' hit list when, during the night of 19-20 August 1947, a European army officer of the Boundary Force evacuated him, penniless and disguised in khaki uniform, to Fīrozpur cantonment. After about ten days he came to know that his family too had arrived safely at Jalandhar. He traced his family in a refugee camp where he rejoined it after several days filled with tension and anxiety. Giānī Kartār Singh, a vastly influential Sikh leader in those days, introduced him to the Mahārājā of Kapūrthālā for a position in the state judiciary. But an unfortunate *faux pas* occurred. Sardār Hukam Singh arrived at the Kapūrthālā palace in his white toga. To say the least, the Mahārājā was not at all pleased to see him so dressed. The prime minister of the state smoothed over matters saying that Sardār Hukam Singh had arrived as a refugee and could be forgiven the lapse.

Sardār Hukam Singh was appointed a Judge of the Kapūrthālā High Court.

Consequent upon Partition, some seats in the Constituent Assembly of India had become vacant. On a motion from Giānī Gurmukh Singh Musāfir, the Assembly, on 27 January 1948, approved to elect two Sikh and two Hindu members from the East Punjab. By a stroke of luck and again with the help of Giānī Kartār Singh, Hukam Singh was elected a member (30 April 1948). He actively participated in the Constituent Assembly's debates, and only a year after his entry was nominated on the panel of its chairmen. He continued to be on the panel till his election as deputy speaker in March 1956. He had been elected to the Lok Sabhā, the lower house of Parliament, in 1952 elections held under the new constitution and was re-elected in 1957 and again in 1962 in which year he was elected speaker of this house. He did not contest the 1967 elections and was instead appointed governor of Rājasthān at which position he remained till June 1972.

Although in March 1948 the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal had directed all Akālī legislators to join Congress legislature party en bloc, Hukam Singh, who had been elected to the Constituent Assembly in April 1948, continued to function in opposition. He stubbornly fought for the protection of the rights of the minorities and, failing to get protection for the Sikhs as a religious minority, he refused to put his signatures as a member to the new constitution. On his election to Parliament in 1952, he was secretary of the National Democratic Front of which Dr Shyāmā Prasād Mookerjee was the president, but later he joined and remained in the Congress party. On the question of Punjabi Sūbā, he favoured the re-organization of the state on linguistic rather than on religious basis. He was the chief architect of the regional Formula which, however, did not work. The Akālīs' agitation for

Punjabi Sūbā continued despite the failure of the strategy of fasts resorted to by their leaders during 1960-61. In 1965, when Sant Fateh Singh announced his resolve to go on an indefinite fast for the creation of a Punjabi-speaking state, the central government still seemed unyielding. But the Sant's gesture in postponing his fast in consideration of hostilities having broken out against Pakistan and his appeal to the Sikhs wholeheartedly to support India's war effort appeared to have touched the hearts of many people, including Lāl Bahādur Shāstri, who had by then taken over as the Prime Minister of India. He ordered the appointment of a parliamentary committee with Sardār Hukam Singh, then Speaker of the Lok Sabhā, as Chairman to consider the question of Punjabi Sūbā, i.e. a Punjabi-speaking state. It was a miracle how Hukam Singh was able to secure from elements as diverse as the parliamentary committee a unanimous report. The committee gave its verdict in favour of a Punjabi State saying that the State of Punjab be reorganized on a linguistic basis.

After his retirement from the office of governor of Rājasthān as well as from active politics in June 1972, Hukam Singh settled down in Delhi. In March 1973, the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee formed Srī Gurū Singh Sabhā Shatābadī (centenary) Committee to celebrate the centenary of the Singh Sabhā movement launched in 1873. Hukam Singh was nominated its president with Giānī Gurdit Singh as its secretary. Even after the celebrations, this committee continued to function as a permanent non-political body under the name of Kendarī Singh Sabhā for research and preaching of the Sikh tenets. Hukam Singh remained active as its president till his death which occurred in Delhi on 27 May 1983.

Hukam Singh also made considerable contribution for the cause of Sikh

education. At Montgomery he was the manager of the local Khālsā High School. In 1928 when the annual session of the Sikh Educational Conference was held at Montgomery, he was the secretary of its reception committee. Hukam Singh presided over the 40th and the 46th sessions of the Conference. He was also patron of the Montgomery Educational Trust established at Jalandhar. He was a member of the Punjabi University Commission. The University conferred on him, in 1967, the degree of Doctor of Laws (*honoris causa*). The launching by him of the *Spokesman*, English weekly from Delhi in 1951, served to supply a serious deficiency in Sikh journalism. He was the author of two books, in English — *The Sikh Cause* and *The Problem of the Sikhs*, in addition to a travelogue on his visit to Russia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Partap Singh, *Biography Sardar Hukam Singh*. Delhi, 1989
2. Sarhadi, Ajit Singh, *Punjabi Suba*. Delhi, 1970
3. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1994
M.G.S.

HUKMĀ SINGH CHIMNĪ, commander-cum-civil administrator under Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh. He was son of Rām Singh, of Bherā, who was the first one in the family to take the vows of Gurū Gobind Singh's *amrita*, and who entered the service of the Sukkarchakkīā *misl* under Chaḥat Singh as a trooper. After the death of his father, Hukmā Singh was admitted into Raṅjīt Singh's army and took part in the Kasūr expedition of 1807. He soon won the favour of the Mahārājā by his valour particularly in the reduction of the Kanhaiyā citadel of Paṭhānkoṭ in 1808, and in the seizure of Siālkoṭ the same year from Sardār Jivan Singh. The energy and alacrity of Hukmā Singh won from the Mahārājā the affectionate epithet of Chimnī. "Chimnā"

in Punjabi signifies both a man of small stature and a little bird, swift and strong of wing. The nickname fitted Hukmā Singh, who was short of stature, but very virile and active. Hukmā Singh was created a *sardār* and was made the governor of Rāmnagar on a salary of Rs 2,000 per month. He also became the controller of customs and salt mine duties. He was assigned a *jāgīr* worth 60,000 rupees annually.

Hukmā Singh took part in the battle of Haidrū, 8 km from the Fort of Attock, in 1813, under Dīwān Mohkam Chand, when the Sikhs defeated the Kābul Wazīr, Fateh Khān. As Yār Muhammad Khān, the Afghān governor of Peshāwar, made an attempt to reoccupy Attock, Hukmā Singh drove the Afghān army from the fortress and plundered the retreating host.

In 1818, Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh appointed Hukmā Singh as the governor of Attock and Hazārā. Hukmā Singh was primarily a soldier, and there were few of the Mahārājā's campaigns in which he did not participate. He was well rewarded for his skill and bravery and, at one time, held *jāgīrs* amounting to upwards of three lakhs of rupees.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *Umdāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Prem Singh, Bābā, *Khālsā Rāj de Usrayye*, vol. II. Hoti Mardan, 1944
3. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
4. Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh: Maharajah of the Punjab*. Bombay, 1962

S.S.B.

HUMĀYŪN, NASĪR UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD (1508-1556), Mughal emperor of India, was born at Kābul on 6 March 1508, the eldest of the four sons of Zahīr ud-Dīn Muhammad Bābar. Humāyūn succeeded Bābar to the throne of Delhi in December 1530 at the age of 23, but his reign was beset with

difficulties. Bābar had left an empire barely held by force of arms and lacking any consolidated civil administration. Though earlier Humāyūn had served an apprenticeship as governor of Badakhshān, he did not have the sustained energy of his versatile father. Sher Khān Sūr, an Afghān chief, who had been consolidating his power in south Bihār, defeated him in a battle at Chausā on the Ganges, in 1540. Sher Khān again defeated Humāyūn still more decisively opposite Kanauj, and then pursued the fleeing Mughals to Lahore. Humāyūn became a homeless wanderer, first in Sindh, then in Mārvār, and then in Sindh again. In 1544, he reached Persia and was granted asylum by Shāh Tahmāsp. In 1555, with Persian help, Humāyūn invaded India where four Sūr claimants were struggling for power. He occupied Delhi and Āgrā in July 1555, thus regaining his father's capital cities. But he was not destined to rule for long. An accidental fall from the staircase of his library at Delhi ended his troubled life in January 1556. His second reign lasted barely six months.

The story of Humāyūn's visit to the second Sikh Gurū, Aṅgad, after having been defeated by Sher Khān Sūr, is referred to in Sikh chronicles. It is recorded that Humāyūn went to Khaḍūr to seek the Gurū's blessing. At the time of his visit, the Gurū was in meditation and Humāyūn, impatiently waiting for the Gurū to attend to him, was in a rage. As the tradition goes, he attempted to draw his sword to attack the Gurū. However, the sword would not come out of the scabbard. Meanwhile, the Gurū came out of the trance and remarked that he should have drawn his sword against his enemies. Humāyūn was repentant and craved forgiveness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Smith Vincent, *The Oxford History of India*. Oxford, 1958

2. Beveridge, H., tr., *The Akbar Nama*. Delhi, 1989
3. Sharma, Sri Ram, *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*. Bombay, 1962

S.R.S.

HURBON, a Spaniard, who joined the Sikh army as an engineer in 1842. He was given command of a regiment and, later, that of a brigade. He was an astute tactician and is said to have planned and built, in concert with Mouton, entrenchments at Ferozeshāh and Sabhrāon during the first Anglo-Sikh war. As the hostilities ended, he was deported to Europe by the British in July 1846.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

HURELEEK, a Greek, who according to Alexander Gardner, *Ranjit Singh and His White Officers*, joined the Sikh infantry in 1841 during the reign of Maharājā Sher Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

HUSAIN KHĀN (d. 1696), called Husainī in Gurū Gobind Singh's *Bachitra Nāṭak*, was a slave-general of Dilāwar Khān, an important officer in the Mughal hierarchy. When Dilāwar Khān learnt of the disaster suffered by the imperial expedition led by his son against Gurū Gobind Singh, he sent his commander, Husain Khān, to avenge the defeat. Husain Khān proceeded towards Anandpur with a large army at the beginning of 1696. Several hill chiefs submitted to him. On the way, Husain Khān got involved with Rājā Rāj Singh (Rājā Gopāl of the *Bachitra Nāṭak*) of Guler, who failing to produce the heavy tribute levied upon him was ready for an

armed conflict. Bhāi Saṅgatīā and seven other Sikhs who were sent by Gurū Gobind Singh as an embassy of peace to the court of the Guler chief also took part in the battle. Husain Khān was supported by the rājās of Kānṅrā and Bilāspur. In the fierce action (20 February 1696) that ensued, Husain Khān was slain and the Rājā of Guler and his allies won a decisive victory. Saṅgatīā

and his seven Sikhs fell fighting in this bloody battle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*.
2. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshahī 10*. Patiala, 1968
3. Senāpati, *Srī Guru Sobhā*. Patiala, 1980
4. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

B.S.

I

IBRĀHĪM, SHAIKH (Shaikh Farīd of the Janam Sākhī), twelfth in succession from the famous Sūfī saint, Shaikh Farīd ud-Dīn Gañj-i-Shakar (1173-1266), held the seat of the earlier Shaikh at Pākpaṭṭan in the present Sāhīwāl (former Montgomery) district of Pakistan when Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) was travelling in these parts. Shaikh Ibrāhīm, like his illustrious predecessor, lived a pious and austere life and was on this account known among his followers and admirers as Farīd II. Gurū Nānak, accompanied at the rebeck by Bhāi Mardānā, was singing God's praises in the forest on the outskirts of Pākpaṭṭan, when Kamāl, a follower of Shaikh Ibrāhīm, collecting firewood for the *khānaqāh* kitchen, came where sat Gurū Nānak and Bhāi Mardānā. He was enthralled by the verses Gurū Nānak was reciting:

Thou art the tablet, thou the pen,
Thou too art the writing thereon.
Worship the One Lord, O Nānak,
For there is none other besides Him.

Kamāl, says *Purātan Janam Sākhī*, reported to Shaikh Ibrāhīm, "I have met a man of God, Reverend Pīr! His name is Nānak and accompanied by a rebeck-player he sings of the One Lord." And he repeated the lines he had heard and remembered. Shaikh Ibrāhīm himself went out to meet Gurū Nānak. According to the *Janam Sākhī*, the two held a long discourse in a mixture of poetic metaphor and philosophy. On seeing Gurū Nānak, in the ordinary attire

of a householder, Shaikh Ibrāhīm remarked:

Covet either the world, or covet Allah,
the Creator.

Set not thy feet on two boats,
Lest thou drownest all thy goods.

The Gurū answered:

Set thy feet on both boats,
in both ships, thy goods.

A boat will sink, a boat will go across,
For those who deal in true, everlasting
goods,

There is no ocean, no boats, no drown-
ing, no loss.

He told the Shaikh that to gain the Divine one need not disown the world. In discovering harmony between the two lay the way to attainment. The body would perish, but the other boat, the soul, could be saved by living in the world in the spirit of a true seeker. Gurū Nānak then repeated the advice which would have sounded familiar to the ears of the Sūfī saint: "Know thy True Friend. He is in thy own heart. The Beloved is not far from thee."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Vir Singh, Bhāi, ed., *Purātan Janam Sākhī*. Amritsar, 1982
2. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janam Sākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975

'IBRATNĀMAH, a Persian work by Muftī 'Alī ud-Dīn of Lahore, completed on 13 September 1854, deals with the history as well as with the social and economic life of the people of the Punjab. It also contains an account of the Sikhs from their origin to the battle of Gujrāt fought against the British in 1849. The book was originally conceived and planned by Muftī 'Alī ud-Dīn's father, Muftī Khair ud-Dīn. Muftī 'Alī ud-Dīn, who had obtained an appointment in the British Political Agency at Ludhiānā, served in various capacities at Firozpur, Bahāwalpur, Sindh and Multān, eventually settling down at Lahore. A manuscript of 'Ibratnāmāh carrying the author's autograph, preserved in the India Office Library, London, contains 376 folios written in bold *nasta'liq* hand. It was Colonel Wade, the British political agent at Ludhiānā, who had assigned the author's father, Muftī Khair ud-Dīn, to the work. The author, Muftī 'Alī ud-Dīn, dedicated it upon completion to Mr Charles Raikes, the Commissioner of Lahore. According to a note prepared by Charles Raikes, the manuscript was sent to the Imperial Exhibition held in Paris in 1855. Subsequently, it found its way into the India Office Library. In 1961, Dr Muhammad Bāqir edited it, and it was published at Lahore in two volumes.

The work is divided into three main sections. Section I deals with the physical conditions of the Punjab, its rivers, mountains and fauna and flora, and section II with the political history and topography of Lahore. In section III the author has narrated the history of the Punjab from the rise of Sikhism to the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. To these three *bābs* or *daftars* there is added, on ff. 326a-376b, a kind of *khātīmāh* (without a general heading), dealing in detail with the customs and usages as well as with the prevalent philosophic and religious ideas of the people of the Punjab, beginning with a sketch of the

sect of the Qādirīs. Among the numerous short chapters of this part the most prominent ones are: the great days of the Muhammadan (Hijrī) year, on fol. 331b, last line; the *faqīrs* of the three principal creeds, the Muhammadans, Hindus, and Sikhs, on fol. 333a; manners and customs of the Muhammadans, from the cradle to the grave, on fol. 334b; of the Hindus, on fol. 342b; of the Sikhs, on fol. 352a; scientific attainments of these three creeds, on fol. 353a; practices in eating, on fol. 356b, last line; in dress, etc., on fol. 360a; the court officials under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, on fol. 364b, etc., etc. In writing this book the author seems to have made a close study of the preceding works. From among these he is highly critical of Sohan Lāl Sūrī's '*Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*' which he calls partisan and one-sided, Būte Shāh's '*Tārīkh-i-Panjab*' which is described as complex in style and narration, and Dīwān Amar Nāth's '*Zafar Nāmāh-i-Ranjīt Singh*' dismissed as "full of confusion and unintelligible in diction."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kirpal Singh, *A Catalogue of Persian and Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Amritsar, 1962
2. Ganda Singh, *A Bibliography of the Panjab*. Patiala, 1966

Gb.S.

'IBRATNĀMAH by Kāmraj, one of several chronicles in Persian bearing this title, is a manuscript of 71 folios, preserved in British Library, London. A transcribed copy of it is available in some libraries in India such as Kāshī Prasād Jaiswāl Research Institute, Patnā. The chronicle is a contemporary record of events covering the period from Aurangzib's death in 1707 to the accession of Muhammad Shāh in 1719. Kāmraj's father, Brindāban, was a *peshadast* or advance guard in the imperial artillery and his ancestors had served the Mughals for three generations. Kāmraj himself had been in

the service of Prince Ā'zam, the third son of Auraṅzīb. In fact *'Ibratnāmah* is a portion of a bigger book, *Ā'zam-ul-Harb* which he wrote as a mark of his debt of gratitude to the prince. He must have been an eye-witness to many of the events he has described, yet the account is disjointed, circumstantial and incidental, lacking in fulness of detail and the style is too laboured and ornate. Sikhs are described in this work as *Nānak Prastān*, worshippers of (Gurū) Nānak. The author's language is highly vituperative. According to him, a Ḍogrā Sannyāsī or recluse originally named Lakshman Dās or Mādho Dās went to the South where he met the saint of Nānded (Gurū Gobind Singh) from whom he claimed to have got a *hukamnāmah* (lit. written order) for punishing the oppressive Mughal officials, Hindus as well as Muslims. He described himself as a *bandā* or slave of the Gurū and called upon the Sikhs to join him in his crusade. The manuscript goes on to describe the campaigns of Bandā Singh Bahādur, the siege of Lohgarh, Bandā Singh's escape, his ultimate capture and execution along with hundreds of his devoted followers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kirpal Singh, *A Catalogue of Persian and Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Amritsar, 1962
2. Ganda Singh, *A Bibliography of the Panjab*. Patiala, 1966

S.H.A.

'IBRATNĀMAH ("The Book of Warning"), by *Khair ud-Dīn Muhammad Allāhābādī* (d. 1827), a Persian manuscript copies of which are preserved in Oriental Public (*Khudā Baksh*) Library, Bānkipur, Patnā; Asiatic Society, Calcutta; British Library, London; and *Khālsā* College, Amritsar, is a detailed history of the reigns of Ālamgīr II (1754-59) and Shāh Ālam II (1759-1806), with a summary account of their ancestors

beginning with Taimūr (d. 1405). *Khair ud-Dīn* was a teacher and historiographer who along with his three brothers had been in the service of the British. He spent his last days at Jaunpur enjoying government pension which he had earned principally by the assistance rendered to James Anderson, British resident with Mahādji Scindia in 1784-85, in his negotiations with the Marāṭhās. The *'Ibratnāmah* is primarily concerned with the life of Shāh Ālam II and dwells extensively upon his earlier life as Prince 'Alī Gauhar; his stay at Allāhābād as a protege of the British; his restoration to the throne of Delhi; and treatment he received at the hands of *Ghulām Qādir Ruhilā*. The author is concerned more with the Emperor and his heir apparent and their relations with the Marāṭhās, Jāts, Rājputs and the Ruhilās than with the Sikhs. There are references in the work to the capture of Mughlānī Begam, widow of Mu'in ul-Mulk (Mīr Mannū of Sikh chronicles), in 1756 by the Delhi Wazīr, Imād ud-Mulk *Ghāzī ud-Dīn*, who entrusted the government of Lahore and Multān to Ādīnā Beg *Khān* for an annual tribute of Rs 30 lakhs. There are occasional references to Sikh chiefs of the cis-Sutlej region such as Rājā Amar Singh of Paṭiālā and Gajpat Singh of Jīnd in connection with the imperial campaign of 1779 in these parts led by Abd ul-Ahd *Khān* Majd ud-Daulah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kirpal Singh, *A Catalogue of Persian and Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Amritsar, 1962
2. Ganda Singh, *A Bibliography of the Panjab*. Patiala, 1966

S.H.A.

'IBRATNĀMAH, also described by the author, Mīrzā Muhammad Hārisī (b. 1687), in the short invocation at the beginning as "Tazkirah-i-Ahwāl-*Khud* ba Tarz-i-Roznāmchah" (lit. an account of events concerning himself in the style of a

diary), is an oft-quoted Persian manuscript copies of which are preserved in Oriental Public (Khudā Bakhsh) Library, Bānkīpur, Paṅnā, and Asiatic Society, Calcutta. A third copy was known to be in the personal library of the late Sir Jadūnāth Sarkār. The manuscript, a book of memoirs, is of great historical importance because of the author's first-hand account of events in the Punjab/northern India from 1703 to 1776. It is of special interest to students of Sikh history for its account of the capture of Bandā Siṅgh Bahādur and his companions and their execution at Delhi. After referring briefly to Gurū Nānak, described as a perfect religious *faqīr*, and his successors, Hārisī states that one of the successors, Govind (Gurū Gobind Siṅgh), introduced new rules and instituted a fresh organization called the Khālsā. His growing opulence, modes and behaviour attracted the notice of local officials, especially of Wazīr Khān, the *faujdar* of Sirhind, who sought the royal permission to deal with him. In the fighting that ensued two sons of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh were killed. But the next emperor Shāh 'Ālam (Bahādur Shāh), continues the author, received the Gurū well during his march towards the Deccan. After the Gurū had been killed unexpectedly by an Afghān, his adopted son Ajit (Siṅgh) became an object of royal favour. Not long after, an obscure person (Bandā Siṅgh Bahādur) assembled a large number of Sikhs in the Punjab and established control over a vast tract in the Punjab from the Gangetic Doāb on one side and western borders of Lakkhī jungle on the other. Wazīr Khān of Sirhind was killed; 'Alī Hamīd Khān, *faujdar* of Sahāranpur ran away; Shams Khān, *faujdar* of Jalandhar Doāb, put up a stout resistance but was worsted; so was Aslam Khān, governor of Lahore. Shāh 'Ālam (Emperor Bahādur Shāh) on his return from the Deccan deputed Amīn Khān and Rustam Dil Khān to recover the lost possessions and

eliminate the Sikhs. Bandā Siṅgh fell back upon his newly built stronghold of Gurdāspur [Gurdās-Naṅgal], taking advantage of the confusion which followed the death of Bahādur Shāh. Later, Emperor Farrukh-Siyar sent Abd us-Samad Khān and his son, Zakariyā Khān, to annihilate Bandā Siṅgh. A total lack of food and other provisions compelled Bandā Siṅgh and his companions to surrender. They were first taken to Lahore and then marched in a procession to Delhi. The progress was slow for they had to be paraded in all the places they were taken through. Hārisī's account of what he calls a *tamāshah* (fun, show) is that of an eye-witness. Bandā Siṅgh, he narrates, was mockingly attired in a colourful dress and seated in an iron cage on the back of an elephant. Preceding him was a cavalcade of camel-riders with bamboo poles each having stuck at the top a severed head [of a Sikh] with hair flowing in the wind. Taken along this triumphal procession was the dead body of a cat, also tied to the top of bamboo pole, signifying that not even a quadruped had been left alive in Gurdāspur. According to Hārisī, although 740 prisoners were presented before the Emperor, the number brought from the Gurdās-Naṅgal fortress was much smaller and had to be augmented by others taken from villages that lay on the way. They were all slaughtered on the Kotwālī Chabūtrah (platform of the police post). At last the Gurū [Bandā Siṅgh] was despatched in the same manner.

Mirzā Muhammad Hārisī's language where he writes about the Sikhs is highly vituperative, but he is also very lavish in his praise of their qualities of courage and daring, their complete indifference to death and their submission to the Will of God.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kirpal Singh, *A Catalogue of Persian and Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Amritsar, 1962

2. Ganda Singh, *A Bibliography of the Panjab*. Patiala, 1966

S.H.A.

'IBRATNĀMAH, by Sayyid Muhammad Qāsim of Lahore, is a rare manuscript in Persian containing the history of the empire of Delhi from the death of Aurangzib to the fall of the two Sayyid brothers, Abdullah and Husain 'Alī, known as *bādshāhgar* or king-makers. Its author was a protege of Amīr ul-Umarā Husain 'Alī, one of the Sayyid brothers, and was therefore a firsthand witness to contemporary affairs of State. Apart from some well-known episodes and the three wars of succession, he writes about the disturbed rule of Farrukh-Siyar, the effete rulers like Rafī ud-Darjāt, Rafī ud-Daulah and shadowy figures such as Ibrāhīm and Nekū Sīyar. The manuscript treats of the Sikhs and their religion in comparatively sympathetic terms. Bābā (Gurū) Nānak is portrayed as a *faqīr* or dervish who, born of a Hindu family, had assimilated much from Islam and who, turning aside from all name and fame, had advocated peace and justice for all. Gurū Nānak's formula describing the Divine, viz. "*Ek onkār satnām, kartār (sic), nīrbhau, nīrbair, akāl mūrat,*" was, according to Qāsim, on the lips of every Sikh. He passed on his high ideas not to any of his sons, but to a disciple of humble origin. Qāsim mentions other early Gurūs and notices the new developments under later Gurūs, Tegh Bahādur and Gobind Singh, the latter having laid the foundation of the Khālsā Panth. 'Ibratnāmah also contains a detailed account of Bandā Singh. Here, however, Qāsim becomes partisan. He refers to Bandā (Singh) pejoratively as *safāq-i-bebāk* (reckless blood-shedder), *dajjāl* (impostor), *shu'badahbāz* (conjuror) and *khīrs* (bear).

He describes in detail his pillage of Samānā, Sunām, Mustafābād, Saḍhaurā, etc., his inroads upon the Gangetic Doāb,

sack of Sirhind, escape from his besieged headquarters, Lohgarh, his last stand near Gurdāspur and ultimate capture and execution. The author could not however help admiring the zeal and desperate valour of the Sikhs. He states that when he was in the service of the deputy *nāzim* or administrator, 'Arif Beg, he observed with his own eyes the superiority of these people and the cool courage that they displayed in sallying out of the Fort with swords, arrows, and guns in their hands and repelling the imperial army.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kirpal Singh, *A Catalogue of Persian and Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Amritsar, 1962
2. Ganda Singh, *A Bibliography of the Panjab*. Patiala, 1966

S.H.A.

ICHCHHAR SINGH, BHĀĪ (1877-1921), one of the Nankāṇā Sāhib martyrs, was the second of the four sons of Bhāī Sant Singh and Māī Hukamī of the village of Baṇḍālā in Amritsar district. He received the rites of *Khālsā pāhul* at the hands of Bhāī Lachhman Singh Dhārovālī. A few days before the Nankāṇā Sāhib occurrence Bhāī Lachhman Singh came to his village to enlist volunteers for the liberation of Gurdwārās at Nankāṇā Sāhib. Bhāī Ichchhar Singh and his brothers Dharam Singh, Sammā Singh and Bārā Singh had their names enrolled. When the final call came on 19 February 1921, all of them joined the *jathā* at Dhārovālī and fell martyrs the following morning in the raining bullets in Gurdwārā Janam Asthān.

See NANKĀṆĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jīvan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

IKULĀHĀ, a village 6 km southwest of

Khannā (30°-42'N, 76°-13'E) in Ludhiānā district, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind, who visited it on his way from Ghurānī and Dhamoṭ to Saunṭī. The shrine which commemorates the visit was raised much later. The construction work was started in 1907-08 by Bhāi Ralā Singh, who resigned his job in East Africa to return to his village for this purpose, but the building was not completed until 1933. By then the supervision had passed into the hands of a revered lady, Māi Gulāb Kaur. The shrine is known today as Gurdwārā Gurū Sar Pātshāhī Chheviñ. It has a flat-roofed *dīvān* hall where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is installed. Close by, there is a Mañjī Sāhib in the form of a small square domed room on a raised platform, with another room in the basement. The Mañjī Sāhib marks the site where the Gurū is believed to have sat and from where he addressed the devotees. A new 100-foot high Nishān Sāhib was raised near the Mañjī Sāhib on 3 May 1978. Besides the daily services and the important Sikh anniversaries, an annual festival is held on 20 Baisākh (early May) to mark the day on which Gurū Hargobind is believed to have visited the village in 1632. The Gurdwārā is managed by a local committee, the Naujawān Sabhā, i.e. the village youth, taking an active interest in its affairs.

M.G.S.

ILĀHĪ BAKHSH, an officer in Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's army who commanded the special artillery wing of Fauj-i-Khās and a portion of the artillery corps named *Ḍerahi-Ilāhī Bakhsh*. General Ilāhī Bakhsh's *topkhānā* took part in most of the military campaigns of the Mahārājā. It was employed to great effect during the conquest of Multān in 1818, and, two years later, in the pacification of Hazārā and *Ḍerā Ghāzī Khān*. The Mahārājā often called upon General Ilāhī Bakhsh to display, on ceremonial occasions, the skill and effectiveness of his batteries. At the time of the Ropar meeting in Octo-

ber 1831 between the Mahārājā and Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, Ilāhī Bakhsh arranged a demonstration of his artillery as well as of his own firing skill in the course of evening entertainments and the review of troops. Sir Lepel Griffin described him as "the best artillery officer in the Sikh army."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Waheeduddin, Syed Faqir, *The Real Ranjit Singh*. Karachi, 1935
2. Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1957
3. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963
4. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
H.D.

IMĀD US-SA'ĀDAT, a chronicle in Persian, composed at the instance of Col. John Baillie, British Resident at Lucknow, by Ghulām 'Alī Naqvī, of Rāe Bareli, in 1808 containing accounts of the Nawābs of Oudh from Sa'ādat Khān to Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān, besides those of the Marāṭhās, the Ruhilās, the Afghāns, the Jāts and the Sikhs. The book was lithographed at the Nawal Kishore Press of Kānpur in 1864. The manuscript in the Oriental Public Library, Paṭnā, comprising 151 large-sized folios with 21 lines to a page, and written in *nasta'liq*, is broken up into sections with subject headings given in red. As for the Sikhs, the author tells us about their growing power, territorial possessions, and some characteristic features of their faith. After referring to God-knowing, ever-worshipping, piously Bābā Nānak, a Bedī Khatri, full of wise sayings, of other-worldly attitude, and a saint of the highest grade of mysticism, he writes about two different kinds of his followers, the Khālsā of unshorn locks and the Khulāsā of shorn hair. There is a reference to the Suthrā Shāhī sect, dating from the time of Gurū Hargobind, and their play with coloured wooden sticks which they

called Ḍaḍḍe Nānak Shāh. According to the writer, the tendency among the Sikhs to create commotions for annexing territory and devastating cities, towns and villages had become more intensified in later times with the result that the whole of the Punjab up to Multān, and the land within 47 *kos* (about 112 km) of Delhi, had passed under the control of chiefs drawn mostly from low classes like carpenters, leatherworkers, Jaṭts, etc. Though bitterly opposed to tobacco-smoking, they were fond of *bhaṅg* (hemp). Their salutation consisted of *vāh gurū vāh fateh*. They made people to pay tributes from a rupee to a *lakh* for expenses for "Halvā Karāh" as oblation dedicated to Bābā Nānak. Their army called Dal consisted of about 2 *lakh sowārs*. Their blind fidelity to their Gurūs made them place their properties and even lives at their disposal. They were not confined only to the Punjab but were spread over the whole of Hindustān from Delhi to Hyderābād, Calcutta and Kashmir. The book is not free from factual errors or from bias. It accepts uncritically much that went round as mere gossip.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kirpal Singh, *A Catalogue of Persian and Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Amritsar, 1962
2. Ganda Singh, *A Bibliography of the Panjab*. Patiala, 1966

S.H.A.

IMĀM SHĀH (d. 1846), who rose to be a colonel in Raṅjīt Singh's army entered the service of Jodh Singh of Wazīrābād in 1809 as an artillery Jamādār. He was of Persian descent and a grandson of Qamar ud-Dīn, an officer in the army of Nādir Shāh. In 1810, on the death of Jodh Singh, Imām Shāh joined service under Raṅjīt Singh. Imām Shāh took part in various expeditions undertaken by the Mahārājā. He was killed in action on 10 February 1846 at Sabhrāoñ

during the first Anglo-Sikh war. His son, Muhammad Shāh, a commandant in Sikh artillery, also took part in the battle along with his father.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

H.D.

IMĀM UD-DĪN, FAQĪR (d. 1847), second son of Ghulām Mohīy ud-Dīn and younger brother of Faqīr 'Azīz ud-Dīn, foreign minister to Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh, was Qilādār or garrison commander of the Gobindgarh Fort at Amritsar, where the bulk of the Sikh crown jewels was kept in deposit. Capable and scholarly, Imām ud-Dīn was entrusted with multifarious duties by the Mahārājā. He virtually acted as the chief treasurer of the kingdom, authorizing payments on behalf of the Darbār and carrying out commercial transactions through cash and *hunḍīs* for the purchase of grain. As the Fort commander, he looked after the magazine, arsenal and studs. He was also responsible for the maintenance of the fortifications of Amritsar city. He also performed protocol duties on behalf of the State when foreign dignitaries arrived for visits.

Faqīr Imām ud-Dīn also held command of 500 horse and took part in military campaigns. At times he was assigned to diplomatic duty. In August 1808, he was deputed to go to Paṭiālā to receive Charles T. Metcalfe, the British envoy, who was on his way to Lahore to call on the Mahārājā. At Paṭiālā, Faqīr Imām ud-Dīn also had the chance of meeting the cis-Sutlej Sikh chiefs. In April 1827, he accompanied Dīwān Motī Rām to Shimlā to wait on Lord Amherst with a mission sent by Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh. In March 1828, on behalf of the Mahārājā, he called upon Lord

Combermere, the British commander-in-chief at Ludhiānā.

Contemporary chronicles describe Faqīr Imām ud-Dīn as a devout Muslim and a learned man of his time. A person of proven integrity and political wisdom, he was one of the most devoted and loyal servants of the Sikh Darbār.

Faqīr Imām ud-Dīn died at Lahore on 5 December 1847. His only son, Tāj ud-Dīn, succeeded him as Qilādār of the Gobindgarh Fort.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1957
3. Waheeduddin, Syed Faqīr, *The Real Ranjit Singh*. Karachi, 1965
4. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990

H.D.

IMĀM UD-DĪN, SHAIKH (1819-1859), who succeeded his father, Shaikh Ghulām Mohiy ud-Dīn, as governor of the Sikh province of Kashmir in 1845, had earlier served under Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh in the Derājāt and had in 1840 assisted his father in the campaign against Maṅḍī. In April 1841, when a mutiny occurred in Kashmir, Mahārājā Sher Singh ordered his father, Sheikh Ghulām Mohiy ud-Dīn, then governor of the Jalandhar Doāb, to proceed to Kashmir to take charge of the province and restore order. Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn was then appointed governor of the Jalandhar Doāb. When in September 1843, Wazīr Hirā Singh had Bhāi Gurmukh Singh and Misr Belī Rām arrested, he handed them over to Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn for custody. Imām ud-Dīn kept them in the stables near his house in Lahore. Within a week of their confinement, both of them were put to death at Hirā Singh's orders. Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn was also involved by Hirā Singh in the plot to destroy the *ḍerā*

of Bābā Bīr Singh of Naurangābād which fell within his jurisdiction. During the insurrection in Kashmir in 1844 when Shaikh Ghulām Mohiy ud-Dīn asked for reinforcements from the Lahore Darbār, Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn was sent with a contingent to help him. On the death of his father, Imām ud-Dīn took over as governor of Kashmir, with the title of Amīn ul-Mulk Jaṅg Bahādur. His fortune, however, declined with the conclusion of the Anglo-Sikh treaty of 16 March 1846, according to which Kashmir was to be handed over to Gulāb Singh. The arrangement was resented by Rājā Lāl Singh, minister to the Lahore Darbār, who in a private communication instructed Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn to obstruct it. Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn was ultimately overcome by the intervention of the British under Major Henry Lawrence to whom he surrendered. He was tried at Lahore by a commission comprising Major-General Littler, Lt-Colonel Lawrence, Lt-Colonel Goldie, Mr Currie and Mr Lawrence, but was exonerated when he produced original letters written by Rājā Lāl Singh. His property in Lahore, which was earlier confiscated, was restored to him.

In June 1848, Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn went at the head of 2,000 troops to assist Herbert Edwardes in the reduction of Multān, and succeeded in arresting Narain Singh, commander of Dīwān Mūl Rāj. He was later rewarded with the title of Nawāb and Bahādur, together with a pension of Rs 11,600 and confirmation of his *jāgīr* of Rs 8,400. Again in 1857, he helped the British raise two contingents of cavalry to fight on their behalf in Delhi. He died in March 1859 at the early age of 40 and was buried in the vicinity of the tomb of the famous saint, Dātā Gaṅj Bakhsh, at Lahore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of*

Note in the Punjab. Lahore, 1909

3. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
4. Fauja Singh, *After Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1982

H.D.

INDAR SINGH, BHĀĪ (1881-1921), one of the Nankāṇā Sāhib martyrs, was born on 27 January 1881, the son of Bhāi Sarmukh Singh and Māi Sukhdeī of Paṇḍorī Nijjharān in Jalandhar district. He learnt reading and writing Punjabi in the village *gurdwārā*, and grew up into a strongly-built young man, tall and sturdy. He seemed ideally suited for a career in the army which he did join (36th Sikh Battalion), but took out his discharge in two years' time. He participated in the historic Sikh gathering at Dhāvovālī on 1-3 October 1920. He had his name registered as a volunteer in the batch led by Bhāi Sundar Singh, Jathedār of his own village, for the liberation of the Nankāṇā Sāhib shrine. He fell a martyr in the compound of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān in the raining bullets on 20 February 1921.

See NANKĀṆĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jīvan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

INDAR SINGH, BHĀĪ (1894-1921), one of the Akālī reformers who fell martyr at Nankāṇā Sāhib during the reformation of the holy shrines there, was born in 1894, the son of Bhāi Mahitāb Singh and Māi Ichchhar Kaur of the village of Ḍarolī in Jalandhar district. The family later shifted to Shāhkoṭ, a small town in Sheikḥūpurā district in the newly developed Lower Chenāb Canal Colony where he earned a modest income as a draper-cum-tailor. As the movement for Gurdwārā reform was picking up momentum towards the end of the second decade of the 20th century, he turned an Akālī and took part in the liberation of Gurdwārā Bābe dī

Ber on 4-5 October 1920. He was also present on the occasion of the occupation of Srī Akāl Takḥt by the Panth on 12 October 1920, and later participated in the liberation of Gurdwārā Kharā Saudā and the one at Gojrā. He joined Bhāi Lachhman Singh Dhārovālī's column to have the Gurdwārā Janam Asthān released. He fell a victim to a bullet shot on 20 February 1921.

Bhāi Indar Singh was survived by his mother, wife and two minor sons. A pension of Rs 20 per month was granted to them by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, who also discharged the family debt of Rs 1000.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jīvan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

INDIA SECRET PROCEEDINGS (1834-1856), a manuscript series of Indian records at the India Office Library, London, succeeding Bengal Secret and Political Consultations (1800-34). It includes the entire range of despatches and correspondence of the North-West Frontier Agency from the heyday of Sikh political power in the Punjab down to the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. Among the more important documents are the correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh-Scindia affairs; Sikh designs on Sindh and Shikārpur (1834-37); the Indus Navigation Scheme (1838); despatches concerning Macnaghten's mission to Lahore and the Tripartite Treaty (1838); correspondence, despatches, newsletters, intelligence reports, minutes and memoranda relating to the first Anglo-Afghan war and the Sikh co-operation in the British military operations on the Khaibar, especially the despatches of Wade from Peshāwar, and of Clerk from Lahore (1839); despatches of Wade, Clerk, Mackeson and other British functionaries dealing with

the political affairs at Lahore, Anglo-Sikh relations, the Sikh-Afghān boundaries, passage of the British troops and convoys through the heart of the Punjab and the Punjab Intelligence Reports (1840); despatches of the Agent, North-West Frontier, about the political affairs at Lahore and British policy towards the Sikhs, the passage of Captain Broadfoot with the royal Afghān families through the Punjab, Anglo-Sikh tension on the Sikh boundaries in the Yūsufzai territory beyond the Peshāwar Valley, political anarchy at Lahore and the Punjab Intelligence Reports (1841); correspondence about the events at Peshāwar, particularly the British offer of Jalālābād to the Sikhs and its evacuation afterwards, and Clerk's despatches and reports from Lahore (1842); correspondence relating to the termination of the Tripartite Treaty and proposals for a new Anglo-Sikh treaty and Intelligence Reports on Punjab affairs and statistical data on the Sikh army and its dispositions (1843); reports on the events in Lahore, especially the assassination of Sher Singh, accession of Mahārājā Duleep Singh, and other events which led to the Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, ed., *The Punjab Papers*. Hoshiarpur, 1970

B.J.H.

ĪSĀ KHĀN, an early eighteenth-century Muslim Rājput chief of Mañjh clan, claimed descent from Prince Kailoñ of Jaisalmer, who had carved out for himself a small separate principality in the Punjab in 1425. During the Muslim invasions, the descendants of Kailoñ, like many other Rājputs of this area, had accepted Islam as their religion. Īsā Khān, whose grandfather and later his father, Daulat Khān, had been leaders of robber bands, managed to establish himself as the overlord of an extensive tract along the left bank of the

River Sutlej. In 1700 he founded Koṭ Īsā Khān, now in Ferozpur district, but he had his headquarters in Tihārā, an old village now in present-day Ludhiānā district. In the battle of Jājaū (1707), fought between two sons of Aurangzib for succession to the throne, Īsā Khān offered his services to Prince Mu'azzam, later Emperor Bahādur Shāh, and was enrolled as a petty *mansabdār*.

Kapūrā Brār, chief of Koṭ Kapūrā and an ancestor of the princely house of Farīdkoṭ, who also claimed descent from the ruling family of Jaisalmer, was a rival of Īsā Khān for ascendancy in the cis-Sutlej region. Īsā Khān, finding Kapūrā more than a match for him, resorted to a stratagem. Cultivating friendship with him, he once invited him to his house and treacherously killed him (1708).

Īsā Khān's fortunes rose with the accession of Bahādur Shāh to the imperial throne. He collaborated with the *faujdar* of Jalandhar in his campaign against the Sikhs, then rallying under Bandā Singh Bahādur. In the struggle for succession that followed Bahādur Shāh's death, Īsā Khān helped the winning contender, Jahāndār Shāh, who on his accession conferred on him a *mansab* (rank) of 1500, the title of Khān and the *faujdarī* of Jalandhar Doāb. He ruled over the Doāb with a heavy hand. The power he possessed and the terror he struck in the hearts of the people have been described by the author of *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* in these words: "Through fear of him the tiger used to draw its claws back. Nobody could dare interfere with his possessions." He amassed great wealth through extortionist measures and through robbers and plunderers he harboured in his territory. As a news item, dated 11 December 1714 included in *Akhbār-i-Darbār-i-Mu'allā* indicates, his activities were being reported to the royal court and the government was watching with concern his

increasing power and possessions. The ambitious Khān also considered himself a rival of 'Abd us-Samad Khān, the governor of the Punjab, and tried to supplant him. In 1718, the latter despatched a force under Shāhād Keshgī of Kasūr to chastise 'Īsā Khān. The Brārs of Koṭ Kapūrā who had nursed a grievance against him for the assassination of Chaudharī Kapūrā also joined the expedition. The combined force attacked Tihārā, and in the battle that ensued both 'Īsā Khān and his father Daulat Khān were killed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1962
2. Janak Singh, tr., *Asvār Samadī*. Patiala, 1972
3. Griffin, Lepel, *The Rajas of the Punjab*. Delhi, 1977

B.S.

ĪSAR or Īsvar, a Gorakhpānthī *yogī*, who according to *Miharbān Janam Sākhī*, met Gurū Nānak at Sumer mountain in company with a group of Nāth ascetics and engaged in a discourse with him. Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, I. 39, mentions Achal Vaṭālā, outside of Baṭālā, in present-day Gurdāspur district of the Punjab, as the venue. The name *Īsar* occurs in one of Gurū Nānak's *ślokas* in *Rāmkalī kī Vār* in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The subject of the dialogue was the nature of the Supreme Reality and what constituted the true spiritual path.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
2. Jodh Singh, *The Religious Philosophy of Guru Nanak*. Varanasi, 1983

Gn.S.

ĪSAR SINGH (d. 1700), a warrior in the retinue of Gurū Gobind Singh. According to Sarūp Singh Kaushish, *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*, Īsar Singh was among those who, fighting under the command of Sāhibzādā Ajit Singh,

repulsed Rājā Ajmer Chand of Kahlūr, who had attacked the Fort of Tārāgarh at Anandpur. Īsar Singh, along with Kalyān Singh and some other Sikhs, fell in the battle which according to *Bhaṭṭ Vahī Tomar Bīñjlaṭṭōn Kī*, took place on 29 August 1700.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giānī Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986

Gn.S.

ĪSHAR KAUR, RĀNĪ (d. 1840), daughter of Lāl Singh Sandhū of the village of Sirānvālī, in Siālkoṭ district of the Punjab, was married to Prince Kharak Singh, eldest son of Mahārājā Rañjīt Singh, in 1815, by the rite of *chādar andāzī*, i.e. throwing across the conjugal sheet. She immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband on 5 November 1840.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Ganda Singh, ed., *Maharaja Ranjit Singh (First Death Centenary Volume)*. Amritsar, 1939

S.S.B.

ĪSHAR SINGH (1882-1916), a Chadr leader, was son of Sajjan Singh of the village of Dhudike, now in Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab. He emigrated to Canada in 1907, but returned after four years. He did not stay long in his village and travelled again, this time to the United States of America where he became a member of the Chadr party. As World War I broke out, Chadr leaders called upon Indians to return home and prepare for an armed revolution. Īshar Singh responded to the call and arrived in Calcutta in the third week of December 1914. He was not arrested until 14 September 1915. During this interval Īshar Singh made his village the centre of revolutionary activity. He was arrested in the village of Mahimā Sarjā, then in the princely state of Farīdkoṭ. While in de-

tention, he spent most of his time reciting the sacred *bāṇī*.

In summing up his case at the Second Lahore Conspiracy Case trial, the judges said that they were satisfied that Īshar Singh had returned to India "to subvert the Government; that he began to take an active part in the revolution from an early date and was present in the Ferozepore raid; that he took a leading part in the seditious activities in Dhudike, seducing many; that he was at the meeting on June 2 [1915] and foremost in planning the Kapurthala raid in which he participated, and that arms were found in the house occupied by him." Īshar Singh was sentenced to death, with forfeiture of property and was hanged on 4 June 1916, in Central Jail, Lahore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jagjit Singh *Ghadr Pārī Lahir*. Delhi, 1979
2. Sahotā, Dharam Singh, *Dhudike de Ghadrī Bābe*. Dhudike, 1972
3. Puri, Harish K., *Ghadr Movement*. Amritsar, 1983

S.S.J.

ISHAR SINGH, BHĀĪ, one of the Five Muktas, fell a martyr in the battle of Chamkaur (7 December 1705).

See DEVĀ SINGH, BHĀĪ

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909

M.G.S.

ISHAR SINGH, BHĀĪ (1888-1921), one of the Nankāṇā Sāhib martyrs, was born at Rūpovālī in Gurdāspur district on 13 Sāvan 1945 BK/27 July 1888, the elder son of Bhāī Vadhāvā Singh and Māī Lachhmī. Around 1906, the family migrated to Chakk No. 33 Dhārovālī in Sheikhpurā district in search

of a better living. At Dhārovālī contact with Lachhman Singh, who was a devout Sikh, changed the course of his life. He started to learn reading and writing Gurmukhī and went through the Khālsā rites of *pāhul*. He journeyed with him to the Nankāṇā Sāhib and was in his *jathā* of Akālī reformers which was massacred to a man on the fateful morning of 20 February 1921. See NANKĀṆĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE. The Shiromanī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee settled upon his widow a pension of Rs 11.5 per month and paid Rs 410 in lump sum to discharge the family debt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jivan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

ISHAR SINGH GRANTHĪ, BHĀĪ (1881-1921), one of the Nankāṇā Sāhib martyrs, was born at Bahoṛū village in Amritsar district in 1881, the son of Bhāī Atar Singh and Māī Nihāl Kaur. His schooling was interrupted owing to his father's death. But the desire to learn was so strong in him that at the age of 26, he joined the Khālsā Prachārak Vidyālā, Tarn Tāran, and spent four years there studying Sikh history and philosophy, besides practising *kīrtan*. In 1915 he joined the Khālsā school at Jhabāl in Amritsar district as a Punjabi teacher. Īshar Singh returned to his native place to become the custodian of the village *gurdwārā*. When Bhāī Lachhman Singh gave the call for the liberation of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān at Nankāṇā Sāhib, he joined his *jathā* and fell a martyr in the shower of bullets rained upon it by the local keeper of the shrine and his men on the morning of 20 February 1921.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jivan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

ISHAR SINGH JATHEDAR, BHĀĪ (1870-1921), one of the Nankānā Sāhib martyrs, was the second son of Dafedār (cavalry sergeant) Hardit Singh and Mātā Prem Kaur of Dhārovālī village in Gurdāspur district. He learnt to read the scripture in the village *gurdwārā*. He was married on 15 Phāgun 1942 Bk/26 February 1886 to Bībī Basant Kaur, daughter of Bhāi Harnām Singh of Muhaddīpur village in Jalandhar district. The family later migrated to Chakk No. 33 Dhārovālī in Sheikhūpurā district in the Lower Chenāb Canal Colony. Īshar Singh was of deeply religious temperament, and although he had taken the *Khālsā pāhul* at the hands of Bhāi Mūl Singh Garmūlā, he was more impressed by his grandfather, Naurang Singh, who renouncing his home had joined a band of *sādhūs* and gone towards Haridvār. Īshar Singh too after some time went to the Kumbh fair at Paryāg (Allāhābād) in search of his grandfather. For three years he roamed about the country with holy men, and ultimately reached Srī Abchalnagar Hazūr Sāhib, Nānded, in the then Hyderābād state. His uncle, Kesar Singh, who was serving in 30th Cavalry, then stationed at Nānded, recognized him and reclaimed him to the Sikh fold. Īshar Singh took the *pāhul* again at Hazūr Sāhib and returned home accompanying his uncle when the latter was granted leave some six months later. He now settled down as a householder, but his religious zeal was undiminished. He joined hands with Bhāi Lachhman Singh (who was a collateral nephew to him) in organizing the historic conference held at their village on 1 to 3 October 1920 for propagating the cause of Gurdwārā Reform. Together they mobilized support and enrolled volunteers for the liberation of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, Nankānā Sāhib. On 19 February 1921, while Lachhman Singh collected and led volunteers from villages in the immediate neighbourhood of Dhārovālī, Bhāi Īshar

Singh collected another 30 odd men from villages further to the west. These latter formed a separate *jathā* and chose Īshar Singh as their *jathedār* (leader). During the night 19-20 February, this *jathā*, although supposed to join the other led by Bhāi Lachhman Singh, lost their way and were yet about one kilometre short of Janam Asthān when the other one had already been shut in and was being massacred by the Mahant's hirelings. Hearing the bangs of gunfire, these men ran forward to join their comrades. Jathedār Īshar Singh being the oldest among them lagged behind so that when he reached near the Gurdwārā, he found the younger lot coming back on the run chased by the assassins. They told him that the situation was hopeless and they should go back, but he continued to run forward shouting that they had come to die and die they must. He faced the pursuers and bore a bullet from one of them on his chest before he fell down; the others hacked him to pieces and dragged his body to a burning pyre.

The Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee granted a pension to Bhāi Īshar Singh's widow at Rs 150 per annum and also paid off the family's debt of Rs 1300.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahidī Jīvan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

ISHAR SINGH MAJHAIL (1901-1977), politician and legislator, was born in January 1901, the son of Bhāi Āsā Singh and Māi Basant Kaur, an agriculturist couple of Sarāi Amānat Khān village, in Amritsar district. He was only about two and a half years old when his father went abroad to Indonesia in search of a better living. He died in Indonesia soon after and Īshar Singh was brought up by his widowed mother, a deeply dedicated and religious-minded woman. He completed

his high school by fits and starts owing to narrow financial circumstances. He graduated from school in 1922 from Mālvā Khālsā High School, Ludhiānā. Since the last school he attended was Mālvā Khālsā High School and since he was one of the fewest students at that school coming from the Mājḥā districts of Amritsar and Lahore, he started using the surname 'Majhail', of or from Mājḥā, which stuck to him for the rest of his life. He had grown up into a handsome young man, though somewhat frail, but fair-complexioned and erect with a sharp aquiline nose.

As soon as he had finished school, Īshar Singh received offer of appointment as a teacher at Kokarī Kalān, then in Firozpur district, but he declined it and joined instead the Akālī movement for the reformation of Gurdwārā management. For participating in the Gurū kā Bāgh campaign (1922), he was sentenced to six months in jail. Īshar Singh Majhail also participated in the Jaito *morchā* or campaign (1923) in which he was arrested and sentenced to a two-year term. In 1927, he accompanied Bābā Vasākhā Singh to Burma on a fund-collection drive on behalf of the Desh Bhagat Parivār Sahāik Committee.

In October 1927, Shahīd Sikh Missionary College was set up by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee to train Sikh preachers. Īshar Singh Majhail joined the college and completed the two-year course it offered. But he was soon drawn into the political maelstrom. His principal guide, his alter ego, at that time was Jathedār Ūdham Singh Nāgoke. He took part in the farmers' agitation of 1930 and suffered imprisonment for six months. The term was subsequently extended by another year for having in his possession a newspaper while in jail. In 1936 he participated in Gurdwārā Shahīd Gañj (Lahore) *morchā*.

In 1937, there was acute tension between the Sikhs on the one hand and Muslims on

the other. The point at issue was what was called *jhaṭkā*. *Jhaṭkā* in Punjabi means a sudden jerk or blow. Among Sikhs the word *jhaṭkā* is used to designate animal flesh for which a bird or animal has been killed with a single blow of the sword or axe. The single-blow killing was the Sikh way of killing an animal or fowl for food over against the Muslim way of slow killing with the pronouncement of the Muslim religious formula with it. Followers of both faiths had quite frequently fought between themselves over these two styles of killing the animals. An Akālī procession supporting *jhaṭkā* at Janḍiālā Sher Khān, in Sheikhūpurā district, was attacked by a Muslim mob. Two Sikhs were wounded and carried away by the mob. Īshar Singh Majhail and Jathedār Mohan Singh Nāgoke came out with drawn swords and drove away the mob rescuing the wounded Sikhs.

When Sikh National College was set up in Lahore in 1938, Īshar Singh Majhail was appointed secretary of its managing committee. During 1940-41 he was president of the managing committee of Srī Darbār Sāhib, Amritsar. He was one of the group within the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal which opposed the Dal's policy of assisting the British war effort during the 1939-45 war. He on the other hand took part in the Quit India movement launched by the Indian National Congress in 1942 and was detained under Defence of India Rules. In February 1946, he was elected a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. After the partition of the country in 1947, he was given a berth in the Congress ministry formed by Gopī Chand Bhārgava. He was re-elected to the state legislative assembly in the general elections held under the new constitution in 1952 and was again appointed a member of the cabinet. In the fifties Īshar Singh Majhail lost interest in active politics and devoted himself to the development of his agricultural farm, in the village of Arno, in Paṭiālā district. His health

was also declining and he died on 20 April 1977 at Chaṇḍigarh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Pratāp Singh Giāni, *Akālī Lahir de Mahān Netā*. Amritsar, 1976
2. Dilgeer, Harjinder Singh, *Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal*. Chandigarh, 1980
3. Ashok, Shamsheer Singh *Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee dā Pañjāh Sālā Itihās*. Amritsar, 1982

M.G.S.

ĪSHAR SINGH MARHĀNĀ (1878-1941), Akālī activist and Ghadr revolutionary, was born on 1 January 1878, younger of the two sons of Bhāi Jind Singh, a Sandhū Jatt, and Māi Chand Kaur, of farming stock of the village of Marhānā, near Tarn Tāran, in Amritsar district of the Punjab. He learnt Gurmukhī in the village *gurdwārā* and recited avidly his daily hymns every morning and helped his father and elder brother, Āsā Singh, with farming. As he came of age, he was married to Bibī Har Kaur, daughter of Bhāi Hirā Singh, of Khānpur village in Nakodar *tahsīl* of Jalandhar district. Īshar Singh went abroad in search of better prospects, and, travelling through Singapore, Hong Kong and Panama, reached California (U.S.A.) in 1908. He came in contact with Vasākhā Singh and Javālā Singh, also Punjabi immigrants from Amritsar district. They formed a company and, hiring a 500-acre piece of land near Holt, started an agricultural farm which prospered. When Indian immigrants settled mostly in California and Oregon states formed the Hindustānī Association of the Pacific Coast, Īshar Singh too became one of its members. This body later became the famous Ghadr party which planned a revolution in India during World War I (1914-18). The plan however aborted and the Ghadr revolutionaries were tried in what is known as Lahore conspiracy case. Īshar Singh was

one of those who got away with a reduced sentence of 7 years. By the time he came out of prison, Akālī movement for the reform of shrine management had got under way. He was automatically swept into it. In 1922 he set up a huge conclave of the Akālī reformists in his own village, Marhānā, where he delivered a forceful anti-government speech for which he was arrested, tried and sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment which he underwent in different jails at Rāwalpiṇḍī, Campbellpore, Montgomery and Multān. On release in 1929 he was elected *jathedār* (leader) of the district Akālī Jathā of Amritsar. In 1930, he was elected a member and vice-chairman of Amritsar Darbār Sāhib Managing Committee for three years. Īshar Singh also participated in the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930-31 for which he got six months in jail besides a fine of Rs 150. In 1933 he was elected a member of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. He was re-elected in 1936 and was appointed chairman of Srī Darbār Sāhib Managing Committee in which capacity he worked until his death, after a brief illness, on 16 August 1941.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Pratāp Singh Giāni, *Akālī Lahir de Mahān Netā*. Amritsar, 1976
2. Ashok, Shamsheer Singh, *Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee dā Pañjāh Sālā Itihās*. Amritsar, 1982

M.G.S.

ĪSHVAR from Sanskrit Īśvara (*īśa* = ruler, master, lord+*vara* = environing, enclosing, ie. the all-pervasive Lord) is one of the several names used in Indian philosophy for God, the Ultimate Reality, also known as Brahman. There is however a subtle conceptual difference between Īśvara and Brahman as interpreted by Śaṅkarāchārya, philosopher of Vedānta. Brahman, he holds, is the Ultimate Reality or Pure Consciousness

devoid of all attributes (*nirguṇa*) and all categories of the intellect (*nirviśeṣa*), while Īśvara is the personal aspect of the impersonal Brahman. Īśvara is Aparā Brahman or Lower Brahman as compared to the Absolute which is called Pāra Brahma or Higher Brahman. Īśvara is the phenomenal aspect of the Transcendent Brahman who is Infinite, beyond the reach of finite thought and who can only be described in negative terms such as ineffable, indescribable, acosmic, timeless, etc. All normal talk about God is therefore about Īśvara. Even positive attributes such as transcendent, self-existent, perfect, etc. really refer to "conditioned Īśvara" rather than to the "unconditioned Brahman". In brief, Īśvara is God as related to the phenomenal reality, the personal aspect of the impersonal Reality. He is the Lord of Māyā, the Creator, Sustainer and Destroyer, immanent throughout His creation.

In Sanskrit, *īśa* and *īśvara* are also defined as name of the Hindu gods Śiva, Kubera and one of the Rudras and even as "name of the goddess Durgā or any other of the Śaktis or female energies of the deities." In Gurū Granth Sāhib, the Sikh Scripture, *Īs*, *Īsar* or *Īsuru*, Punjabi forms of Skt. Īśvara, appear sparingly for Śiva as well as for God (GG, 2, 6, 316, 516, 923, 925, 1082); *īsur* once stands for great men in general (GG, 816); and *īsarū* once as name of a person other than Śiva (GG, 952). The composite term *paramesar* (Skt. *paramēśvara* = *parama*, supreme, highest + *īśvara*) for God appears more often; once it is spelt even *paramesvar* (GG, 299).

Sikhism does recognize the traditional categories of transcendent and immanent as also of *nirguṇa* (without attributes) and *sagūṇa* (with attributes, *sargūṇa* in Punjabi), pertaining to God, but not the Śāṅkarite distinction between higher and lower Brahman. The emphasis here is on the unicity of Ultimate Reality, the "1 Onkār". The term

Pārabrahma (Śāṅkara's Pāra Brahman) appears frequently in the Sikh Scripture but Aparābrahma or Aparā Brahman never. For the Sikhs the same Absolute is both *nirguṇa* and *sargūṇa* (GG, 98, 128, 250, 287, 290, 862). The *nirguṇa* Brahman manifests himself as *sargūṇa* Brahman, in relation to His attributes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Nirbhai Singh, *Philosophy of Sikhism*. Delhi, 1990
2. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944
3. Ishar Singh, *The Philosophy of Guru Nanak*. Delhi, 1969

M.G.S.

ĪSRŪ, village 13 km southwest of Khannā (30°-42'N, 76°-13'E), in Ludhiānā district, has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Chheviṅ, commemorating Gurū Hargobind's visit. The present building was raised in 1955-56 to replace the old modest one. The shrine was managed by a succession of *mahants* until the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee acquired possession of it through a legal suit. Besides the daily services, a monthly gathering takes place on the first of every Bikramī month.

M.G.S.

ITIHĀS GURŪ KHĀLSĀ, by Sādhū Gobind Singh, whose earlier name was Paṇḍit Gaṇḍā Singh, is a historical account, in Hindi, of the Sikhs, beginning with Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) and terminating with the post-Bandā Singh period of much turbulence and trial. Sādhū Gobind Singh, a Nirmalā scholar, was born in Amritsar district sometime in the third or fourth decade of the nineteenth century. Quite early in life, he became the disciple of Paṇḍit Nihāl Singh. He was at Kāshī for many years studying Sanskrit language and literature, philosophy, history and the Purāṇas being his favourite subjects. It was there that he did all his creative writing. He passed away in AD 1899. He was not only learned in Sikh letters but was also a devout

Sikh. He has written five books in all — *Nyāya Muktaṅgī*, *Udiyog Kathā Prārboḍh*, *Vedant Paribhāshā*, *Vairag Shatak* and the *Itihas Gurū Khālsā*. All these books are in Hindi.

Itihas Gurū Khālsā is the last work of the author. The book was published posthumously in 1902. The book which depends mainly on Giānī Giān Singh's *Panth Prakāsh* for its source material, comprises 584 pages (pp 585-603 of the published version contain Gurū Tegh Bahādur's hymns in the Devnāgrī script). The book is divided into 72 chapters. The first five chapters refer to the origins of the world, the Āryan peoples' settlement in India, the division of Indian society into four-fold caste system and the contemporary Indian milieu. Chapters 6 to 10 deal with the Muslim invasions of India and the consequent hardships undergone by the local population. Chapters 11-37 narrate the life stories of the ten Gurūs of the Sikhs: some of these are rather brief whereas others are fairly detailed accounts. Then follow the exploits of Bandā Singh Bahādur (Ch. 38-53), the turbulent period after the death of Bandā Singh, and sacrifices made by the Sikhs prior to the establishment of the Sikh rule by Maharājā Raṅjīt Singh.

Besides providing a historical account of the Sikh people, the book is a very useful source on Indian philosophy, Sikh ideology, Sikh way of life and Sikh ethics. The language is simple, the style of writing precise and

terse, and the narrative quite smooth. There are in the narrative several obvious historical inaccuracies.

R.S.J.

IYĀLĪ KALĀN, village in Ludhiānā district, about 12 km west of the city, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind. He passed through this village on his way to Kartārpur after the battle of Mehrāj (1634). According to local tradition, a high platform was raised here by Bhāi Bidhī Chand and other Sikhs to make a dais for the Gurū. Hence the name of the shrine, Tharā (a platform) Sāhib. The shrine was under Udāsī priests before its management passed on to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. The present building which stands on an old mound, two metres above the street level, was constructed in 1953. It is a marble-floored square room with an octagonal domed room above it. A gold pinnacle tops the dome. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in the *prakāsh asthān* on the ground floor. A rectangular *dīvān* hall was added to the sanctum in 1960. Opposite the *gurdwārā*, across the village street, is the *tavelā* (stable) where the Gurū's horse, Dilbāgh, was kept. A local committee administers the *gurdwārā*. Besides major Sikh anniversaries, Lohṛī festival falling on the last day of the Bikramī month of Poh is celebrated with special fervour.

M.G.S.

J

JACQUEMONT'S JOURNAL is an account of the travels of Victor Jacquemont who had been sent out by the French Natural History Museum on the recommendation of Cuvier whose pupil he had been "to study the botany and geology of India, together with liberty to conduct any other investigation that he might deem of importance." Jacquemont landed in India, at Calcutta, on 6 May 1829 and died at Bombay on 7 December 1832 as a result of abscess of liver. On his arrival at Calcutta, he was received by Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India, and it was with his help that he was able to visit both the court of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh and the Sikh province of Kashmīr.

The *Journal* is divided into four main divisions. Part I deals with his stay in Calcutta until November 1829 and contains a graphic account of the social life of that city. Part II describes his journey from Calcutta to Delhi via Vārāṇasī and Āgrā bringing the diary up to March 1830. Part III covers his travels to Shimlā and the hill states up to the Tibetan frontier and then back to Delhi in early 1831. Part IV deals with Jacquemont's travels through Punjab and Kashmīr. Leaving Delhi on 26 January 1831, he made his way to Pānīpat, "a large city only surpassed in extent by Delhi among the cities I have seen in Northern India," and reached, on 30 January, Karnāl, a city which he describes as "a mere cess-pool, a mass of filth." Thānesar is described as "a village built on a heap of ruins and not in the least picturesque." On 8 Febru-

ary, he reached Ambālā, "a tumble-down place but of great importance as the headquarters of the Political Agent of the cis-Sutlej territory." He reached Ludhiāṇā on 24 February via Sirhind (11 February), which he refers to as "the biggest ruin I have seen in India after Delhi." Ludhiāṇā was then a part of the Sikh state of Jind and also the seat of the Political Agent who exercised the powers of the Company. Population of this city was then estimated at about 20,000 among whom a large number were weavers. Jacquemont further remarks that the city "has possessed for the last twenty years a new industry which is growing every day: that is manufacture of Kashmiri shawls." He reached Lahore on 11 March 1831 and had the opportunity of meeting Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh on a few occasions. His description of the Mahārājā's person is interesting: "... a thin little man with an attractive face, though he has lost one eye from small-pox... his nose is fine and slightly turned up, his mouth firm, his teeth excellent. He wears slight moustaches which he twists incessantly with his fingers and long thin white beard which falls to his chest. His expression shows nobility of thought, shrewdness and penetration... He wore a little turban of white muslin rather carelessly tied, a kind of long tunic with a little cape falling over his shoulders, like a French riding cloak, tight trousers with bare feet. His clothes were of white Kashmir tissue with a little gold trimming on the collar, cuffs and sleeves; of a very

comfortable and old fashioned cut it seemed to me. For ornaments he wore large round gold earrings with pearls in them, a collar of pearls and ruby bracelets almost hidden under his sleeves. At his side hung a sword, the gold hilt of which was encrusted with diamonds and emeralds." Jacquemont's conversation with the Mahārājā, which according to him was devoid of all formality, ranged from politics to metaphysics and medicine. He was struck by the inquisitiveness of the Mahārājā who asked him many questions about the personal habits and background of Governor-General and about life in general in France and England. Jacquemont provides considerable information about the court of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh as well as about his administration. His description of Kashmir which was then under Sikh rule but which was never visited by the Mahārājā himself is far from flattering.

A series of extracts from the *Journal* were published in Paris under the title '*Etat Politique et Social de L'Inde du sud en 1832. The Punjab a Hundred Years Ago* (1934), translated and edited by H.L.O. Garrett, is based on these extracts. Jacquemont's *Letters from India*, translated into English from the original in French, is also based on his *Journal*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Fauja Singh, *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1978
2. Khurana, Gianeshwar, *British Historiography on the Sikh Power in the Punjab*. Delhi, 1985

B.J.H.

JAGĀDHRĪ (30°-10'N, 77°-18'E), an old town, in present-day Yamunānagar in Ambālā district of Haryānā, has a historical *gurdwārā* situated in the interior. The shrine is named after Gurū Hargobind, although it is not certain whether he visited Jagādhri at all. Gurū Gobind Singh, however, is said to have travelled this way from Kapāl Mochan in 1688. A

small *gurdwārā* existed here before the present building was raised in 1945. The new building consists of a rectangular hall with a verandah in the front. The hall encloses an inner pavilion for the Gurū Granth Sāhib. On the left of the hall, as one enters, is the Gurū kā Laṅgar. Across a paved compound, there is a suite of rooms originally built for pilgrims, but now being utilized to run a primary school. The management of the Gurdwārā is in the hands of a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

M.G.S.

JAGANĀ, BHĀĪ, was a pious, learned Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. He lived in Āgrā. Once he, along with Bhāi Nandā and Bhāi Bhānā Suhaṛ, also of Āgrā, waited on the Gurū to have some of their doubts resolved. The Gurū, as says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, taught them always to repeat Vāhigurū and practise the *śabda* and thus end their uncertainty.

Bhāi Jaganā was also skilled in the use of arms. He showed his prowess in the battle of Ruhelā during the time of Gurū Hargobind.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JAGATĀ, a Brāhman Sikh appointed *masand* to look after the Sikhs in Lahore, presented himself at Anandpur in 1698 in response to the general summons from Gurū Gobind Singh for all *saṅgat* leaders in different parts to come and explain their conduct in view of complaints received against them. Jagatā humbly pleaded innocence and apologized for any inadvertent lapse. The Gurū trusted his word and asked him to continue serving thenceforth under

the direction of Bhāi Pherū.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī* 10. Patiala, 1968
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

P.S.P.

JAGATJĪT SINGH, MAHĀRĀJĀ (1872-1949), son of Rājā Kharak Singh, was born on 23 November 1872 and ascended the throne of Kapūrthalā state on 16 October 1877. He assumed full ruling powers in November 1890 and then commenced his unusual career as a world traveller and a Francophile. He received the title of Mahārājā in 1911. He was a man of high aesthetic taste and turned Kapūrthalā into a city of beautiful palaces and gardens. His main palace at Kapūrthalā was modelled on the Versailles Palace. He also built in the city a mosque and a handsome *gurdwārā* at Sultānpur Lodhī, sacred to Gurū Nānak. Jagatjīt Singh was one of the representatives of India at the League of Nations in 1926, 1927 and 1929. On the lapse of British paramountcy in August 1947, Kapūrthalā state acceded to the Indian Union and joined the Patialā and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) as constituted in 1948. Mahārājā Jagatjīt Singh was appointed Up-Rājpramukh of the Union.

Mahārājā Jagatjīt Singh died on 19 June 1949.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ganda Singh, *The Patiala and the East Punjab States Union*. Patiala, 1951
2. Griffin, Lepel, *The Rajas of the Punjab* [Reprint]. Delhi, 1977

S.S.B.

JAGAT SINGH alias Jai Singh (1883-1915), a leading Ghadr revolutionary, was born about 1883, the son of Arūr Singh, at Sursingh, a village in Lahore (now Amritsar) district. He was a hefty, sturdy man and joined the Indian

army when twenty. Leaving the army, he migrated to Shanghai and to Canada and settled in Vancouver where he found employment in a saw-mill. There he was drawn into the Ghadr revolutionary movement. As the World War broke out in 1914, he returned to India by a Japanese ship with a view to joining the uprising against the British. The Canadian authorities reported to the Indian government his revolutionary activities and charged him with the murder in Vancouver of Harnām Singh, a loyalist. In the Punjab, Jagat Singh became a close associate of Ghadr leaders, such as Kartār Singh Sarābhā. He took part in the Chabbā, Sāhnevāl, and Mansūrān dacoities, looted money which was turned over to the revolutionary centre, and offered to sell his land for the cause. He also helped in the manufacture of bombs. He escaped arrest when the revolution was betrayed by a police spy, Kirpāl Singh. In company with Kartār Singh Sarābhā and Harnām Singh Tuṇḍilāt, Jagat Singh made his way to Kābul. They returned to the Punjab, determined to seize arms and free their imprisoned comrades. They were arrested, however, at Sargodhā, where they were attempting to seduce the soldiers of the 22nd Cavalry to which Jagat Singh had once belonged.

Tried in the first Lahore conspiracy case, Jagat Singh was sentenced to death. He was hanged on 16 November 1915 along with Kartār Singh Sarābhā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Puri, Harish K., *Ghadr Movement*. Amritsar, 1983
2. Mohan, Kamlesh, *Militant Nationalism in the Punjab 1919-35*. Delhi, 1985
3. Kehar Singh, Bhai, and Kirpal Singh, eds., *Struggle for Free Hindustan*, vol. I. Delhi, 1986
4. Jagjīt Singh, *Ghadr Pārṭī Lahir*. Delhi, 1979

G.S.D.

JAGAT SINGH MĀN, (d. 1860), son of Harī Singh, belonged to the Mughal Chakk family

of Mān *sardārs* of Gujrānwālā district. He was attached to Rājā Hīrā Singh in 1843 as orderly officer. He rose to be a colonel of a cavalry regiment which formed a part of the bodyguard of Mahārājā Duleep Singh.

Jagat Singh died in 1860.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Prem Singh, Bābā, *Khālsā Rāj de Usraiyye*. Hoti Mardan, 1944

S.S.B.

JAGAT SINGH NĀRAG (1883-1942), businessman and legislator of North-West Frontier Province, was the son of Lālā Kanhaiyā Lāl, a practising lawyer of Peshāwar. As he grew up, Jagat Singh went into business and started taking interest in social and civic affairs. On 7 January 1924, he was arrested in connection with the Gurdwārā Reform movement. He became a member of the Municipal Committee of Peshāwar in 1925 and was appointed an honorary magistrate in 1929. In 1936 he was elected to the only seat reserved for the Sikhs in the partly-elected provincial legislative council under the Government of India Act, 1919. When elections were held for the first elected legislative assembly provided under the Government of India Act, 1935, he was again elected a member from Peshāwar district. Jagat Singh, along with Mehar Chand Khannā and Rāi Bahādūr Īshwar Dās formed the Hindu Sikh Nationalist Party, which functioned within the assembly until it was suspended when the ministry under Dr Khān Sāhib resigned at the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

Jagat Singh Nārag died in 1942.

A.S.S.

JAGGĀ, BHĀĪ, a Khatri of Dharnī clan, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Aṅgad. As he first waited upon the Gurū, he said,

“Show me the light, True Master. I have been to a yogi for guidance, but he would not instruct me until I renounce my home and family which I am unable to do. How shall I be saved?” The Gurū, according to Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, spoke, “If you renounce the world to practise meditation and yet go to a householder begging for food, the reward for your endeavour must go to him who sustains you. You should remain in the world toiling for your bread, serve others and remember God.” Bhāi Jaggā became a disciple and found happiness in hard work and virtuous living. See also, *Vārān* Bhāi Gurdās, XI. 15.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.D.

JAGHERĀ, also called Nānakpur Jagherā, a village about 4 km south of Ahmadgarh (30°-42'N, 75°-51'E) in Ludhiāṇā district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind, who halted here during one of his journeys through these parts. Gurdwārā Sāhib Pātshāhī VI, also called Gurdwārā Mañjī Sāhib, on the Ludhiāṇā-Mālerkotlā road, commemorates the Gurū's visit. Local tradition enshrines memories of Gurū Nānak's visit as well and the village pond near the present shrine has of old been known as Nānaksar. After Gurū Nānak, the village is called Nānakpur Jagherā. The old Mañjī Sāhib was attended by Udāsī priests till the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee took it over after prolonged legal proceedings. The present building, which replaced the Mañjī Sāhib, comprises a square flat-roofed sanctum with a hall, 9x7 metre, in the front. The Gurdwārā is managed by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
2. Kāhn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahān Kosh*. Patiala, 1981

M.C.S.

JAGIĀSĪ, also Jagiāsū or Jijñāsū is a religious sect cognate with the Udāsī section of the Nānakpanthīs of Sindh. The word *jagiāsā* is derived from Sanskrit *jijñāsā* (desire to know), *jagiāsī* denoting one desirous of knowledge, of spiritual insight. The members of the Jagiāsī sect are mostly *sahajdhārīs* i.e. gradualists, believing in the Gurūs and following generally the Sikh tenets but not yet sworn as full members of the community. There are however some who accept the rites of *Khālsā* initiation and wear long hair while some others add the suffix 'Singh' to their names. Following the example of the founder of the sect, Bābā Srī Chand, the elder son of Gurū Nānak, the Udāsīs do not marry. The Jagiāsīs on the other hand follow the example of the younger son of Gurū Nānak, Lakhmī Chand, who was a householder, and take to family life. The sect flourished especially during the days of Bābā Gurūpat, known to be a descendant of Gurū Nānak. He visited Sindh during Sikh times with a letter from Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh to the local chief, Mīr Sohrāb Khān. Bābā Gurūpat established many Jagiāsī *ṭikānās* or seats in Sindh, including those at *Khairpur*, *Hyderābād*, *Hālānī* and *Kaṇḍyāro*. His last will, dated 29 July 1857, bears the signatures of many a Sindhī Jagiāsī and Udāsī saints.

The Jagiāsīs recite hymns from the Gurū Granth Sāhib which they venerate as much as any devout Sikh and, like Sikhs, reject idolatry. But they perform several Hindu rituals as well and they do not undergo Sikh baptismal ceremony.

M.L.J.

JĀGĪRDARĪ, a feudal system of political and

revenue administration based on *jāgīr*, lit. fief or grant of land received from the sovereign or a vassal owing fealty and obedience to him. Sikhs who, after the fall of Sirhind in early 1764, started occupying territory, did not automatically take to the *jāgīrdarī* system in vogue since the Sultanate and Mughal periods. Heads of various Sikh *misls* and lesser *sardārs* or commanders had under them vast tracts of land, but their holdings were not *jāgīrs* in the sense that they were owed to no sovereign above them. As the legend on the coins first struck by the Sikhs in 1765 signifies, they considered themselves part of the collective body called the Panth — Panth which derived its sovereignty from the Gurū (and God). According to anonymous author of a contemporary work, *Haqīqat-i-Binā wa Urūj-i-Firqā-i-Sikhhān*, even he who had only two horses and acquired a single village as his own *jāgīr* did not owe allegiance to anyone else. Stray instances however are not lacking of the chiefs of Sikh *misls* giving *jāgīrs* to persons serving them in civil or military capacity, but *jāgīrdarī* as a system of service *jāgīrs* or revenue-free land grants in lieu of salary for services became a distinctive feature of the Sikh revenue administration only under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh (1780-1839). According to figures given by Henry T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (1834), over 42 per cent of the total revenue from land was alienated by the Mahārājā in favour of all kinds of *jāgīrdārs*. Some of the *jāgīrdārs* of the former chiefs were also taken into service and paid through *jāgīrs*. Most *jāgīrs*, other than some *dharmārth jāgīrs* which were given in perpetuity, were temporary, usually for the lifetime of the grantees. The *jāgīrdar* was given the right to collect revenue either in cash or kind as it might suit the convenience of the cultivators. A fixed part of the revenue, normally 12.5 per cent was payable to the State. Judicial powers, both civil and

criminal, were vested in the *jāgirdār*, but he could not interfere with traditional proprietary rights of the cultivators. Conditions of grant were laid down. For instance, in the case of military *jāgirdār*, the portions for personal service and for the maintenance of a specified number of horsemen were distinctly mentioned. Though one and the same person could be asked alternatively to perform civil or military duties, distinction between civil and military officers was generally clear. Thus while Avitabile was essentially a civil administrator, Ventura was a military commander. Instances were also there of a *jāgīr* granted to more than one person with their individual shares severally fixed. This was a legacy from the old *patīdārī* system.

Next in importance to service and subsistence *jāgīrs* were the *dharmārth jāgīrs* or land grants for charitable purposes. These grants made both by the sovereign and the vassal chiefs, and even by subordinate *jāgirdārs*, were usually permanent. As a rule, a *jāgirdār* could make further grants of a permanent nature only if he held his own *jāgīr* permanently, which was rare, most *jāgīrs* being for a life-tenure. Most *dharmārth* grants were therefore also for the grantees' life, but since the grants were normally attached to institutions of permanent nature, they were almost always renewed by succeeding rulers, chiefs and *jāgirdārs* and thus tended to be permanent. Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh as well as his predecessors, the *miśl* chiefs, made liberal *dharmārth* grants without discrimination on religious basis. Temples, mosques, *takīās*, *ḍerās*, *khānaqāhs*, *serāīs* as well as *gurdwārās*, and Udāsīs, faqīrs, Brahmaṇs as well as Sikh saints were equally the beneficiaries.

The Jāgirdarī system under the Sikh rule did not affect the basic system of land tenures. The bulk of the cultivators continued to be peasant proprietors of their holdings, paying land revenue direct to the State in case of *Khālīsā* lands and to the fief-holders in case

of *jāgīrs*. Tenants were divided into two broad categories: *muzārī'ān-i-mustaqīl* or *maurūsī* and *muzārī-'ān-i-ghair-mustqīl* or *ghair-maurūsī*, the former preponderating. Those who brought forest land under cultivation were treated as *muzārī'ān-i-maurūsī* or occupancy tenants and could not be ejected at will.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Banga, Indu, *Agrarian System of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1978

H.R.G.

JAGSĪ, BHĀĪ, a resident of Fatehpur, was a devoted Sikh of Gurū Arjan's time. He, as says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, once proposed to the Gurū the names of a few living saints whose compositions, he submitted, might be considered for inclusion in the Holy Book he was preparing.

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārāṇ*, XI. 26

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955

2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JAHĀNDĀD KHĀN, one of the many sons of Pāindā Khān and a half-brother of Fateh Khān Wazīr, was appointed governor of Attock by Shāh Shujā', the king of Afghanistan. In 1809, Fateh Khān dethroned Shāh Shujā', placed Shāh Mahmūd on the throne and himself became prime minister. Shāh Shujā' was taken prisoner at Attock by Jahāndād Khān who had him delivered to his brother 'Atā Muhammad Khān, the governor of Kashmīr. Fateh Khān turned towards Kashmīr and defeated and expelled 'Atā Muhammad. Jahāndād Khān, fearing that Fateh Khān would oust him from Attock, surrendered the fort in 1813 to Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh in return for a *jāgīr* and cash allowance. In 1818, Ranjīt Singh captured Peshāwar and placed it under the charge of

Jahāndād Khān. Another Bārakzāi brother, Yār Muhammad Khān, expelled Jahāndād Khān from Peshāwār forcing him to flee back to Attock. Jahāndād Khān remained a steadfast supporter of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh till the end.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lal, *'Umdāt-ut-Twāriḡh*. Lahore, 1985-89
2. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963

H.R.G.

JAHĀNGĪR, NŪR UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD (1569-1627), fourth Mughal emperor of Delhi. Born Salīm, he assumed at his accession the title of Jahāngīr, Conqueror of the World. During his father's Deccan campaign of 1598-99, he had planned a rebellion, but in 1604 the father and son were reconciled, and the latter was made viceroy of southern and western India and allowed to live in Agrā as heir apparent. Jahāngīr, crowned king on 24 October 1605, was possessed of many natural abilities and was a lover of art and literature, but he turned out to be a capricious ruler who gradually allowed his Persian wife, Nūr Jahān, to take the reins of government into her hands.

Jahāngīr was not liberal like his father, Akbar. In his early years on the throne, he depended more on the orthodox section among his courtiers. This coterie was under the influence of Shaiḡh Ahmad of Sirhind (d. 1624), leader of the Naqashbandī order of Sūfīs, whose one aim was to have Emperor Akbar's policy of religious neutrality and eclecticism reversed. The Sikh order was the first to bear the burnt of Jahāngīr's hostility. Jahāngīr felt especially alarmed at the growing popularity of Gurū Arjan. As he wrote in his *Tuzk*: "At last when Khusrāu [his son] passed along this road, this insignificant fellow [Gurū Arjan] proposed to wait upon him. Khusrāu happened to halt at the place

where he was, and he came out and did homage to him. He behaved towards Khusrāu in certain special ways and placed on his forehead a finger-mark in saffron which the Indians call *qashqā* and consider to be propitious. So many of the simple-minded Hindus, nay, many foolish Muslims too had been fascinated by the Gurū's way and teaching... For many years the thought had been presenting itself to my mind that either I should put an end to this false traffic, or that [he] be brought into the fold of Islam."

Jahāngīr found an excuse within a few months of his accession. The meeting his rebel son Khusrāu had with Gurū Arjan at Goindvāl was made the ground for imposing a heavy fine on Gurū Arjan. Upon his refusal to pay any fine, he was taken into custody. Jahāngīr further wrote in his memoirs: "I fully knew of his heresies, and I ordered that he should be brought into my presence, that his property be confiscated, and that he should be put to death with torture." The Gurū was taken to Lahore where he was subjected to extreme physical torment for several days until he passed away on 30 May 1606.

Gurū Hargobind was also a victim of Jahāngīr's bigotry. He was arrested and detained in the fort at Gwālīor. There he remained for a few months sometime between 1617 and 1619. After he was released, Jahāngīr's attitude towards him became more friendly and Sikh chronicles even mention of their having taken out a trip together to Kashmīr.

Jahāngīr died in October 1627 and lies buried in the gardens of Shāhdarā on the outskirts of Lahore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevīn*. Patiala, 1970
2. Ganda Singh, *Guru Arjan's Martyrdom Reinterpreted*. Patiala, 1969
3. Beveridge, Henry, ed., *The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*. Delhi,

- 1978
4. Sharma, Sri Ram, *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*. Bombay, 1962
 5. Smith, Vincent, *The Oxford History of India*. Oxford, 1958
 6. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963
 7. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
S.R.S.

JĀHMAN, a village in Lahore district lying 1.5 km from the Indo-Pak border, is sacred to Gurū Nānak, who visited here more than once during his journey to Chāhal, the ancestral village of his mother, Mātā Triptā. Gurdwārā Roṛī Sāhib Pātshāhī I, east of the village, marked the place where Gurū Nānak used to stop on the bank of a large pond, later lined into a spacious *sarovar* or bathing tank. The Gurdwārā, affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, had to be abandoned at the time of the partition of the Punjab in 1947.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Thākar Singh, Giāni, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

M.G.S.

JAIDEV (JAYADEVA), saint and poet, two of whose hymns are incorporated in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, is chiefly known to the literary world as the author of the *Gīta Govinda*, a lyrical poem in which the love of Rādhā (soul or devotee) for Govinda (the Supreme Being) is described symbolically and mystically. Jaidev was born at Kindu Bilvā which, according to some, is now Kendūli, in Bīrbhūm district of West Bengal, on the river Ajay and, according to others, Kendūli-Sasan, on Prāchī river, near Jagannāth Purī in Orissā. At the end of his poem, he has given his father's name as Bhojadeva and mother's as Rādhādevī, deciphered also as Ramādevī, or Vāmādevī. He is said to have flourished in the reign of

Rājā Karnarnav (AD 1142-56) and Rājā Purushottam Dev (AD 1170-80), both of Orissā. Several legends about him are recorded in the *Bhaktamāl* of Chandradatta. In his youth, he led the life of an ascetic and a wandering preacher. The course changed for him as, while in Purī once, a Brāhman forced the hand of his daughter on him. It turned out to be a happy marriage. His wife sang with him the devotional songs which were of his own composition. He spent some years at Katham Kandī, now called Jaidevpur in his memory, where he composed his immortal lyric, the *Gīta Govinda*. From a devotee of Lord Kṛṣṇa, he became a devotee of the Supreme Lord. He roamed about the country preaching the gospel of love of God and of man. Rājā Lakshman Sen (AD 1175-1200), of Bengal, became his disciple. Jaidev lived long and died in the village where he was born, in happy retirement. There is a *samādhī* of the saint in the village and an annual fair is held on the first of Māgh.

Besides the *Gīta Govinda*, two other compositions, the *Rasanā Rāghava*, a drama, and the *Chandralok*, an essay on the grace of style, are also ascribed to him.

Jaidev's hymns in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, one in Rāga Gūjarī and the other in Rāgā Mārū, are in adoration of Hari, the Supreme Being. "Duality," he says, "ended for me as I remembered God who is the fountainhead of all virtue. Cherish the Divine Name in your heart. By repeating His praise you will break the circuit of birth and death, and you will dread death no more. Your heart and your word and deed should be imbued with the love of One Hari alone." Bhāi Gurdās in his *Vārān*, X. 10, pays tribute to Jaidev's loving devotion whereby he attained the state when no distinction remains between "the devotee and the infinite."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gurdit Singh, Giāni, *Itihās Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib*

- (*Bhagat Bāṇī Bhāg*). Chandigarh, 1990
2. Sāhib Siṅgh, *Bhagat Bāṇī Saṭīk*. Amritsar, 1959-60
 3. Tāran Siṅgh, ed., *Gurū Granth Ratnavālī*. Patiala, n.d.
 4. Pratāp Siṅgh, Giāni, *Bhagat Darshan*. Amritsar, 2001 Bk
 5. Keyt, G., tr., *Sri Jayadeva's Gītagovinda*. Bombay, 1947
 6. Macauliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

Hr.B.

JAIMAL SINGH BHÜRĪVĀLE, SANT (d. 1976), known for his austere living and dedication to *sevā* or holy service, was the son of Bhāi Sher Siṅgh, a shopkeeper of Chakvāl, a *tahsīl* town in Jehlum district of the Punjab, now in Pakistan. Born in the early years of the twentieth century, Jaimal Siṅgh came under the influence of Sant Gopāl Siṅgh of Chakvāl who taught him to read Gurmukhī and the sacred texts. As he came of age, he left his native place and came to live at Amritsar sometime during 1930-31. He lived in a small hut near Gurdwārā Rāmsar, and worked as a porter. Shifting to the *ḍerā* of Giāni Amīr Siṅgh, he resumed the study of the Sikh lore. Wearing sackcloth he would spend his spare time at Harimandar Sāhib, the Golden Temple, worshipping and sweeping the *parīkramā* floor or the circumambulatory terrace around the sacred pool. His humility and dedication won him wide esteem, and he came to be known as Sant Bhūrīvāle, *bhūrī* in Punjabi meaning sackcloth or an old, worn-out blanket. His participation in *kār-sevā* for the widening of the Golden Temple *parīkramā* in the 1940's when he was given charge of its southern flank brought him further repute. He took up other works of *kār-sevā*, including those at Gurdwārā Pātshāhī IX at Vallā, 6 km east of Amritsar, Gurdwārā Damdamā Sāhib on the way to Vallā, Gurdwārā Bhāi Mañjh near Amritsar, Darbār Sāhib at Ḍerā Bābā Nānak, Gurdwārā Fatehgarh Sāhib, near Sirhind, and Gurdwārā Pātshāhī IX at Karhālī, village 20

km south of Paṭiālā.

Sant Jaimal Siṅgh died in Amritsar in October 1976.

S.S.Am.

JAIMAL SINGH RANDHĀVĀ (1803-1870), son of Prem Siṅgh of the village of Khuṇḍā in Gurdāspur district, served the Lahore Darbār and thereafter the British. Jaimal Siṅgh entered the service of Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh in 1836. He received a command in the Rāmgarhīā brigade from Lahiṇā Siṅgh Majīthīā in place of his father-in-law Fateh Siṅgh Chāhal who had died. Jaimal Siṅgh proceeded to Peshāwar in the company of Lahiṇā Siṅgh to relieve the Sikh army after the battle of Jamrūd in April 1837.

Jaimal Siṅgh worked as Naib Adālatī or deputy judge of Amritsar in 1847 under Lahiṇā Siṅgh Majīthīā. After the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, he was appointed Tahsīldār of Baṭālā. Although ignorant of the English system of administration, he carried out his duties with such ability that he was made an extra assistant commissioner and placed in the Ṭhaggi Department where he proved a great asset. He resigned his office of extra assistant commissioner in 1860. He was appointed an honorary magistrate and continued to serve in that capacity until his death in 1870.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JAI RĀM (d. 1518), brother-in-law of Gurū Nānak, was a trusted official at the court of Nawāb Daulat Khān Lodhī at Sultānpur, in present-day Kapūrthālā district of the Punjab. He was married to Nānakī, daughter of Kaliān Chand and sister of Gurū Nānak, in 1475 at Talvaṇḍī Rāi Bhoi. Gurū Nānak stayed with them for several years at Sultānpur, where Jai Rām had secured for

him appointment as the Nawāb's *modī* or storekeeper. Jai Rām, though much senior to Gurū Nānak in age, respected the latter for his piety and considered himself blessed for being related to him. Gurū Nānak was present at Sultānpur Lodhī in 1518 when Jai Rām died just three days after the death of his wife, Nānakī. The couple had been childless.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
2. Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origins of the Sikh Faith*. Bombay, 1968
3. McLeod, W.H., tr., *The B40 Janam-Sakhi*. Amritsar, 1980
4. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janam Sākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
5. Vir Singh, Bhāi, ed., *Purātan Janam Sākhī*. Amritsar, 1982

Gn.S.

JAI SINGH (d. 1784), a Jaṭṭ Sikh of Mājhā living near the village of Aṭārī in Amritsar district, joined hands with the Nishānāvālī *misl* in its invasion of the cis-Sutlej tracts, fighting in the battle of Sirhind (1764) and assisting in the seizure of Ambālā, Shāhābād, Lidhrān, Amlōh and Sarāi Lashkar Khān. He obtained 34 villages as his share around Lidhrān and Kharar. Shortly afterwards Jai Singh suffered defeat with his associates at the hands of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and had to take refuge in the hilly country north of Ambālā. Rājā Amar Singh of Paṭiālā annexed his seven villages around Kharar. A serious discord erupted as Jai Singh found himself strong enough to claim his possessions. Eventually a compromise was arrived at, Paṭiālā agreeing to surrender four of the villages. Jai Singh's daughter was married to Rājā Jasvant Singh of Nābhā.

Jai Singh died in 1784. His son, Charhat Singh, who succeeded him, accepted British protection in 1809.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Punjab, vol. IV*. Delhi, 1982

S.S.B.

JAI SINGH (1712-1793), founder of the Kanhaiyā clan or chiefship, commonly designated *misl*, was a Sandhū Jaṭṭ of the village of Kāhnā, 21 km southwest of Lahore on the road to Fīrozpur. He had an humble origin, his father Khushāl (Singh), earning his living by selling grass and wood at Lahore. Jai Singh received *amrit* or initiatory rites of the Khālsā at the hands of Nawāb Kapūr Singh and joined the *jathā* or roving band of Amar Singh Kiṅgrā. It is commonly believed that name of the band, Kanhaiyā, was derived from the name of Jai Singh's village, Kāhnā, although another explanation connects it with the Sardār's own handsome appearance which earned him the epithet (Kāhn) Kanhaiyā, an endearing title used for Lord Kṛṣṇa. Jai Singh seized a part of Riārki comprising the district of Gurdāspur and upper portions of Amritsar. His first headquarters were at his wife's village, Sohīān, 15 km from Amritsar, from where he shifted to Baṭālā and thence to Mukeriān. His territories lay on both sides of the rivers Beās and Rāvī. A contemporary Muslim historian, Qāzī Nūr Muhammad, wrote in 1765 that Jai Singh Kanhaiyā had extended his territory up to Paṛol, about 70 km southeast of Jammū, and that he worked in collaboration with Jassā Singh Rāmgarhīā, both sharing between them the territory of Baṭālā. The hill chiefs of Nūrpur, Dātārpur and Sībā became Jai Singh's tributaries. In 1774, Jai Singh built a *kaṭrā* or bazaar at Amritsar called Kaṭrā Kanhaiyān. In October 1778 he, with the help of Mahān Singh Sukkarchakkīā and Jassā Singh Āhlūvālīā, drove away Jassā Singh Rāmgarhīā to the desert region of Hānsī

and Hissār. In 1781, Jai Singh and his associate, Haqīqat Singh, led an expedition to Jammū and received a sum of three lakh of rupees as a tribute from Brij Rāj Dev of Jammū.

According to Khushwaqt Rāi, Jai Singh died in 1793 at the age of 81. Control of the Kanhaiyā *misl* passed into the hands of his daughter-in-law, Sadā Kaur, his son, Gurbakhsh Singh, having predeceased him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Punjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.
3. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. IV, Delhi, 1982
4. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Sardār Jassā Singh Aḥlūvālā*. Patiala, 1969

S.S.B.

JAI SINGH AṬĀRĪVĀLĀ (d. 1838), son of Wazīr Singh, was a soldier and *jāgīrdār* during Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's reign. About 1820, he was sent on a mission to Peshāwar where, much to the chagrin of the Mahārājā, he cultivated treacherously friendly relations with Dost Muhammad Khān, the Bārakzai chief of Kābul. Jai Singh was soon recalled to Lahore. Fearing chastisement, he hatched a plot to assassinate the Mahārājā in collusion with his cousin, Jagat Singh, and Buddh Singh Sandhānvālā, a collateral of the Mahārājā. The two Aṭārīvālā *sardārs* entered the Samman Burj, the residence of the Mahārājā, to execute their design, but could not succeed in their plan. Jai Singh fled to his Afghān friend, Dost Muhammad Khān. During the Mahārājā's campaign towards Peshāwar in 1823, Jai Singh left Peshāwar and came to the Mahārājā's group at Akoṛā after the battle of Terī. The Mahārājā forgave him and deputed him as one of his agents to arrange for a meeting with Yār Muhammad Khān and Dost Muhammad

Khān.

Jai Singh died in 1838.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Suri, Sohan Lal, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
3. Kirpāl Singh, *Shām Singh Aṭārīvālā*. Patiala, 1978
4. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Sardār Shām Singh Aṭārīvālā*. Amritsar, 1942

G.S.

JAI SINGH, DOCTOR (1856-1898), a prominent figure in the Singh Sabhā renaissance, was born the son of Sant Singh on 11 February 1856 at Piṇḍ Dādan Khān, in Jehlum district, now in Pakistan. While still at school, he became an avid student of Sikh literature. In 1874, he joined Medical College at Lahore, from where he passed his Licentiate examination. He was married on 25 November 1876 before he had completed his medical studies. On qualifying as a doctor, he joined government service and his first posting was in his own town, Piṇḍ Dādan Khān, as medical officer at the civil dispensary. In 1893, he resigned his government appointment and shifted to Lahore to open a chemist's shop. In Lahore, he came under the influence of the Singh Sabhā and broke away from Brahma Samāj of which he had earlier become a member. He devoted himself whole-heartedly to the cause of Sikh reform. In 1894, he had himself readmitted to the strict vows of the Khālsā, superseding the lukewarm initiation he had at the hands of Bābā Khem Singh Bedī. Even earlier, when his father died, he had performed the obsequies in accordance with the Sikh rites as re-established by the Singh Sabhā. On 11 April 1893, he formed a Shuddhī Sabhā, with the object of reconverting to Sikhism apostates as well as of converting those from other traditions. In April 1896, he started a monthly magazine, *Khālsā Dharam Prakāshak Shuddhī Pattar*, to promote Sikh proselytization. On

14 January 1897, he formed a society called Gurmat Granth Sudhārak Committee to expunge from the Sikh texts interpolations which were contrary to the teachings of the Gurūs.

Dr Jai Singh died of typhoid on 9 June 1898 at a comparatively young age of 42.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jagjit Singh, *Singh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974

Jg.S.

JAI SINGH KAMLĀ (d. 1827) served, like his father Uttam Singh, under the Bhaᅅgī chief, Gulāb Singh, on whose death in 1800 he joined Raᅅjit Singh, who had occupied Lahore barely a year earlier. Jai Singh was a good soldier and took part in many of the Mahārājā's campaigns. As a reward, he was granted *jāgīrs* in Sheikᅅhūpurā district. In 1817, when he was too old for active service, he was appointed a judge at Amritsar.

Jai Singh died in 1827. Of his sons, Maᅅgal Singh had been killed fighting against the Nawāb of Mankerā in October 1821. His second son, Jaimal Singh, rose to be a commandant in the Chāryārī Horse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JAI SINGH MĀN (d. 1812), son of Sarjā Singh (d. 1763) of Mughal Chakk settled in the village of Mān, near Gujrānwālā. His family was related to the Sukkarchakkīā family by matrimony as Raᅅjit Singh's father, Mahān Singh, was married to his daughter.

Jai Singh was a constant companion of Mahān Singh in his military expeditions of 'Īsā Kᅅhel, Piᅅᅅī Bhaᅅᅅiān, Gujrāt, Siālkoᅅ, and Rasūlnagar. He also marched to Jammū with a small contingent of troops with Mahān Singh when in 1780 the Sukkarchakkīā forces defeated Rājā Brij Rāj Deo and plundered

the town.

Jai Singh died in 1812.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, *The Punjab Chiefs*. Lahore, 1865
2. Prinsep, Henry T., *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. Calcutta, 1834
3. McGregor, W.L., *The History of the Sikhs*. [Reprint] Patiala, 1970
4. Hoti, Prem Singh, *Khālsā Rāj de Usraiyye*. Lahore, 1942

B.J.H.

JAI SINGH, MIRZĀ RĀJĀ (1605-1667), Kachhvāhā Rājput prince and one of the senior generals under the Mughal emperors Shāh Jahān (1628-58) and Aurāᅅgzīb (1658-1707), succeeded to the feudal chieftainship of Āmber (Jaipur) in 1617 when he also got his first appointment in the Mughal army. "Since then," writes Sir Jadūnāth Sarkār, *History of Aurangzib*, vol. IV, "he had fought under the imperial banner in every part of the empire — from Balkh in Central Asia to Bījāpur in the Deccan, from Qandahar in the west to Mungir in the east." When he was fighting for the throne in 1858, Aurāᅅgzīb had solicited and secured Jai Singh's assistance as a reward for which he was made governor of Delhi city with the grant of Sāmbhar, a rich province flourishing on its salt trade. Mirzā Rājā Jai Singh, although a Mughal vassal, was a staunch Hindu and an admirer of the Sikh Gurūs. During his stay at Delhi, he was used by Aurāᅅgzīb as an intermediary to summon to the court first Gurū Har Rāi in 1661 and later Gurū Har Krishan in 1664. Gurū Har Rāi did not go to Delhi himself, and sent his son Rām Rāi instead. Gurū Har Krishan, who in compliance with the Emperor's wishes, visited Delhi in March 1664, put up in Rājā Jai Singh's bungalow which is now the site of Gurdwārā Baᅅglā Sāhib in New Delhi. He passed away there on 30 March 1664. Later in 1664, Mirzā Rājā Jai

Singh at the head of 14,000 troops was assigned to the Deccan campaign against Shivājī. Jai Singh not only reconquered a number of forts but also persuaded Shivājī in 1666 to attend the Emperor's court. He was kept in virtual confinement in the house of the Kachhvāhā Rājā under the care of Jai Singh's son, Kaṅvar Rām Singh. But Shivājī and his son, Shambhūjī, made good their escape on 19 August 1666. Aurangzib's suspicion and ire fell upon Rām Singh as well as upon Jai Singh. The latter was recalled to the court, but he died on the way at Burhānpur on 2 July 1667.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
3. Trilochan Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Prophet and Martyr*. Delhi, 1967
4. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1992

B.S.

JAITĀ, BHĀĪ, and his brother Bhāi Singārū, both brave warriors, accepted the Sikh faith at the hands of Gurū Arjan. The Gurū directed them to be in attendance upon his young son, Hargobind. In the time of Gurū Hargobind, Bhāi Jaitā took part in the battle of Lohgarh against the imperial troops. See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 28.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JAITĀ, BHĀĪ, was a devout Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. He had received initiation at the hands of the Gurū at Amritsar. Returning home, he, along with his companions, Bhāi Nandā and Bhāi Pirāgā, had ceased

observing the caste rites and rituals. Their family priests chided them for their departing from the customs of their forefathers. They, in the words of Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, quipped: "You yourselves have been telling us that religious rites are not to be performed in a house freshly defiled by a birth or a death. Since we have met our Gurū, death has taken place in our household of ignorance and new knowledge has taken birth. Customary rituals have therefore become irrelevant."

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 28

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JAITĀ, BHĀĪ. See JĪVAN SINGH, BHĀĪ

JAITĀ SETH, BHĀĪ, a devout Sikh of Gurū Hargobind's time, was a brave warrior. He stood guard at the Gurū's door and humbly served the visiting Sikhs. According to Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, he once said to Gurū Hargobind, "O sovereign true! some say that he who possesses *giān* (knowledge) has little use for *bhakti* (devotion). Is that true?" The Gurū explained, "*Giān* without *bhakti* is lame and ungainly. A mere *giānī*, who possesses knowledge alone, is susceptible, on the one hand, to pride and, on the other, to sin. Knowledge must be tempered with devotion. This is the way to be one with Vāhigurū." See also *Vārān Bhāi Gurdās*, XI. 31.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Pāshāhī Chhevīn*. Patiala, 1970
2. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.

JAITO (30°-26'N, 74°-53'E), now a flourishing market town in Farīdkoṭ district, became in 1923 the scene of a long-drawn agitation launched by the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal roused by the forced abdication of the Sikh Mahārājā of Nābhā. The campaign followed the interruption by the Nābhā state authorities of the *akhaṇḍ pāth* or continuous recitation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib started at Jaito, which lay in the deposed Mahārājā's territory, to express sympathy for him. Jaito now has three *gurdwārās* of historical importance.

GURDWARĀ GAṄGSAR SĀHIB PĀTSHĀHĪ X, close to the old Jaito village, commemorates the site visited by Gurū Gobind Singh who arrived here in December 1705 from Koṭ Kapūrā. The modest old building was replaced by a higher one by Mahārājā Hīrā Singh, Nābhā (1843-1911), renovated since through *kāresevā* by the successors of Sant Gurmukh Singh. The Gurdwārā derives its name from the adjacent *sarovar*, *Gaṅgsar*. Here was interrupted on 14 September 1923 an *akhaṇḍ pāth* for Mahārājā Ripudaman Singh, the deposed ruler of Nābhā. Successful conclusion of the two-year agitation protesting against the interruption of the *akhaṇḍ pāth* was celebrated with the holding in the Gurdwārā recital of a series of 101 *akhaṇḍ pāths* from 21 July to 6 August 1925. The Gurdwārā is endowed with 70 acres of land and is administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee, which also manages the other two *gurdwārās* in Jaito. A special religious *divān* takes place on the 21st of February every year to commemorate the martyrs who fell in the firing on Akālī volunteers marching peacefully on 21 February 1924.

GURDWARĀ ṬIBBĪ SĀHIB is situated on the sandy mound consecrated by Gurū Gobind Singh's visit in 1705. It was from this vantage point that during the Jaito agitation the peaceful

jathā of 500 Sikhs was fired upon. Twenty-one of them were killed, besides many wounded. Yet the *jathā* went on undeterred and reached Gurdwārā Ṭibbī Sāhib, where it was beaten up by police and taken into custody. The present building constructed during the 1980's by the successors of Sant Gurmukh Singh is a high-ceilinged hall inside a walled compound, with the sanctum at the far end.

GURDWARĀ ANGĪTHĀ SĀHIB, half a kilometre south of Gurdwārā Gaṅgsar Sāhib, was built on the site where those who fell martyrs in the firing on 21 February 1924 were cremated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Singh, Giāni, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JAITO MORCHĀ, the name given to the Akālī agitation for the restoration to his throne of Mahārājā Ripudaman Singh of Nābhā, a Sikh princely state in the Punjab. The Mahārājā had strong pro-Akālī sympathies and had overtly supported the Gurū kā Bāgh Morchā and donned a black turban as a mark of protest against the massacre of the reformists at Nankāṇā Sāhib. His contacts with the Indian nationalist leaders and involvement in popular causes had irked the British government. On 9 July 1923, he was forced to abdicate in favour of his minor son, Partāp Singh. Although the British officials pronounced his abdication to be voluntary, the Akālīs and other nationalist sections condemned it as an act of highhandedness on the part of the government. Master Tārā Singh denounced the measure as equivalent to Mahārājā Duleep Singh's removal from the throne of

the Punjab. The committee set up to have the Mahārājā of Nābhā restored to the *gaddī* appointed 29 July 1923 to be observed in all the principal towns of the Punjab as a day of prayer in his behalf. On 2 August 1923, the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee sent a telegram to Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, challenging the official version that the Mahārājā had relinquished his *gaddī* voluntarily, and seeking an independent enquiry to be instituted. Three days later, it passed a resolution asking its executive committee to carry on a peaceful campaign to have Mahārājā Ripudaman Singh reinstalled on the throne of Nābhā. A Nābhā government ordinance prohibiting public discussion of the issue was defied by the Sikhs, who began convening meetings to condemn the deposition of the Mahārājā. On 25 August, a *divān* was held at Jaito, in Nābhā territory, following a public march and resolutions were adopted expressing sympathy with the Mahārājā and condemning government action. On 27 August, Nābhā state authorities arrested the organizers of the *divān* on charges of delivering "political speeches." The *divān* was originally scheduled to conclude on 27 August, but the arrests made by police provoked the Akālīs to continue it indefinitely and to inaugurate a series of *akhand pāṭhs* or unbroken recitations of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The police made more arrests and introduced at an *akhand pāṭh* on 14 September 1923, their own reader, Ātmā Singh, displacing the *granthī* sitting in attendance and reading the holy text. The sacrilege thus committed created a great commotion among the Sikhs. On 29 September the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee condemned the official action. It simultaneously declared its determination to have the Sikhs' right to free worship reaffirmed. The government denied that the *akhand pāṭh* had been interrupted. Yet the *jathās* kept pouring in. The Secretary of State directed

the Viceroy "to put an effective stop to the Akālī operation by the arrest and prosecution of all the organizers as abettors." The Punjab Government acting on the directive declared both the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal as unlawful associations. All the 60 members of the interim committee of the Shiromaṇī Committee were arrested on charges of treason against the King Emperor. Akālī *jathās* were stopped on entering Nābhā territory, taken into custody and beaten by police. They were then left off in distant deserts without food or water. To intensify the agitation, the Akālīs increased the size of the *jathās*. On 9 February 1924, 500 Akālīs marched from the Akāl Takht, receiving unprecedented welcome in villages and towns through which they passed. S. Zimand, a *New York Times* correspondent who witnessed the *jathā* on the march, observed: "The Jatha was moving in perfect order and non-violence with large crowds of public on its right and left, five *Nishan Sahibs* in the front and Guru Granth in the middle."

On 20 February 1924, the *jathā* reached Bargāṛī, a village on Nābhā-Farīdkoṭ border, barely 10 km from Jaito. At Jaito, about 150 metres from Gurdwārā Ṭibbī Sāhib, stood the Nābhā administrator, Wilson Johnston, with a large force of state constabulary. On 21 February, the *jathā* marched on towards the Gurdwārā, refusing to stop or disperse as demanded by Wilson Johnston. The administrator ordered the army to open fire. In two volleys of fire lasting about five minutes, several fell dead. The official estimate of the casualties was 19 dead and 29 injured. The Akālī figures were much higher. The firing on the peaceful *jathā* of Akālīs caused resentment throughout the country. On 28 February 1924, another 500-strong Shahīdī *jathā* left Amritsar for Jaito where it was taken into custody on 14 March. Thirteen more 500-strong *jathās* reached Jaito and

courted arrest. Sikh *jathās* also came from Canada, Hong Kong and Shanghai to join the campaign. The Governor of the Punjab, Sir Malcolm Hailey, tried the policy of creating a schism in the community by having parallel Sikh Sudhār Committees representing moderate and pro-government sections. A 101-strong *jathā* was allowed to perform an *akhaṇḍ pāṭh* at Jaito. But this did not conciliate the general Sikh opinion, nor did it affect the tempo of the agitation. On the issue of the Akālīs being allowed to perform an *akhaṇḍ pāṭh* at Jaito, the government was prepared to start negotiations through Paṇḍit Madan Mohan Mālviya and Bhāi Jodh Singh, but it was adamant on the question of making restitution to the deposed Mahārājā of his state. In the meantime, the Punjab Government introduced in the Legislative Council the Sikh Gurdwārās Bill which was unanimously passed on 7 July 1925. After the bill was passed, Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the Punjab, announced during his speech in the Punjab Legislative Council that the Administrator of Nābhā would permit the bands of pilgrims to proceed for religious worship to Gurdwārā Gaṅgsar at Jaito. The announcement was followed by the release of most of the Akālī prisoners arrested in the course of the restrictions on the performance of *akhaṇḍ pāṭh* and the Akālīs starting a series of 101 such recitations which was concluded on 6 August 1925.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ganda Singh, *Some Confidential Papers of the Akali Movement*. Amritsar, 1965
2. Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Movement*. Delhi, 1978
3. Sahni, Ruchi Ram, *Struggle for Reform in Sikh Shrines*. Ed. Ganda Singh. Amritsar, n.d.
4. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
5. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975
6. Josh, Sohan Singh, *Akālī Morchiān dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1972

7. Ashok, Shamsheer Singh, *Shiromanī Gurdwārā Prabandhak Committee dā Pañjāh Sālā Itihās*. Amritsar, 1982

M.S.

JAITSARĪ MAHALĀ 5 VĀR SLOKĀN NĀLI, by Gurū Arjan, is one of the twenty-two *Vārs*, i.e. compositions in this folk form but moulded to a spiritual theme, included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. It has been named Jaitsarī because of the musical measure it belongs to. While the philosophical standpoint in the entire system of teaching and belief in *gurbānī* is the same, as flowing from the revelation embodied in Gurū Nānak's vision, in the compositions of the Gurūs certain individual characteristics are perceptible. These might be in those points of spiritual experience or imagery that most appealed to each or in the dominant nuance or emphasis of a particular composition. Typical of the *bānī* are compositions of Gurū Arjan himself with the large variety of languages and dialects used by him. While dialect of the central Punjab is the principal tone of the language used in this composition, there is a considerable mixture of the Lahindī idiom in this poem. The reason may have been the larger influx of Lahindī-speakers during Gurū Arjan's time. The ethnic character of the Gurū's disciples who now dominated the Sikh population may have been responsible for this. The dominant Lahindī element is Gurū Arjan's characteristic stylistic contribution.

This *Vār*, consisting of twenty stanzas, is uniformly patterned in three language-layers. Each one of these parts, for convenience to be called a stanza, opens with a *śloka* in an adaptation of Prākṛit called, because of its popular form, Sahaskṛitī or Gāthā. This form of speech was the common element in the language then spoken by saints and *sādhūs* in most parts of India. This language must have been the common denominator in which the adepts from different language areas conversed and which was intelligible to

people, living in diverse parts. Otherwise a hermit or *sannyāsī* from Bengal, for example, could have hardly conversed with one, say, from Rājasthān, Gujarāt or Mahārāshṭra or from any other region of India. This adopted language provides the opening couplet for each of the stanzas in the composition. This is followed by a restatement of the theme of the *śloka* clothed in this form of the Prākṛit, in the Lahindī dialect for the benefit of the common people. As new trade channels were being opened up in the wake of the development of a major centre on the northwest frontier, Kābul became a flourishing centre of trade. As Gurū Arjan encouraged trade in the new township of Amritsar, large numbers of the trading people from Western Punjab, who had commercial links with Kābul and Central Asia, must have settled there or visited the new town on missions of devotion and trade. After these two *ślokas*, comes the *paurī* or the stanza proper, in the standard variety of spoken Punjabi of central Punjab, which has all along been considered to be the principal form of Punjabi and which, since the modern period of cultural renaissance in the Punjab, became the language of literary expression.

The *Vār* opens with a *mantra* or enunciation, in the classical Indian style, of Sikh faith or belief of which the pillars are the eternity of the Creator and His grace in annulling evil in those that are devoted to Him. This is, so to say, paraphrased in the style of Punjabi-ized Braj, the spoken language of the masses. Then follows a *paurī* (stanza) culminating in the affirmation: Realization of Him comes by His own will and grace.

The next stanza (2) traces the filth-covered path of birth from the foetus. Never shall one escape from suffering should one fail to bear God ever in mind. In stanza 3 are recounted the pleasures and satisfactions of life valued by man spiritually unawakened. Wherein does real joy lie? In meditating on the Divine

attributes in holy company. The fourth stanza expresses the might of the Divine Law of Retribution, whereby the individual self is judged according to its merits. Herein is an echo of one line from Gurū Arjan's *Bārah Māhā*. There the world is called *karmā sandṛā khetu*. Here, in almost the same phraseology, is affirmed: "*jaisā bijai so luṇai karam ehu khetu*—one reaps what one sows; this is the field of actions" (GG, 706). Stanza 5 expresses, in words echoing Gurū Nānak's couplets on the same theme and employing similar imagery, the doctrine of grace. This follows also as a sequel and complement to the foregoing doctrine about the inevitability of retribution, leading to unending transmigration. One act of sincere devotion, like a tiny spark of fire burning away huge piles of wood, cancels the evil effects of *karma*. Thus is annulled the terror of transmigration. This bliss, however, comes to those bearing the Divine writ on their forehead. This is to be interpreted, as in numerous other places in *gurbāṇī*, as the impenetrable Divine mystery that inclines some to devotion and thus to win the fruit of grace.

In stanza 7 is the expression of bliss despite worldly poverty, should one's mind be dyed in God's Name (i.e. devotion). One, though poor, forlorn and condemned but devoted, is to be reckoned a true king, and even to touch the dust of his feet shall bring liberation. In stanza 8 the imagery is that of a dream, which the world in its unreality is. In stanza 10 worldly joys are seen to be the bitter gourd pleasing to the eye, yet poisonous to the tongue. Stanza 11 confirms: to God's devotee nothing is sweet (joyful) except devotion to Him. Of devotion examples are given from classical Indian imagery in the twelfth stanza. These are devotion of the fish to water, of the *chātrik* to the mystic drop, of the humming-bee to the flower, and such others. Stanza 13 presents the statement "Never does sorrow come to him who to the Lord is united. The

dust of God's feet is purifying, and to such is He ever present by their side." Then follows stanza 14 in praise of God's devotees, in ecstatic language: "Inexpressibly beautiful are the hands that record God's praise; Holy are the feet that traverse the way of God. What hour is auspicious? That is the theme of stanza 15. Auspicious is the hour (*mahūrat*) in which the self is united with the Lord, i.e. the hour of realization." In the next (16) is supplication to God: "Save me, I have fallen for succour at Thy Portal. Save me, I have whirled endlessly in sequestration from Thee. Lift me with Thy mighty arm from the ocean of worldliness."

Not the appliances of various orders, such as sandalwood paste, bring cooling joy in the fire of suffering, but meditation on God's Name (17). In 18 is the continuation of the same imagery: By grace of the Lord, the Preserver, is extinguished the fire of suffering. Nānak, meditate thou on Him who the world has created. Thus comes poise to the self and to all associated (*kuṭamb*) with the devoted self. In 19 are three successive images: the Lord as Purifier of the fallen, as the ship to carry sinners across the ocean of worldliness, and He who snaps asunder the hard knots tying those gripped by the lure of the world. In this stanza homage is also paid to the holy preceptor, whose company has inspired the seeker with devotion and meditation. This last is a constant theme in *gurbāṇī*, since without the true spiritual guide (*gurū*) the path to the highest life may not be found. The preceptor is not, however, an intercessor, but as described herein, "the guide to meditation." This implies that, according to the teaching of the Sikh faith, the seeker has to strive under guidance, for his liberation. This blessing cannot be conferred on him by anyone; only Divine grace, called forth by devotion may lead him to such bliss.

In the closing stanza 20 is reiterated at all three 'layers' the uncompromising prin-

ciple of the unicity of the faith: (a) all creation is subject to birth and death — God (herein apostrophized as Thou) alone is immutable; (b) the only boon begged of Him is devotion, worldly objects of course excluded; (c) even liberation is not begged, which must come as a reward for devotion (*nām*).

In this *Vār*, in the Sahaskritī *śloka*s (though not so designated here), classical attributive names for the Supreme Being are employed; for example, *jagadīsvara* (Lord of the Universe), Gopāl (Preserver), Prabhu (Lord), Gobind (Lord of the Universe), Paramesvara (the Supreme Lord), Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu, i.e. the Supreme Being), Narhari (the Puissant Lord), and such others. The classical atmosphere would help to instruct in the fundamentals of the Gurū's teaching even those whose orientation has been in the various philosophies and ritualistic creeds of India.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bishan Singh, Giānī, *Bāi Vārān Saḥik*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Arshī, Sāhib Singh, *Jaitsarī dī Vār*. Jind, 1974
3. *Śabadārth Śrī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1964
4. Kohli, Surindar Singh, *A Critical Study of Adi Granth*. Delhi, 1961

At.S.

JALĀLĀBĀD (34°-26'N, 70°-28'E), a prominent town in Eastern Afghanistan, has a historical Sikh shrine, Gurdwārā Chohā Sāhib Pātshāhī I, honouring the memory of Gurū Nānak, who visited here during his travels in these parts in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Śrī Gur Tirath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Śrī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twoārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JALLĀ, PAṆḌIT (d. 1844), a Brāhmaṇ priest of Jammū, who, assigned tutor to Hīrā Siṅgh Ḍogrā when he was a small boy, remained his lifelong companion and became his adviser and deputy as he assumed the office of prime minister of the Sikh kingdom in September 1843. Jallā completely dominated over the young minister and the power he enjoyed made him very arrogant. He began to treat the Sikh nobility in an overbearing manner. A man of peevish disposition, the upstart Jallā soon came to be disliked by everyone. To quote in English translation a doggerel which became current, "There is God above and Jallā below; and may He smack Jallā on the head with a shoe." Matters came to a crisis when Jallā began confiscating the *jāgīrs* of the Sikh *sardārs* and criticizing openly Mahārāṇī Jind Kaur. Jallā was killed by the excited Sikh soldiery led by Jawāhar Siṅgh, the Mahārāṇī's brother, on 21 December 1844, while attempting to flee Lahore along with his patron Rājā Hīrā Siṅgh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohān Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Cunningham, J.D., *A History of the Sikhs*. London, 1849
3. Smyth, G. Carmichael, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*. Patiala, 1970
4. Chopra, B.R., *Kingdom of the Punjab*. Hoshiarpur, 1968
5. Hasrat, B.J., *Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968
S.S.B.

JALLIĀNVĀLĀ BĀGH MASSACRE, involving the killing of hundreds of unarmed, defenceless Indians by a senior British military officer, took place on 13 April 1919 in the heart of Amritsar, the holiest city of the Sikhs, on a day sacred to them as the birth anniversary of the *Khālsā*. Jalliānvālā Bāgh, lit. a garden belonging to the Jallās, derives its name from that of the owners of the place in Sikh times. It was then the property of the family of Sardār Himmat Siṅgh (d.

1829), a noble in the court of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh (1780-1839), who originally came from the village of Jallā, now in Fatehgarh Sāhib district of the Punjab. The family were collectively known as Jallhevāle or simply Jallhe or Jalle, although their principal seat later became Alāvalpur in Jalandhar district. The site, once a garden or garden house, was in 1919 an uneven and unoccupied space, an irregular quadrangle, indifferently walled, approximately 225 x 180 metres which was used more as a dumping ground.

In the Punjab, during World War I (1914-18), there was considerable unrest, particularly among the Sikhs, first on account of the demolition of a boundary wall of Gurdwārā Rikābgañj at New Delhi and later because of the activities and trials of the *Chadrites* almost all of whom were Sikhs. In India as a whole, too, there had been a spurt in political activity mainly owing to the emergence of two leaders — Mohandās Karamchand (Mahātmā) Gāndhī (1869-1948) who after a period of struggle against the British in South Africa, had returned to India in January 1915 and Mrs Annie Besant (1847-1933), head of the Theosophical Society of India, who established, in April 1916, Home Rule League with autonomy for India as its goal. In December 1916, the Indian National Congress, at its annual session held at Lucknow, passed a resolution asking the British government "to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date." At the same time, India having contributed significantly to the British war effort had been expecting advancement of her political interests after the conclusion of hostilities. On the British side, the Secretary of State for India, E.S. Montagu, announced, on 20 August 1917, that "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government

of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India ...” However, the Viceroy of India Lord Chelmsford, appointed, on 10 December 1917, a Sedition Committee, popularly known as Rowlatt Committee after the name of its chairman, to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India, and to advise as to the legislation necessary to deal with them. Based on the recommendations of this committee, two bills, popularly called Rowlatt Bills, were published in the Government of India Gazette on 18 January 1919. Mahāt.nā Gāndhī decided to organize a *satyāgrah*, non-violent civil disobedience campaign, against the bills. One of the bills became an Act, nevertheless, on 21 March 1919. Call for a countrywide *hartāl* or general strike on 30 March, later postponed to 6 April 1919, was given by Mahātmā Gāndhī. The strike in Lahore and Amritsar passed off peacefully on 6 April. On 9 April, the governor of the Punjab, Sir Michael Francis O’Dwyer (1864-1940), suddenly decided to deport from Amritsar Dr Satyapāl and Dr Saif ud-Dīn Kitchlew, two popular leaders of men. On the same day Mahātmā Gāndhī’s entry into Punjab was banned under the Defence of India Rules. On 10 April, Satyapāl and Kitchlew were called to the deputy commissioner’s residence, arrested and sent off by car to Dharamsālā, a hill town, now in Himāchal Pradesh. This led to a general strike in Amritsar. Excited groups of citizens soon merged together into a crowd of about 50,000 marching on to protest to the deputy commissioner against the deportation of the two leaders. The crowd, however, was stopped and fired upon near the railway foot-bridge.

According to the official version, the number of those killed was 12 and of those wounded between 20 and 30. But evidence before the Congress Enquiry Committee put the number of the dead between 20 and 30. As those killed were being carried back through the streets, an angry mob of people went on the rampage. Government offices and banks were attacked and damaged, and five Europeans were beaten to death. One Miss Marcella Sherwood, manager of the City Mission School, who had been living in Amritsar district for 15 years working for the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, was attacked. The civil authorities, unnerved by the unexpected fury of the mob, called in the army the same afternoon. The ire of the people had by and large spent itself, but a sullen hatred against the British persisted. There was an uneasy calm in the city on 11 April. In the evening that day, Brigadier-General Reginald Edward Harry Dyer (b. 1864, ironically at Murree in the Punjab), commander 45th Infantry Brigade at Jalandhar, arrived in Amritsar. He immediately established *de facto* army rule, though the official proclamation to this effect was not made until 15 April. The troops at his disposal included 475 British and 710 Indian soldiers. On 12 April he issued an order prohibiting all meetings and gatherings. On 13 April which marked the Baisākhī festival, a large number of people, mostly Sikhs, had poured into the city from the surrounding villages. Local leaders called upon the people to assemble for a meeting in the Jalliānvālā Bāgh at 4.30 in the evening. Brigadier-General Dyer set out for the venue of the meeting at 4.30 with 50 riflemen and two armoured cars with machineguns mounted on them. Meanwhile, the meeting had gone on peacefully, and two resolutions, one calling for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and the other condemning the firing on 10 April, had been passed. A third resolution

thus came to be known as a *sākhī*. This usage was apparently carried over to the first recorded collections of these stories which were termed simply *sākhīān*.

The word *sākhī* designating a section or chapter of *janam sākhī* is generally confined to the collections which are properly called narrative *janam sākhīs*. Although this is the most popular form, it is not the only one encompassed by the customary usage of the term. There are in fact two major forms, one of them erected upon the other but differing substantially from it. The second variety is the so-called *goṣṭ* form. A *janam sākhī* embodying this form consists not of a collection of narrative anecdotes, but of a series of discourses structured in accordance with a standard pattern. Each of its subdivisions is thus known not as a *sākhī* but as a *goṣṭ* (discourse). The *goṣṭ* form builds upon the standard *sākhī* form in that it often uses narrative incidents as a setting for an appropriate discourse. There is, however, no doubt concerning the interest and intention of those who compiled *janam sākhīs* of the *goṣṭ* variety. Almost invariably their emphasis is firmly upon the discourse element, and frequently the narrative setting is dropped altogether. It is, moreover, a particular variety of discourse which interests these compilers. Their purpose is strictly exegetical and the discourses which they record consist of extended commentaries on the *bānīs* of Gurū Nānak.

In its narrative form the *janam sākhī* probably owes a debt to some earlier models. India had an unbroken tradition of biographies of religious men. As such *janam sākhī* may be a continuation of an existing genre. The simple anecdote lent itself as readily to the needs of the early Sikh community as to the previous generations of Punjabis. In both cases the intention was to communicate with terse conviction the claims of particular religious teachers. Believing that Gurū Nānak had spoken as the one true Gurū, his early

followers naturally sought to demonstrate this belief by relating incidents which testify to the divine favour bestowed upon him. In some cases the divine favour is manifested in a miraculous happening. More commonly, it appears in the form of divinely inspired utterances. By his wisdom as much as by his power, Gurū Nānak is witnessed as the true Gurū.

The miraculous element in the narrative *janam sākhīs* is well illustrated by the ever-popular *sākhī* concerning the monster's cauldron. Details vary in the different traditions, but its earliest form appears to be as follows. Gurū Nānak, having lost his way in a wilderness, was there seized by a *rākṣasa* (demon or monster). The monster set about boiling him in a cauldron of oil, a plan which was frustrated when the intended victim dipped his finger in the scething liquid, instantly cooling it. Confounded by this miracle the monster fell at his feet and became a disciple.

An example of anecdotes testifying to the Gurū's wisdom is provided by a story describing visits to two very different villages. Having been treated inhospitably by the first of these, Gurū Nānak and his companion Mardānā proceeded on to the second where, in contrast to their previous experience, they received a warm welcome. To Mardānā's surprise Gurū Nānak declared, upon leaving the hospitable village, "May this town be uprooted and its inhabitants scattered." In response to Mardānā's protest he explained that, whereas the inhabitants of the first village would, if dispersed, corrupt others, the occupants of the second village would carry with them truth and goodness.

The narrative *janam sākhīs* also incorporate numerous discourses constructed in a comparatively rudimentary fashion and producing in consequence a much simpler product than the didactic discourse of the *goṣṭ* form. These narrative discourses are based upon appropriate selections from the works

of Gurū Nānak (normally a complete hymn, or a short series of hymns). A setting is briefly described wherein the Gurū encounters a particular individual or group of persons, and a standard variety of dialogue then follows. The interlocutor begins with a question or comment, to which Gurū Nānak replies with the first stanza of one of his hymns. The interlocutor's response produces the second stanza, and in this manner the dialogue proceeds through to the conclusion of the hymn. In most instances these narrative discourses embody authentic compositions of Gurū Nānak, only a few present apocryphal works or, mistakenly, compositions by later Gurūs.

The *gost* form of the *janam sākhi* builds upon this narrative pattern, and specifically on the narrative discourse. Normally an interlocutor will be provided and the actual structure of the *gost* depending as it does upon selected compositions of Gurū Nānak, generally imitates that of its narrative model. In terms of actual content and emphasis, however, there is a substantial difference. The narrative element recedes into comparative insignificance. To each scriptural quotation, the author adds the standard formula *tis kā paramārath* ("its sublime meaning") and then appends an extended commentary on the quoted stanza. In its mature form the *gost* collates a series of appropriate compositions in order to expound a particular theme.

This constitutes the didactic discourse as opposed to the narrative discourse, and, because the intention has been so plainly transferred from narrative to exegesis, it may be questioned whether the traditional title of *janam sākhi* properly belongs to the *gost* form. *Janam Sākhis* which follow the *gost* model are the work of the distinctive *Miharbān* tradition and the massive *Miharbān Janam Sākhi* is the only example of a collection in which this form predominates. Almost all narrative *janam sākhis* do, however, incorporate *gost*

borrowed, generally, from *Miharbān* sources.

To the two major discourse forms a minor variety should be added. This is the heterodox discourse. Heterodox discourses normally employ apocryphal works as their basis, and the exegesis which they offer is generally heretical. The narrative element recedes even further and commonly the discourse amounts to little more than the reciting of a composition spuriously attributed to Gurū Nānak. Some clearly derive from Sūfi sources, while others with a marked *hathayoga* emphasis betray Nāth origins. The *Prāṇ Saṅgī* is perhaps the most famous of these heterodox discourses. They are not a prominent feature of the *janam sākhis*.

For the origins of these forms and the abundant material which they present we must turn, as one could expect, to the life and teachings of the Gurū upon whom they all so clearly focus. Although no extant *janam sākhi* can be dated earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century, there is no sufficient reason to doubt that the earliest nucleus of *sākhis* must have evolved a century earlier during the latter half of the Gurū's lifetime or in the period immediately following his death in 1539. The *janam sākhis* present unanimous testimony concerning details of his birth, parentage, and family connections, and there is unanimity concerning the general outline of his life story.

The importance of the *janam sākhis* was particularly marked during the seventeenth century during which period they played a vital cohesive role. Throughout its history the Sikh community has stressed personal loyalty to the Gurū, and, until the institution of the *Khālsā*, this sense of loyalty constituted its principal cohesive bond. As the community grew in numbers and geographical extent, opportunities of immediate contact with the Gurūs became progressively fewer and in these circumstances an effective substitute for the personal presence became

attached to it and was administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. It was, however, abandoned in 1947 in the wake of partition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Siṅgh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Siṅgh, Giāni, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Giān Siṅgh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JAMES (d. 1825), in Sikh records known as James Sāhib Feringhee, was an Englishman from Yorkshire. A deserter from the British army, he had taken up service under Rājā Saṅsār Chand of Kānḡrā. In 1820, he left Saṅsār Chand and joined Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh's army as a gunner. In the Lahore Darbār records, he is also mentioned as Jackson. He died at Lahore in 1825.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785-1849* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

JAMĪAT RAI alias Jit Mall, a *jhīvar* or water bearer on the domestic establishment of Mahārājā Duleep Siṅgh during his stay at Fatehgarh. He belonged to Shāhgharīb, in Shakargaḡh *tahsil* of Gurdāspur district (now in Pakistan). In 1885, he received a letter from the Mahārājā then living in England, regretting that pension had not been paid to him for long and enclosing in compensation a cheque for four thousand rupees. The letter also carried the news that the Mahārājā was returning to India to live quietly in Delhi and stated that he was firm in his Sikh faith. In December 1885, Jamīat Rāi received a letter from Thākur Siṅgh Sandhānvālīā to come to Delhi to receive Mahārājā Duleep Siṅgh. In April 1886, he also received a telegram from the Mahārājā informing him of

his intended arrival in India. Jamīat Rāi collected a party of men of his caste and went to Bombay with the intention of entering once again the service of the Mahārājā who, it was reported, would live at Ootacamund.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ganda Siṅgh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement in the Panjab (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence)*. Patiala, 1972

K.S.T.

JAMĪAT SIṅGH, a water supplier by caste from the village of Mahimān Kahārān, in Amritsar district, was the son of Ratan Siṅgh, a personal attendant of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh. Jamīat Siṅgh continued in the service of Mahārājā Duleep Siṅgh as well and remained with him even after his deposition. He was in Mahārājā Duleep Siṅgh's train when he left for England, but died on the way at Calcutta.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ganda Singh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement in the Panjab (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence)*. Patiala, 1972

K.S.T.

JAMRŪD or Jamraud, a village at the eastern approach to Khaibar Pass in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. Sardār Harī Siṅgh Nalvā, a prominent Sikh general under Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh, established a military post here to check the ingress of Afghān invaders. It was here that Harī Siṅgh Nalvā died fighting in 1837.

S.S.B.

JAMSHAIID KHĀN (d. 1708), Ruhilā Afghān, was hired by Nawāb Wazīr Khān, *faujdar* of Sirhind, to assassinate Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, whose friendly relations with Emperor Bahādur Shāh I were perceived by the *faujdar* as a danger to his own position. Jamshaid Khān with another accomplice caught up

with the Gurū at Nānded, in the South. Jamshaid Khān started attending morning and evening services and one day during the first week of October 1708, as the Gurū lay in his chamber resting after the evening prayer, he fell upon him and stabbed him on the left side near the heart. But before he could repeat the blow, the Gurū struck him down with his sabre. His companion fell under the swords of the Sikhs. Gurū Gobind Singh survived the attack. However after a few days, as he stretched a powerful bow, the wound opened up again and he bled profusely. He passed away on 7 October 1708.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
3. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*, Chandigarh, 1966 P.S.P.

JĀMŪ and Jodhā, both Dhātṣ, received instruction at the hands of Gurū Arjan. Both admitted that their minds were not in their control. They were told that since initially they were not familiar with the nature of their minds they missed their object. Now that they were beginning to understand they must persevere. They persevered and gained what they desired. They in the end won the object of their hearts.

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 23.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JANAM SĀKHĪ, i.e. life story, is the term used to designate traditional narratives of the life of Gurū Nānak. Although the compound is occasionally applied to narratives

concerning later Gurūs or other religious teachers too, it is normally confined to those which relate in anecdotal prose the life and teachings of the First Master. Several *janam sākhi* traditions have evolved, particularly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From small beginnings these traditions rapidly expanded and diversified, supplementing the early nucleus with additional anecdotes and interpretative discourses.

At first the various anecdotes apparently circulated and multiplied orally, a process which continued until the twentieth century. Collections were, however, recorded at an early date (probably during the latter part of the sixteenth century), and it is to these early recorded selections that the distinctive traditions can be traced. Extant manuscripts enable us to follow the evolution and growth of these traditions. A further impetus was provided by the introduction of lithographic printing during the late nineteenth century, and, by the turn of the century, the *janam sākhis* constituted a substantial corpus of both narrative and exegesis. Their language is mostly Punjabi and their script almost always Gurmukhī.

The word *sākhi* has developed from Sanskrit *sākṣya* which means 'evidence' or 'testimony'. In Punjabi, however, the term *sākhi* means a story or anecdote. Similarly, *janam* is a term with multiple meanings. Ordinarily it means birth, but in theological context it stands for life, as in the phrase *janam saphalā karanā* (to spend the life in a fruitful way). As such the connotation of *janam sākhi* is life-story or a biography. If we accept the original Sanskrit meanings of these terms, *janam sākhi* would broadly mean 'the evidence of the divine mission of the Gurū'. Gurū Nānak had taught a message of liberation and had himself lived a life which gave visible expression to that message. Anecdotal descriptions of that life provided a series of "testimonies" to the divine quality of his teachings and each individual story

protesting against the general repressive policy of the government was being proposed when Dyer arrived at about 5.15 p.m. He deployed his riflemen on an elevation near the entrance and without warning or ordering the crowd to disperse, opened fire. The firing continued for about 20 minutes whereafter Dyer and his men marched back the way they had come. 1650 rounds of .303-inch ammunition had been fired. Dyer's own estimate of the killed based on his rough calculations of one dead per six bullets fired was between 200 and 300. The official figures were 379 killed and 1200 wounded. According to Paṇḍit Madan Mohan Mālavīya, who personally collected information with a view to raising the issue in the Central Legislative Council, over 1,000 were killed. The total crowd was estimated at between 15,000 and 20,000, Sikhs comprising a large proportion of them.

The protest that broke out in the country is exemplified by the renunciation by Rābindranāth Tagore of the British Knighthood. In a letter to the Governor-General he wrote: "... The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and I for my part wish to stand shorn of all special distinctions by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer degradations not fit for human beings..." Mass riots erupted in the Punjab and the government had to place five of the districts under martial law. Eventually an enquiry committee was set up. The Disorder Inquiry Committee known as Hunter Committee after its chairman, Lord Hunter, held Brigadier-General R.E.H. Dyer guilty of a mistaken notion of duty, and he was relieved of his command and prematurely retired from the army. The Indian National Congress held its annual session in December 1919 at Amritsar and called upon the British

Government to "take early steps to establish a fully responsible government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination." The Sikhs formed the All-India Sikh League as a representative body of the Panth for political action. The League held its first session in December 1919 at Amritsar simultaneously with the Congress annual convention. The honouring of Brigadier-General Dyer by the priests of Śrī Darbār Sāhib, Amritsar, led to the intensification of the demand for reforming management of Sikh shrines already being voiced by societies such as the *Khālsā Dīwān Mājhā* and Central *Mājhā Khālsā Dīwān*. This resulted in the launching of what came to be known as the *Gurdwārā Reform* movement, 1920-25. Some Sikh servicemen, resenting the policy of non-violence adopted by the leaders of the *Akālī* movement, resigned from the army and constituted the nucleus of an anti-British terrorist group known as *Babar Akālīs*.

The site, *Jalliānvālā Bāgh* became a national place of pilgrimage. Soon after the tragic happenings of the *Baisākhī* day, 1919, a committee was formed with Paṇḍit Madan Mohan Mālavīya as president to raise a befitting memorial to perpetuate the memory of the martyrs. The *Bāgh* was acquired by the nation on 21 August 1920 at a cost of 5,60,472 rupees but the actual construction of the memorial had to wait until after Independence. The monument, befittingly named the *Flame of Liberty*, build at a cost of 9,25,000 rupees, was inaugurated by Dr Rājendra Prasād, the first President of the Republic of India, on 13 April 1961. The central 30-ft high pylon, a four-sided tapering structure of red stone standing in the midst of a shallow tank, is built with 300 slabs with *Ashoka Chakra*, the national emblem, carved on them. A stone lantern stands at each corner of the tank. On all four sides of the pylon the words, "In memory of martyrs, 13 April 1919", has been inscribed in Hindi,

Punjabi, Urdu and English. A semi-circular verandah skirting a children's swimming pool near the main entrance to the Bāgh marks the spot where Dyer's soldiers took position to fire at the gathering.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Datta, V.N., *Jallianwala Bagh*. Ludhiana, 1969
2. Raja Ram, *The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre*. Chandigarh, 1969
3. Smith, Vincent, *The Oxford History of India*. Oxford, 1958

V.N.D.

JALLO, BHĀĪ, a Sikh officiant in the time of Gurū Arjan, was reputed for his probity. Bhāī Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 22, applauds him for his qualities of uprightness, integrity and simplicity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JAMĀL, MĪĀŅ (d. 1650), a pious Muslim was an admirer of Gurū Arjan. His name appears in Gurū Arjan's composition *Chaubole*, addressed to four devotees, namely Samman, Mūsan, Jamāl and Pataᅅg. The Gurū exhorts Jamāl to see what beauty emerges from humility. In the mud in the low pit grows the handsome lotus. Likewise, says the line, a truly humble heart gives birth to noble action. According to *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, Mīān Jamāl formally embraced the Sikh faith and received spiritual instruction from Gurū Hargobind. Bhāī Kāhn Singh, *Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahān Kosh*, mentions one Jamāl, a *fakīr* of Lahore and a brother of one Kamāl, a Kashmirī Muslim of spiritual attainments, who remained in attendance upon Gurū Hargobind at Kiratpur. Probably this Jamāl is the same Mīān Jamāl. He

died in AD 1650.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Kāhn Singh, Bhāī, *Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahān Kosh*. Patiala, 1974

T.S.

JAMĀL UD-DĪN, SAYYID (1838-1897), a name mentioned in connection with the campaign in the 80's of the nineteenth century for the restoration of Mahārājā Duleep Singh to the throne of the Punjab. Born near Kābul in 1838, Jamāl ud-Dīn entered the service of Amīr Dost Muhammad Khān after whose death he got involved in the dynastic wars of succession in Afghanistan, eventually fleeing to India and thence to Cairo. He was a staunch exponent of Pan-Islamism which he declared was the only security for Muslim countries against Western dominance. In 1879 he was deported by the British from Egypt to India for anti-British activities. In 1883, he went to Paris and in 1886 to Russia where he and Mahārājā Duleep Singh came in touch with each other and met together under the patronage of Katkoff, an influential person at the court in Moscow, to plot against the British. Later, the Mahārājā fell out with Jamāl ud-Dīn and publicly repudiated him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ganda Singh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement in the Panjab (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence)*. Patiala, 1972

K.S.T.

JAMBAR KALĀŅ, a village in Lahore district, had a historical *gurdwārā* in memory of Gurū Arjan, who once halted here during his travels in the region. Gurdwārā Dūkh Nivāran, as it was popularly known, had 165 acres of land

necessary. This need was in part fulfilled by communal singing of the Gurūs hymns (*kīrtan*) and in part by the reading or exposition of the *janam sākḥīs* (*kathā*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kirpāl Singh, *Janam Sākḥī Paramparā*. Patiala, 1969
2. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janam Sākḥī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
3. Vir Singh, Bhāi, ed., *Purātan Janam Sākḥī*. Amritsar, 1982
4. McLeod, W.H., *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1968

W.H.M.

JANAM SĀKHĪ SRĪ GUR NĀNAKU SĀH KĪ by Sant Dās Chhibbar is a versified biography of Gurū Nānak (1469-1539), founder of the Sikh faith, based primarily on *Janam Sākḥī Bhāi Bālā*. A manuscript copy of the work is preserved in the Central Public Library, Paṭiālā, under MS. No. 2737. This script is dated 1838 BK/AD 1781. Two more manuscripts were preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, until it perished in the army action in 1984. A published version of the work, based on all the three manuscripts then available, has been brought out by Punjabi University, Paṭiālā, in 1985. In the style of *Bālā Janam Sākḥī*, Chhibbar here makes Bālā narrate in the presence of Gurū Aṅgad events relating to Gurū Nānak's life, Paīrā Mokḥā being the scribe. According to *Bālā Janam Sākḥī* it took Bhāi Bālā and Bhāi Paīrā Mokḥā 77 days to complete the work; according to Chhibbar twenty-seven. Stories in the two texts are common though Bālā's *Janam Sākḥī* is in prose and Chhibbar's in verse. Written in Dohirā Chaupai metres, the latter is a fine example of refined poetry.

D.S.

JAṄḌĀLĪ, village 3 km south of Dhamoṭ (30°-42'N, 76°-2'E) in Ludhiānā district, has a historical shrine sacred to Gurū Hargobind. It

is known as Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Hargobind Sāhib Pātshāhī Chheviṅ and is situated in a grove to the southeast of the village. The present building, a domed hall, with a few ancillary rooms, was constructed in 1967. A village committee manages the shrine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giāni, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JAṄḌ SĀHIB, GURDWĀRĀ, 3 km northwest of Gumṭī Kalān, a village in Baṭhiṅḍā district of the Punjab, marks the site where Bhāi Rūpa (1614-1709) served Gurū Hargobind with cold water out of a leather bag hung from a *jaṅḍ* tree (*Prosopis spicigera*) and received the Gurū's blessings. Tuklānī village, where according to Sikh chronicles Bhāi Rūpa then lived, no longer exists. The Jaṅḍ Sāhib Gurdwārā stands 8 km due west of Bhāi Rūpā, the village founded later by the Bhāi. The main shrine, an old domed building was constructed by Maharājā Hirā Singh (1843-1911), ruler of Nābhā state. The Gurdwārā is endowed with agricultural land and is managed by a Nihāṅg priest. Special congregations take place on the 1st of Baisākh (mid-April), 1st of Hār (Mid-June) and on Lohṛī coming off on the last day of Poh (mid-January), which are marked as religious festivals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giāni, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JAṄḌ SĀHIB, GURDWĀRA, 5 km west of

Chamkaur Sāhib (30°-53'N, 76°-25'E) in Ropar district of the Punjab, stands at the fringe of a vast expanse of marshy grassland. It is sacred to Gurū Gobind Singh, who after leaving Chamkaur on the night of 7-8 December 1705, took a westerly direction passing through a desolate wasteland which even now, during these days of expanding population and intensive cultivation, is no better than a treeless pasture. Here, where Gurdwārā JaṅḌ Sāhib now stands, the Gurū stayed awhile under a *jaṅḌ* tree to rest his weary limbs. The day was already breaking when he got up to resume his journey. An early shepherd saw him and, out of fear, raised an alarm. The Gurū gave him a gold coin and he was pacified.

The Gurdwārā constructed during the Sikh times comprises a small low-domed room under the old *jaṅḌ* tree in the centre of a high-walled square compound. Some other buildings, including a flat-roofed hall and the Gurū kā Laṅgar have since been added. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in the original shrine and is attended by a solitary *granthī*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Sri Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Sri Guduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārikh Gurdūārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JAṄḌ SĀHIB, GURDWĀRĀ, dedicated to Gurū Gobind Singh, is situated within the revenue limits of Virevālā Kalān village, 25 km west of Farīdkoṭ (30°-40'N, 74°-45'E) in the Punjab. This is believed to be the place where, according to *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*, Gurū Gobind Singh, during his travels through the Mālvā country, rested awhile in the forest under a *ber* tree. The name JaṅḌ Sāhib was given it later, probably because of the abundance of *jaṅḌ* trees

(*Prosopis spicigera*) in the forest. The present building was constructed during the 1970's through *kār-sevā* or voluntary service by followers of Sant Gurmukh Singh. Located in a walled compound entered through a magnificent gateway, the sanctum is in the middle of a square, marble-floored nall. Above it is a lotus dome lined with white glazed tiles, and in the rear a pavilion used as a *divān* hall for bigger gatherings, usually on new-moon days. Gurū kā Laṅgar is in a separate, but adjacent, compound.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
2. Tārā Singh, *Sri Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JAṄḌŪ SĪNGHĀ, village 9 km northeast of Jalandhar (31°-20'N, 75°-35'E) along the Jalandhar-Hoshiārpur road, claims a historic shrine, Gurdwārā Pañj Tīrath, commemorating the visit of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644). According to local tradition, Gurū Hargobind during his brief stay here shot five arrows in different directions. The name of the shrine Pañj Tīr (lit., five arrows) later became Pañj Tīrath, five places of pilgrimage. The present building, constructed in 1968, comprises an assembly hall, with the sanctum at the far end. To the west of the hall across a brick-paved terrace is the *sarovar*. The Gurdwārā is managed by a local committee under the control of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

Gn.S.

JAṄGNĀMĀ, by Qāzī Nūr Muhammad, is an eye-witness account in Persian verse of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī's seventh invasion of India, 1764-65, for which it is the only major source of information. A copy of the manuscript in the hand of one Khair Muhammad of Guñjābā was preserved at the District Gazetteer Office at Queṭṭā in Balūchistān from where Karam Singh, state historian of Paṭiālā,

at the hands of the Pañj Piāre. Written in an admixture of Braj and Punjabi, the poem comprises 69 cantos. A manuscript copy is preserved in the private collection of the Mahārājā of Paṭiālā. The text is now available in an anthology entitled *Prāchīn Vārān te Jaṅgnāme*, published by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1950. The theme of the *Jaṅgnāmā* is the battle fought outside the fortress of Anandgarh. 'Azīm Khān had under the orders of Emperor Auruṅzīb marched to Anandpur with a strong force and, supported by seven of the surrounding hill chiefs, reached the outskirts of the town. In eloquent poetic image, Aṇī Rāi evokes the battle scenes and describes with special relish the feats of valour displayed by Sikhs such as Bhāi Himmat Siṅh and Bhāi Dalel Siṅh who, tearing their way through the host, attacked 'Azīm Khān's own elephant hitting its *howdah* or saddle with their swords, and Bachittar Siṅh and Mohkam Siṅh confronting and killing a drunken elephant covered with deadly weapons let loose by the Mughal army, and of Gurū Gobind Siṅh who overpowered 'Azīm Khān in a duel. The last eight cantos of the *Jaṅgnāmā* are devoted to summing up the events narrated in the preceding parts of the poem. Towards the close, the poet being a devout Sikh begs for the blessing of the Gurū whom he calls the saviour of the world appointed by God Himself to chastise the tyrants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ashok, Shamsher Siṅh, ed., *Prāchīn Vārān te Jaṅgnāme*. Amritsar, 1950

J.S.S.

JAṄG SIṄGHĀN TE FIRĀṄGIĀN, by Maṭak, is a versified account, in Punjabi, of the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46) by a contemporary or near-contemporary poet about whom no biographical details are available. The poem, in its present incomplete form, is included

in *Pañjāb diān Vārān* (Amritsar, 1946) edited by Dr Gaṇḍā Siṅh who got the manuscript of this poem from Nauraṅ Siṅh Tāṅghī of Amritsar. It was first published in the *Phulvāṛī* (1938). Since the two opening stanzas and the concluding parts of the poem are missing, it has not been possible to date the work though it can be presumed to have been written soon after the war. The poem presents the appeal for help made by the oppressed people from the regions below the River Sutlej which had then been annexed by the East India Company as the main reason for the Sikhs' ire against the British (3). Beginning with the Sikhs' march towards Fīrozpur and subsequent battle at Pherū Shahr, which according to the poet started on Thursday (no year is mentioned perhaps because it was not needed in a contemporary or near-contemporary account), and goes to describe the fierce action but only in general terms, without supplying any specific names or details. However, he denounces in very unequivocal terms the treachery of Tej Siṅh (22) and Lāl Siṅh (19), and praises Shām Siṅh of Aṭārī for his resolution and chivalry (28-33).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gaṇḍā Siṅh, ed., *Pañjāb diān Vārān*. Amritsar, 1946

D.S.

JĀNĪ, a Sayyid Muslim, who, according to Bhāi Santokh Siṅh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, had long wandered in search of a true spiritual guide, was directed by one, Khwājā, a Kashmīrī Musalmān, to meet Gurū Hargobind whom he himself revered. Sayyid Jānī visited Gurū Hargobind, received instruction from him and found the consolation he had been seeking.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Santokh Siṅh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.

JĀN MUHAMMAD CHAṬṬHĀ (d. 1798), son of Ghulām Muhammad Chaṭṭhā, fled to Kābul on the eve of the conquest of the fort of Manchar in 1790 by Mahān Singh Sukkarchakkīā. He accompanied Shāh Zamān to India in 1797 and recovered his possessions on the River Chenāb in Gujrānwālā district with the aid of the Afghāns, but this was a short-lived gain, for Raṅjīt Singh attacked his headquarters, Rasūlnagar, after the Shāh's return to Afghanistan. The besieged Chaṭṭhās, under Jān Muhammad, made a gallant resistance. However, they lost footing gradually. Jān Muhammad was killed by a cannon-shot and the fort surrendered (1798). Raṅjīt Singh granted small *jāgīrs* or estates to the sons of Jān Muhammad and employed them in the irregular cavalry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, 'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *History of the Panjab*. Delhi, 1964
4. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjīt Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990

S.S.B.

JĀN SĀHIB (as the name is recorded in Sikh documents), a Frenchman, originally employed by the Bārakzāi *sardārs* of Kābul. He left them in 1824 and entered Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's service.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785-1849* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

JĀPĀ, BHĀĪ, a Khatrī of the Khullar clan, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Rām Dās. His name figures in the roster of prominent Sikhs in Bhāi Gurdās' *Vārān*, XI. 17.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gr.S.

JAPU, with the Punjabi complimentary *jī* commonly suffixed to it as an honorific, is the opening composition of Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib. At the head of the table of contents of the volume, this composition is recorded as *Japu Nīsānu*, meaning the 'flag composition *Japu*' or, according to some other exegetes 'authenticated *Japu*'. The title *Japu* is from the verb *jaṭanā* (lit. to repeat orally) or what is meant for meditating or repeating, usually silently, with or without the help of a rosary, of the name of a deity or of a *mantra* (lit. spell, incantation). *Japujī* is the most riveting Sikh prayer recited by the devout early in the morning. The composition is not assigned to any particular *rāga* or musical measure, as is the rest of the Scriptural text. It, however, forms part of the liturgy for the preparation of *amrit*, consecrated water used in the *Khālsā* initiatory rites.

Japujī is universally accepted to be the composition of Gurū Nānak, the founding prophet of Sikhism, although, unlike other scriptural hymns and compositions, it remains anonymous without being credited individually to any of the Gurūs. Opinion is however divided about the date and manner of its composition. One conjecture is that it came to be given its present form and arrangement as a serialized collection of some of Gurū Nānak's revelatory meditations at a later period of his life at Kartārpur-on-Rāvī, possibly by Bhāi Lahiṇā (Gurū Aṅgad) at his own behest. The *śloka* at the close of the *Japujī* also appears with a slight variation in Gurū Granth Sāhib, p. 146, where it has been unambiguously credited to the second Gurū (Gurū Aṅgad). That the thought was Gurū

twelve stanzas of four verses each. These stanzas are in Adibhut Chhand in which each verse consists of six lines rhyming together, with an additional half line. Each stanza has a further short verse the burden of which is the poet's desire to visit Amritsar. Following the style of a Bārah Māhā, the twelve stanzas are each assigned to a month of the Indian calendar.

The *Jaṅgnāmā* dealing mainly with the battles of Gurū Gobind Singh, refers also to the victories won by his Sikhs against the Durrānīs and later in the Sikh times. The object of the poet is not to present linear history, but to sing praises of Gurū Gobind Singh and eulogize the gallantry of his brave Sikhs. Thus the *Jaṅgnāmā* is not a description of any particular battle; it takes into account a few of the significant engagements of different battles. No factual information about any battle is provided; even the dates and places of different actions are missing. Only the names of some enemy commanders are mentioned which may provide a clue to the battle being described in a particular stanza. Bīr Singh is essentially a bard whose aim is to recite the praise of Gurū Gobind Singh and of the Sikh heroes who fought for the liberation of mankind from oppression and injustice.

His *Jaṅgnāmā*, of little historical value, is a fine piece of combat poetry. It captures in a vigorous metre the grim fury of battle scenes.

P.S.P.

JAṄGNĀMĀ LAHORE, by Kāhn Singh, is a poem describing the battles fought between the British and the Sikhs during 1845-46. Kāhn Singh belonged to Baṅgā, Jalandhar district, and undertook the work at the instance of the British Deputy Commissioner of the area, Mr Vanistart. Though there is no internal evidence to date the work, we can safely assume it to have been completed sometime before 1853 as one of the several

manuscript copies of the work which are extant is dated 1910 Bk/AD 1853 by the scribe. The only printed text available is in the anthology *Prāchīn Vāran te Jaṅgnāme*, edited by Shamsheer Singh Ashok. The *Jaṅgnāmā* written in a language that is a mixture of Punjabi, Hindi and Persian, has 444 couplets composed in the *masnavī* style. After the customary invocation to the Divine, the *Jaṅgnāmā* proper begins with the treaty of friendship signed between the British and Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh who is praised for his qualities of valour and justice. However, after his death on Thursday, Hār *sudī* Ekam 1896 Bk/27 June 1839, the intrigues and machinations of courtiers and officials led to internal feuds resulting in the fall of the Sikh kingdom. Since the *Jaṅgnāmā* was written on the instruction of a British official, the poet tends to be biased in favour of the British, though at places he does give credit to the Sikh soldiers for their stamina and chivalry. The sole responsibility for the Anglo-Sikh war is fastened upon Jind Kaur, the widow of Ranjīt Singh, who, according to the author, wished to avenge the murder of her brother, Jawāhar Singh, by having the Sikh forces punished by the British. The battles of Mudkī, Pherū (Shahr), Baddovāl and Sabhrāoṅ, have been dealt with in detail by the poet, and in the process he has given names of some Sikhs who got killed in action. Among them are Bhāī Jaimal Singh Akālī (264-65) and his brother Buddh Singh Akālī (296-98), Atar Singh Kālīānvālā (294-95), Kaur Singh (290), Gaṇḍā Singh Bhaṇḍārī of Butālā (299), Nidhān Singh of Tuṅg (322-24), Shām Singh Aṭārīvālā, Hirā Singh (383-84), Hukam Singh Malvai (38), Pañjāb Singh, Belā Singh (381), General Mevā Singh Majithīa (380) and Mākhe Khān (377). This feature is especially noteworthy, for no other contemporary or near-contemporary work records the names of so many of the warriors who were killed in the first Anglo-Sikh war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ashok, Shamsher Singh, ed., *Prāchīn Vārān te Jaṅgnāme*. Amritsar, 1950

D.S.

JAṄGNĀMĀ SARDĀR HARĪ SĪNGH, by Rām Diāl Aṇad, is a versified account, in Punjabi, of Harī Singh Nalvā's last crusade against the Afghāns in which he won the field but lost his life. The poet, about whom not much biographical information is available is a Hindu (Aṇad) Khatrī of Navān Shahaar. The poem begins with an invocation to the various Hindu gods (1-6) and goes on to describe the Afghāns' capture of Peshāwar (8). Harī Singh is the only Sikh general who accepts the frontier assignment willingly and happily (10). He moves with his troops to Peshāwar via Rohtās (14), Sarāi Kālā, near Ṭaxilā (15), and Hazārā (17). He was accompanied by Mahān Singh, Jawāhar Singh, Jamīt Singh Mūhar and others. Harī Singh is killed fighting against the Afghāns at Jamrūd. Historically, it is not a very significant work as it contains no dates nor any other relevant data. However, it is a fine literary piece and provides a great deal of information about contemporary social life, rituals and customs.

D.S.

JAṄGNĀMĀ SARDĀR HARĪ SĪNGH NALVĀ, attributed to Bhāi Kāhn Singh of Baṅgā, is an incomplete poem, in Punjabi, narrating the Sikh general's successful military campaign against the Afghāns (1835-37). The only known manuscript, with some pages missing both at the beginning and at the end, was preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, under MS. No 5854 until 1984. Now it is available in published form in an anthology entitled *Prāchīn Vārān te Jaṅgnāme* edited by Shamsher Singh Ashok and brought out by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1950. *Jaṅgnāmā Sardār Harī Singh Nalvā* begins with the birth of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh whose career is

traced up to his succession to the leadership of the Sukkarchakkīā *misl* after the death of his father, Mahān Singh, in 1792. After briefly touching upon Ranjīt Singh's success in suppressing the feudal chiefs, the poet shifts over to the Afghān challenge in the mid-thirties of the nineteenth century to the authority of the Sikh monarch. With a view to bringing Peshāwar effectively under control, the Mahārājā resolved to send Harī Singh Nalvā to lead the campaign to subdue the Afghāns who had invaded the territory from beyond the Khaibar Pass. The account deals with Harī Singh's march to Peshāwar, minor skirmishes with the tribals and the decisive battle against them and their ally, Dost Muhammad Khān. Harī Singh Nalvā and his small contingent of men were surprised in the Fort of Jamrūd by the forces of Dost Muhammad Khān. The action that ensued is narrated in vivid detail. Harī Singh Nalvā falls fighting, and the poet pays full homage to his spirit of courage and heroism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ashok, Shamsher Singh, *Prāchīn Vārān te Jaṅgnāme*. Amritsar, 1950

Aj.S.

JAṄGNĀMĀ SRĪ GURŪ GOBIND SĪNGH JĪ KĀ, a *vār* or stanzas by Aṇī Rāi describing Gurū Gobind Singh's battle with a Mughal force at Anandpur. Aṇī Rāi was one of the fifty-two poets who enjoyed the Gurū's patronage. The welcome he received on his arrival in Anandpur and the conferment through a *hukamnāmā* of costly presents including gold and jewels upon him find mention in the opening stanzas of *Jaṅgnāmā*. The conjecture is that he came to Anandpur after AD 1699, the year of the promulgation of the *Khālsā*, for he makes no mention of the battles of Bhaṅgānī and Nadaun which took place prior to that event and he throughout refers to the Gurū as Gobind Singh, which name he took only after receiving initiation

made a transcript which was utilized by Dr Gaṇḍā Siṅgh in producing an edited version of the Persian text, with a preface and a brief summary in English. The work was published by the Sikh Historical Research Department, Khālsā College, Amritsar, in 1939.

Ahmad Shāh had planned his seventh invasion as a *jihād* or crusade against the Sikhs, who had, since his previous invasion, not only captured Sirhind (January 1764) but had also threatened Lahore and ravaged twice during that year the territories in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doāb of Najīb ud-Daulah, his ally and agent at Delhi. Ahmad Shāh invited Mīr Muhammad Nasīr Khān, ruler of Kalāt in Balūchistān (1750-95), to join him. Qāzī Nūr Muhammad, son of Qāzī Abdullah Kilāwar of Guṇjābā, accompanied Nasīr Khān, who at the head of 12,000 Balūchīs, met the Shāh at Eminābād, 50 km north of Lahore. The combined force, 30,000 strong, did not meet any opposition up to Lahore, where it arrived towards the end of November 1764. The Shāh was holding a council of war the next morning when a fast riding messenger came to report that the Balūchī vanguard was under surprise attack from a strong Sikh force. Mīr Nasīr Khān immediately went to the help of his troops. Qāzī Nūr Muhammad, relating the events of this first encounter with the Sikhs, describes the tactics adopted by the latter thus: "A troop advances and, firing a volley from some distance, retires to reload their muskets while another troop starts firing from another flank. Thus, while they can relax somewhat by turns, they do not allow any respite to their enemy." The battle raged throughout the day and came to an end only at the fall of darkness. The Sikhs did not resume the attack the following morning. The Shāh marched upon Amritsar whither the Sikhs had been reported to have withdrawn. But when he reached there on 30 November 1764, not a single Sikh was to be seen. Next day, a band of 30 Sikhs sallied from a forti-

fied house (*buṅgā*, in Punjabi) and attacked the Shāh's camp. "These dogs [as the author disparagingly calls the Sikhs] were only thirty in number. They were not in the least afraid. They had neither the fear of slaughter nor the dread of death. They grappled with the *ghāzīs* or crusaders and, in the engagement, spilt their blood and sacrificed their lives for their Gurū" [This small Sikh contingent was led by Gurbakhsh Siṅgh Shahīd]. Ahmad Shāh returned to Lahore where he held another council of war at which Mīr Muhammad Nasīr Khān expressed the opinion that they should advance to Sirhind where they should stay awaiting further news from Najīb ud-Daulah, who had been besieged in Delhi by Rājā Jawāhar Siṅgh of Bharatpur and his Sikh allies of the Buḍḍhā Dal under Jassā Siṅgh Aḥlūvālīā. Ahmad Shāh Durrānī resumed his march but, conscious as he was of the might of the roving Sikh bands, he followed a circuitous route through Baṭālā, Hoshiārpur and Ropar and, avoiding Sirhind altogether, proceeded via Piṅjore, Narāingarh and Jagādhri reaching Kuṅjpurā, near Karnāl, by the middle of February 1765 after meeting with stiff resistance at many places *en route*. By then a rapprochement had been arrived at between Jawāhar Siṅgh and Najīb ud-Daulah and the siege had been lifted. Ahmad Shāh decided to return to Afghanistan. The Buḍḍhā Dal had also meanwhile returned to join the *misdārs* comprising the Taruṇā Dal. At Sirhind, Ālā Siṅgh of the Phūlkīān *misl* met the Afghān king. The Shāh received him with cordial respect and bestowed on him a *khill'at*, a robe of honour, and *tabl-o-'alam*, drum and standard, as emblems of authority. He also tried, through Ālā Siṅgh, to come to terms with the Dal Khālsā, but the latter turned down the overtures and decided instead to give a standing battle to the invader. The Sikhs barred his way at Phillaur and Talvan ferries, on the likely route of the Afghāns'

retreat. The Shāh tried to bypass them and crossed the Sutlej at Ropar, but the Sikhs, moving rapidly, caught up with him. Qāzī Nūr Muhammad gives a detailed account of the three days of battle that followed. Not mentioning any event of the next three days, he recounts the Sikh attack on the seventh day on the southern bank of the River Beās. The Sikhs did not pursue the hastily retreating Afghāns further, and the Shāh reached the River Chenāb by the middle of March, without touching Amritsar and Lahore on the way. While crossing the last two torrential currents of the Chenāb, he suffered heavy losses in men, material and animals. Nūr Muhammad writes: "When I recall that day, I tremble with the fear of the Doomsday." On reaching Rohtās across the Jehlum, Mīr Nasīr Khān parted company to go to Balūchistān, while Ahmad Shāh continued his journey back to Afghanistan.

The *Jaṅgnāmā* is divided into sections under 55 sub-headings including the first six sections devoted to praising God and Prophet Muhammad and to eulogizing Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and Mīr Nasīr Khān. The remaining sections, starting with the origin and ancestry of the Balūchī people and preparations of Nasīr Khān for the crusade, narrate the events of the invasion based on the personal observation of the author. Sections 41 and 42 are specially pertinent to Sikh history. In these he praises the warlike qualities and high moral character of the Sikhs and gives account of the territorial possessions of various *sardārs*.

Nūr Muhammad refers to the Sikhs in imprecatory language, but cannot help proclaiming at the same time their many natural virtues. In section XLI of his work, for example, he says, "Do not call the "dogs" dogs [his rude term for the Sikhs], for in the field of battle they are courageous like lions.... It should be understood that *siṅgh* is their title. It is not just to call them *sags* [dogs]. In Hindustānī *siṅgh* means a lion. In battle they

are veritable lions and in peace they excel Hātim [in bounty]." After extolling their mastery in the use of weapons such as sword, spear, battle-axe, bow and arrow, and musket, he praises the moral standards of the Sikh warriors. "They never kill a coward... and never pursue one who flees the field; they never attack or plunder a woman, be she a lady or a slave-girl; adultery is unknown among them and so is theft."

About the Sikh religion, the Qāzī says: "The Sikhs are disciples of the pious man who lived in *Chakk* (Chakk Gurū, Amritsar). After him came his successor, Gobind Singh, from whom they derived the title Singh. The dogs are not from the Hindus; the path of these evil ones is different." Then he lists some of the Sikh leaders and their respective territories. Here he mixes up some of the names and places, but taken together he mentions almost the entire central Punjab, from Rohtās in the north to Dīpālpur in the south and from Multān in the west to Sirhind in the East as having come under Sikh domination. "Besides," he adds, "they collect taxes even from the Derājāt (districts of Derā Ismā'il Khān and Derā Chāzī Khān across the Indus), and are afraid of none."

Gb.S.

JAṄGNĀMĀ GURŪ GOBIND SINGH is a Punjabi ballad by Bīr Singh Bal of the village of Saḥiālā in Amritsar district of the Punjab. Bīr Singh was the author of a number of works in Braj Bhāṣā and Punjabi which he wrote in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century. His theme is primarily Sikh history, though he has also composed *Qissā Hīr Rāñjhā* incorporating the romance of Punjab's famous lovers, Hīr and Rāñjhā.

The *Jaṅgnāmā*, in Punjabi verse, is in the form of a Bārah Māhā for which reason it is also known as *Bārān Māñh Gurū Gobind Singh*. It consists of one *doharā* of four lines and

Nānak's own is evidenced in his *śabda* in Rāg Mārū (GG, 1020-21). But in a fragment of the *Purātan Janam Sākhī*, that has come down to us, the *Japujī* is recorded to have been uttered by Gurū Nānak at the time of his mystical encounter with the Master which is supposed to have occurred in the River Beīn much earlier.

Preceded by what is called *Mūl Mantra*, the basic statement of creed, the *Japu* comprises an introductory *śloka* and 38 stanzas traditionally called *paurīs* and a concluding *śloka* attributed by some to Gurū Aṅgad. The initial *śloka* too appears again in the Scripture as a preamble to the 17th *aṣṭapadī* of Gurū Arjan's famous composition *Sukhmanī*, the Psalm of Peace. The entire composition including the *Mūl Mantra*, two *ślokas* and the thirty eight *paurīs* form the sacred morning prayer *Japūjī Sāhib* or *Japu Nīsāṅgu*. It serves as a prologue to the Scripture and encapsules Gurū Nānak's creed and philosophy, as a whole. It embodies in a concentrated and compact style his vision of the Ultimate Reality and traces the path which a seeker must adopt to realize it.

The *Mūl Mantra*, comparable to *Gāyatrī Mantra* of traditional Hinduism and the *Kalīmā* of Islam, defines the nature of Reality as the One Transcendent, the Timeless Creator, owing Its Existence to Itself, realizable only through the Gurū's grace. The Truth or the True One, as the initial *śloka* announces, ever was, is, and shall forever be. He is unattainable through intellectual workouts or austerities. How can the Truth be realized? How can the barrier of falsehood be demolished? The answer is, by moulding one's life in accordance with *hukam* and *razā*, i.e. His Will and Pleasure. *Hukam* is the regulative principle controlling the entire created existence. The understanding of *hukam* will rid the seeker of his I-am-ness which individuates him and throws a wall around him separating him from his spiritual essence. One can attain the truth by glorifying His

Name and singing constantly His *prāises*. The self-governing Lord of Lords is unknowable, indescribable and inscrutable. The individual's one and only one duty is to pray that he always remembers Him who is the sustainer of all that exists. There is no other way to comprehend Him except to attune our consciousness to Him by listening to or about Him (*sunīai* or *śravaṇa*). Realization will come through reflection, meditation and faith (*manana* and *mannan*) and a loving remembrance (*bhāu* or *nididhyāsana*). Among the objects of reflection and meditation are the illimitable expanse and variety of the created nature. Through this awareness of the vastness of His creation will break forth upon the seeker's consciousness the ineffability of God, the ever-existent Creator, true King of kings whose will reigns supreme. Man must learn to submit to His will and pleasure.

This in a nutshell is the substance of the teaching underlying stanzas 1 to 27, couched in a simple and direct style. The remaining stanzas, though exploring the same theme of search for God-realization are cast in a more concentrated idiom and are pregnant with classical allusions and mystic content. It is for this reason that some commentators ascribe this part of the *Japu* to a later period of the Gurū's life. Pointing the way to realization, Gurū Nānak immediately rejected the path of the Nātha Yogīs, and their magical and mystical powers and practices.

The path to God-realization comprises five stages. Man's spiritual progress begins in Dharam Khaṇḍ, that is, the realm of duty or morality. The first requisite is the purity of conduct. This temporal and spatial earth is the field for righteous action. From here, God in his grace will lead the individual, if he has been living virtuously and if he has been true to his social obligations, to the next stage. The stage following will be that of Giān Khaṇḍ, the region of knowledge. This

will mean the dawning in the individual's consciousness of the knowledge of the vastness of God's creation and the comparative puniness and insignificance of the individual's existence. The third stage is Saram or Śrama Khaṇḍ, the region of toil — not physical hard work but inward cogitation and meditation on knowledge gathered through the physical faculties so as to train the reflective faculty, intellect, and mind in such a way as to acquire an understanding of the godly and spiritual qualities. But the real spiritual force comes into effect at the next stage, Karam Khaṇḍ, the region of grace. It is the descent of God's grace that ushers the seeker's soul to vistas of indescribable beauty, heroism and bliss. Beyond these four regions is the region of eternal Truth, Sach Khaṇḍ, the abode of the Formless One creating innumerable universes and revelling in the vision of His own creation.

In the last *paurī* (stanza 38), the Gurū employing the imagery of the mint shows how the elixir of the True Word is prepared and eternal bliss attained by cultivating certain qualities issuing from the Grace of God. "Patience is to act (diligently) as the goldsmith does and moral discipline the smithy; right understanding his anvil and knowledge his hammer; God's fear his bellows and sustained hard work his fire; thus does the elixir drop into the vessel of devotion and the Word realized in the true mint."

In the concluding *śloka*, the imagery used changes. "Air is the Gurū, water the father, and the vast earth the mother. The whole world is playing in the laps of the two nurses, i.e., Day and Night." The great sustaining principle, Dharma, watches their deeds and categorizes them whether they are acceptable or not. Those whose actions prove acceptable will obtain seats closer and others will be cast far behind. Those, sayeth Nānak, "who have cherished the Name Divine will emerge triumphant and save not only themselves, but countless others, too." The *śloka*

has traditionally become part of the Sikh liturgy and is recited singly or in unison by the *saṅgat* at the end of a service.

The language of the *Jāpu* is old Punjabi mixed with *sādh bhāshā* or *sadhūkarī*, the lingua franca of holy men in medieval India, with liberal borrowings of conceptual vocabulary from Arabic and Persian as well as from Braj and Sanskrit, their form freely modified to suit the Punjabi idiom, script and inflectional system. Even some philosophical terms have been invested with special connotations different from those carried in the source languages. The style is generally terse, compact and direct, and mythical allusions are minimal. The vision of the poet far transcends time and space as exemplified in phrases such as '*asaṅkh nāv asaṅkh thāv.*' '*ādi, anīlu, anādi, anāhati*' and '*khaṇḍ, maṇḍal, varbhaṇḍā.*' The message of the *Jāpu* is abiding in nature and universal in application. It simply describes the nature of Ultimate Reality and the way to comprehend it, and is not tied to any particular religious system. In a word it simply defines Sikhism, the religious view of Gurū Nānak. The *Jāpu* carries an important message. Over the centuries it has shaped the Sikh ethos of devotion and action.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Talib, Gurbachan Singh, *Jāpuji: The Immortal Prayer Chant*. Delhi, 1977
2. Sohan Singh, *The Seeker's Path*. Calcutta, 1959
3. Puran Singh, *The Jāpji of Guru Nanak*. Amritsar, 1929
4. Wazir Singh, *Humanism of Guru Nanak*. Delhi, 1977
5. Rām Singh, *Jāpji dā Vishā te Rūp*. Ludhiana, 1969
6. Vohrā, Āshā Nand, *Jāpuji dā Alaṅkārik Saundarya*. Rohtak, 1975
7. Jaggī, Rattan Singh, ed., *Gurbānī Ṭike: Anandghana*. Patiala, 1970
8. Jodh Singh, Bhāi, *Jāpuji Saṭik*. Anritsar, 1950

Sn.S.

JĀPU, popularly known as *Jāp Sāhib*, by Gurū Gobind Singh, is the introductory invoca-

tion in his *Dasam Granth*. In this hymn the unicity of the Supreme Being is proclaimed and He is delineated as the One amidst the multiplicity of his creation. The positive and the negative attributes of the Creator are sung so as to illuminate the human spirit. The exact date of the composition of this poem is not known, but it is commonly accepted as one of Gurū Gobind Singh's earlier compositions. The four years of his early youth he spent at Pāoñṭā were the most creative, and the *Jāpu* is generally believed to have been composed during that period.

Jāp is a Sanskrit formation, derived from the root *jaṣ* which means 'to utter in a low voice'. In common usage, *Jāp* means adoration by repeating reverentially God's name as a sacred formula. *Jāp* is a regular part of the Indian religious discipline wherein God is remembered by innumerable names signifying and symbolizing His different attributes and deeds.

Like Gurū Nānak's *Jāpu*, Gurū Gobind Singh's *Jāpu* is a text for daily recitation. It is one of the regimen of five Sikh prayers to be repeated every day. It is also one of the five *bāñīs* which are recited as *amrit* is being churned for the rites of Sikh initiation. The composition comprises 199 verse-pieces in 10 different metres, namely Chhappai, Bhujaṅg-prayāt, Chācharī, Rūāl, Bhagvatī, Haribolamanā, Charpaṭ, Madhubhār, Rasāval and Ek Achharī, which are repeated with varying effects. How incapable human intellect is of defining and counting all of His names is proclaimed at the very beginning. Gurū Gobind Singh describes the Creator as beyond marks and symbols, castes and hues, forms and garbs. He is immutable, self-luminous, limitless and the Supreme Sovereign of all the three worlds. Every particle of Nature proclaims, "He is Infinite, He is Infinitic." God is beyond all religions and denominations: *Namastañ amajabe. Namastasatu ajabe. (Jāpu, 17)*. He is formless, invisible, immeasurably

great; His mystery is impenetrable, His glory is indefinable, His holiness is unsurpassable. "Hail Thee, Lord Eternal! Hail Thee, ever Merciful! Hail Thee, Thou Supremely Beautiful! Hail Thee, Sovereign of all" (*Jāpu, 19*).

He is Destroyer and Creator: He is Death, yet the Sustainer. Darkness and light, tumult and peace may appear contradictory to the finite human mind, but God is above these contradictions. He is darkness as well as supreme illumination. The Supreme Being, called Akāl, the Timeless in *Jāpu*, may manifest Himself in many forms, shapes, colours, qualities, quantities, but ultimately He is One: "*ek mūrati anek darsan kīn rūp anek khel kheli akhel khelan, ant ko phiri ek*" (*Jāpu, 81*). He is all-pervading and is the essence of all spiritual experience. A significant aspect of this composition is its characteristic language. In the *Jāpu*, Gurū Gobind Singh has employed with telling effect, powerful rhythmic and flowing alliterative diction — a mixture of Braj Bhāshā, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Punjabi. Sanskrit words have been used both in their original (*tatsam*) and popular (*tadbhav*) forms. Words of Arabic and Persian origin have also been used in abundance. The peculiarity lies in fusing words of Sanskrit origin with those from Arabic and Persian. *Jāpu* is the example of a language popular in varying degrees in northern India when Bhākhā or Hindi was developing. Such verbal experiments served the purpose of imparting universality and catholicity to the expression.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ashta, Dharam Pal, *The Poetry of the Dasam Granth*. Delhi, 1959
2. Lochlin, C.H., *The Granth of Guru Gobind Singh and the Khalsa Brotherhood*. Lucknow, 1971
3. Gopal Singh, *Thus Spake the Tenth Master*. Patiala, 1978
4. Jaggi, Rattan Singh, *Dasam Granth Parichaya*. Delhi, 1990

5. Randhīr Singh, Bhāi, and Tāran Singh, ed., *Śabadārth Dasam Granth*. Patiala, 1977

Mp.S.

JĀPŪ, BHĀĪ, a Khatri of Vaṅsī sub-caste, was a devoted Sikh of Gurū Nānak.

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 19

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

JĀPŪ, BHĀĪ, a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. The Gurū taught him to join the *saṅgat* and practise *nām*, i.e. absorption in the Divine Name. Bhāi Jāpū's name is included among the Gurū's devotees in Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*.

See also Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 19

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JAPU PARAMĀRATH, by Bhāi Rām Kishan, is an unpublished manuscript of the exegesis of Gurū Nānak's *Japu*. The only manuscript copy is available at Acc. No. 612 in the Dashmesh Library, Anandpur — the other two in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, and the Khālsā College Library, Paṭiālā, having since been destroyed or lost. The exegete was a known Sevāpanthī saint, and he completed the work, as per the internal evidence in Amritsar manuscript, on Maghar *sudī* 2, 1853 Bk/22 November 1796: the date given in the Anandpur manuscript (Jeṭh *sudī* 6, 1856 Bk/27 May 1799) is obviously the one when the scribe copied it. According to Sevāpanthī tradition, Bhāi Rām Kishan was

born in 1845 Bk/AD 1788, but an analysis of the contents of this work reveals that he might have compiled it in maturer years.

According to Śambhū Nāth's *Japu Paramārath*, Gurū Nānak gave an exegesis of *Japu* to Gurū Aṅgad on his asking, but *Giān Ratanāvalī* says that Gurū Nānak's exegesis of *Japu* helped him overcome the *siddhas*. On the other hand, Bhāi Rām Kishan says that Gurū Nānak made the exegesis for the benefit of his two sons, Srī Chand and Lakhmī Chand, and his successor, Gurū Aṅgad.

The work begins with an invocation, in verse, to Gurū Nānak followed by a eulogy to *nām*. Thereafter begins the exegesis which is in prose. The author has first given meanings (sometimes more than one) of difficult words followed by the central theme of the verse which is supported by profuse examples from *gurbāṇī* and various Hindu scriptures. Quotations from Indian mythology also abound. Two prominent characteristics of this work are its exegesis in the Vedic tradition and treatment of different *paurīs* as a unified single whole. The language of the work is Sādh Bhākhā with significant influence of Braj. It is not brief and compact like its predecessors in the genre; rather a detailed prolix explanation is provided.

T.S.B.

JARG, village 19 km southwest of Khannā (30°-42'N, 76°-13'E) in Ludhiāṇā district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Hargobindpurā Sāhib, dedicated to Gurū Hargobind, who, according to local tradition, made a brief halt here in a grove, about 400 metres southwest of the village. This grove lay along an old cart track which connected Rauṅī to Jaṅḍālī but the track is no longer in existence. The place is now approached by Jarg-Sirthalā link road. A memorial platform, later replaced by a modest hut, existed here, while the villagers constructed a spacious shrine inside the village which they also call Gurdwārā Hargobindpurā

Sāhib. The Nihāᅇs of the Buddhā Dal have now constructed a *gurdwārā* at the older site. It comprises a square assembly hall and a couple of residential rooms. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in the middle of the hall.

M.G.S.

JARNAIL SINGH BHIᅇᅇRĀᅇVĀLE, SANT (1947-1984), a phenomenal figure of modern Sikhism who within his seven brief years of a total of 37, marked by a precipitous course, emerged as a man of extraordinary grit and charisma. Soon he came to be talked about in the far-flung academe as well as in political forums. Born in the year of Indian independence (1947), the son of Bābā Joginder Singh, a pious Brāᅇ Jatt farmer of moderate means, and Mātā Nihāl Kaur, of the village of Roᅇ, in Farīᅇᅇ district, he burst upon the world consciousness with an urgent message unmistakably delivered. He had a meteoric rise to fame and his photographs began to be avidly displayed on the front pages of newspapers and journals across the continents. Trained in a Sikh seminary to preach the holy word of the Gurūs, he stood face to face with history at several critical moments.

The youngest of seven brothers, Jarnail Singh was educated in the village primary school. He engaged himself in farming until 1965 when he joined the Damdamī ᅇaksāl of Bhiᅇᅇ Kalāᅇ village, about 15 km north of Mogā, then headed by Sant Gurbachan Singh Khālsā. Hence the epithet BhiᅇᅇRāᅇVāle. But his association with Bhiᅇᅇ village was only notional because Sant Gurbachan Singh, though associated with Gurdwārā Akhāᅇᅇ Parkāsh in Bhiᅇᅇ Kalāᅇ, usually took out his group of pupils on prolonged tours. Jarnail Singh underwent a one-year course in scriptural, theological and historical studies, at the hands of Sant Gurbachan Singh Khālsā partly during one of his tours but for the most part during his stay at Gurdwārā Sīs

Asthān Pātshāhī IX, near Nābhā Sāhib village, 15 km south of Chaᅇᅇᅇᅇ along the Chaᅇᅇᅇᅇ-Paᅇiālā road. In 1966, he rejoined his family and settled down to farming again. He was married in 1966 to Bibī Pritam Kaur, daughter of Bhāi Suchchā Singh of Bilāspur, and had two sons, Īshar Singh and Inderjīt Singh, born in 1971 and 1975 respectively. He continued his religious studies and also kept his close association with the ᅇaksāl, which after the death of Sant Gurbachan Singh Khālsā, in June 1969, was headed by Sant Kartār Singh Khālsā, who established his headquarters at Gurdwārā Gurdarshan Prakāsh at Mehtā Chowk, 25 km northeast of Amritsar along the road to Srī Hargobindpur. Sant Kartār Singh Khālsā was killed in a road accident. Before his death on 16 August 1977, he had mentioned the name of Sant Jarnail Singh as his successor as the new head of Damdamī ᅇaksāl. Sant Jarnail Singh was formally elected at the *bhog* (obsequies) ceremony in honour of Sant Kartār Singh Khālsā at Mehtā Chowk on 25 August 1977.

Sant Jarnail Singh exhibited remarkable enthusiasm in carrying out his missionary responsibilities. The primary task he addressed was the administrating of *amrit* (Khālsā baptism). He vehemently denounced drugs, alcoholic drinks and trimming of hair. He took special notice of the Nirāᅇᅇrī heresy which was undermining the Sikh structure. Opposition to the Nirāᅇᅇrīs had begun during the time of his predecessor, Sant Kartār Singh Khālsā. Matters came to a head on the Baisākhi day of 1978 when Nirāᅇᅇrīs held a convention at Amritsar. The Damdamī ᅇaksāl under Sant Jarnail Singh BhiᅇᅇRāᅇVāle and the Akhāᅇᅇ Kīrtani Jathā, another purely religious organization, protested against government allowing the Nirāᅇᅇrīs to hold their convention at a time the Sikhs were celebrating the birth anniversary of the Khālsā. Some of them who marched to the

site of the convention were fired upon by Nirañkāri guardsmen killing 13 of them on the spot and wounding 78 others. The episode brought Sant Bhiñdrānvāle into the political arena. He was sore against the Akālī Dal which was then leading the government in the Punjab and was partner in the central authority in Delhi. On 4 January 1980, two days before the Lok Sabhā poll, all the 64 Nirañkāri accused, including their chief Bābā Gurbachan Singh, being tried for the killing of Sikhs, were set at liberty, by the sessions judge of Karnāl in Haryāṇā. This embittered Sant Bhiñdrānvāle. The Hindu media in the Punjab took the part of the Nirañkāris on the plea of secularism. So did the Congress party which, on returning to power at the Centre, dismissed the Akālī government in the Punjab, where too fresh elections were held and Congress government installed.

On 9 September 1981, Lālā Jagat Narain, a press baron of Jalandhar, highly critical of Sant Bhiñdrānvāle, was assassinated. The Sant too had been a strong critic of Jagat Narain. The government suspected the Sant's hand in the murder and issued warrants for his arrest. He was then on a preaching tour in Haryāṇā and was camping at Chando Kalān village in Hissār district when a combined force of Punjab and Haryāṇā police raided the village to nab him. He himself escaped to the security of his own headquarters at Mehtā Chowk, but the police fired upon his *jathā* or band of disciples; their luggage was looted, and some of the sacred texts burnt. The Sant offered himself for arrest on 20 September 1981. This was followed by a spate of violence.

The Sant was released after the Central Home Minister, Giānī Zail Singh, declared in the Parliament on 14 October 1981 that there was no evidence against him to show his hand in Lālā Jagat Narain's murder. The Sant had seen through the Congress conspiracy loaded against the Sikhs. His arrest

and subsequent release raised the Sant's stature among the Sikh laity who, especially the youth, judging him against the moderate Akālī leadership, flocked under his banner in ever-increasing numbers. The Sant became increasingly outspoken. The government took notice of the change in Bhiñdrānvāle's stance and proceeded to take action against him. An attempt was made to arrest him while he was on a visit to Bombay and was staying in the Singh Sabhā Gurdwārā at Dādar on 20 April 1982, but Sant Bhiñdrānvāle was again able to reach safely in the Gurdwārā at Mehtā Chowk. On 19 July 1982 the police arrested Bhāi Amrik Singh son of the late Sant Kartār Singh Khālsā and president of the All India Sikh Students Federation. Another senior member of the Damdami Ṭaksāl, Bhāi Ṭhārā Singh, was arrested on the following day. Sant Bhiñdrānvāle felt highly provoked. Feeling that sanctuary at Mehtā Chowk was not safe enough, he moved to the Gurū Nānak Nivās rest house in the Darbār Sāhib complex in Amritsar on 20 July and called for a Panthic convention on 25 July at which he announced the launching of a *morchā* (campaign) for the release of his men.

Meanwhile, the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal had been conducting a *morchā* since April 1982 against the digging of Sutlej-Yamunā Link (S.Y.L.) canal which would divert part of Punjab's river waters to Haryāṇā. The agitation in spite of massive support from the Sikh peasantry was not bearing any tangible fruit because the site (Kapūrī village on the Haryāṇā-Punjab border where the Indian Prime Minister had inaugurated the digging of the canal on 6 April 1982) was in a remote corner away from the Dal's headquarters. The Dal now decided to transfer the agitation, now designated Dharam Yuddh or religious war, to Amritsar from 4 August 1982. Sant Jarnail Singh merged his own *morchā* with it, and thus became in a way the joint dictator of the entire Panth though he still

swore loyalty to the former dictator of the Akālī *morchā*, Sant Harchand Singh Lauᅇgovāl.

A further provocation to the Sikhs came from the behaviour of the Haryāᅇā government and police during the Asian Games held at Delhi in November 1982. Sikhs travelling from Punjab to Delhi or back were indiscriminately stopped, searched and humiliated. Violence in the Punjab was on the increase. It was becoming more and more clear that the government would seek a military solution of the unrest in Punjab rather than a political one. Sant Bhiᅇdrāᅇvāle exhorted the people to be prepared for a showdown. On 15 December 1983, he with his men entered the Akāl Takᅇt and with the help of a former major-general of the Indian Army, Shāᅇbeg Singh, prepared a network of defensive fortifications inside the complex collecting in the meanwhile a large stock of arms, ammunition and rations anticipating the possibility of a prolonged siege. The government on its part made elaborate plans for an army action while pretending all along its readiness for negotiations and denying any intention of sending armed forces inside the Darbār Sāᅇib complex. The Punjab was placed under the President's rule on 6 October 1983. An ordinance declaring parts of the state a disturbed area was promulgated, and the police was given power to search, arrest or even shoot whom they will with immunity from legal action. Six additional divisions of the army including especially trained para commandos were inducted into Punjab by the end of May 1984. On 1 June, while the Sikhs had started preparations in the Golden Temple for the observation of the martyrdom anniversary of Gurū Arjan, which fell on the 3rd of June, strict curfew was clamped on Amritsar and surrounding districts. The actual assault of the army's operation nicknamed Blue Star took place on the night of 5-6 June 1984. A

pitched battle ensued in which the army also used tanks and artillery. On the 7th of June the dead body of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhiᅇdrāᅇvāle was located in the basement of the Akāl Takᅇt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tully, Mark, and Satish Jacob, *Amritsar, Mrs Gandhi's Last Battle*. London, 1985
2. Khushwant Singh, *My Bleeding Punjab*. Delhi, 1992
3. Kuldip Nayar, *Tragedy of Punjab*. Delhi, 1984
4. Heir, Tārā Singh, *Mahān Hastī Sant Jarnail Singh Khālsā Bhiᅇdrāᅇvāle*. Vancouver, 1984

M.G.S.

JASPAT RĀI (d. 1746), a native of Kalānaur, in Gurdāspur district of the Punjab, was during Mughal times the *faujdār* of Eminābād, now in Gujraᅇwālā district of Pakistan. A wealthy *jāgirdār* and an influential courtier of Zakariyā Khān, the governor of Lahore, he once ransomed Lakhpat Rāi, his elder brother, who had been imprisoned for failure to discharge the dues of the army, as a result of which he was reinstated by Zakariyā Khān in his office of *dīwān* or revenue minister. Jaspat Rāi was in turn entrusted with the additional responsibility of checking the accounts of all the court nobles. Early in 1746, he was involved in a clash with a band of Sikhs which, driven from place to place by Lahore troops, had taken refuge in a thicket, near the village of Baddokī Gosāiᅇāᅇ, about 25 km north of Eminābād. Brought to bay in their hideout by Jaspat Rāi, they fought desperately. Nibāᅇhū Singh, a Raᅇghreᅇᅇā Sikh, catching hold of the tail of Jaspat's elephant leapt on to its back, struck off his head with a single blow of his sword and jumped down holding it in his hands. Seeing their master killed, the troops fled. Bāvā Kirpā Rām Gosāiᅇ of Baddokī, Jaspat Rāi's religious preceptor, ransomed his head on payment of 500 rupees, and performed the cremation rites. Dīwān Lakhpat Rāi, vowed to

avenge his brother's death, had a *samādh* built on the site.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prachīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914
2. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Panth Prakāsh* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
3. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Māhārājā Kauṛā Mall Bahādur*. Amritsar, 1922
4. Gandhi, Surjit Singh, *Struggle of the Sikhs for Sovereignty*. Delhi, 1980

S.S.G.

JASSĀ MALL (d. 1836), son of Dhanpat, a Brāhmaṇ shopkeeper, of the village of Ḍalvāl, in Jehlum district, joined Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh's service in 1809 as a clerk on five rupees a month. In 1816, he became a treasurer in the Belā Toshākhānā, the treasury for charitable purposes. The following year he was promoted *dāroghā* or custodian of the *toshākhānā*. On the conquest of Kashmīr in 1819, he became the treasurer of the new province. In 1832, he was given the contract for the revenues of Jehlum and Rohtās districts. He held this contract until his death in 1836. Miśr Lāl Singh, later known as Rājā Lāl Singh, was his son.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

H.R.G.

JASSĀ SINGH AHLŪVĀLĪĀ (1718-1783), founder of the *misl* or chiefship of the Ahlūvālīs, remnants of which lasted until recent years in the form of the princely state of Kapūrthalā, and commander of the Dal Khālsā who proclaimed in 1761 the sovereignty of the Sikhs, was born the son of Badar Singh at the village of Āhlū, near Lahore, on Baisākh *sudī* Pūranmāshī 1775 Bk/3 May 1718. Since his father had died when he was barely five years of age, he was taken by his mother

and her brother Bāgh Singh to Delhi where he grew up under the care of Mātā Sundarī, widow of Gurū Gobind Singh. On the eve of his return to the Punjab in 1729, Mātā Sundarī bestowed upon him a sword, a mace, a shield, a bow and a quiver full of arrows, a dress and a silver staff predicting that he would rise to eminence. On his arrival in the Punjab, Jassā Singh joined, at Kartārpur, the *jathā* or military band of (Nawāb) Kapūr Singh, who was deeply impressed by the young man's cōurage and ambition. When during his first invasion of the Punjab in January 1748, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī moved southwards from Lahore, the Sikh *sardārs* under Nawāb Kapūr Singh and Jassā Singh Āhlūvālīā caused him much harassment at Nūr dī Sarāi and Vairovāl. Jassā Singh was one of the leading *sardārs* who two months later defeated a strong Mughal force commanded by Salābat Khān in an action at Amritsar.

On the Baisākhī of 1748, a general assembly of Sikhs was convened at Amritsar which resolved to consolidate the sixty-five roving Sikh *jathās* into one command called Dal Khālsā under Jassā Singh. Its 11 subdivisions were called *misl*s; the twelfth *misl* Phūlkiān traced a separate origin. Persecution by the ruling Mughal authority meanwhile became more virulent. Under Mir Mannū (Mu'in ud-Dīn), *sūbahdār* of Lahore from 1748 to 1753, numerous punitive detachments roamed the country to hunt out the Sikhs. After the death on 7 October 1753 of Nawāb Kapūr Singh, Jassā Singh started seizing villages and towns in the Punjab thrown into confusion with the passing away of Mir Mannū in November 1753 and established the system of *rākhī*, protection cess or tax received for the security provided. The Dal Khālsā, under Jassā Singh, routed in April 1754 an Afghan force from Lahore which had laid siege to Amritsar. In 1757, Jassā Singh struck at the rearguard of Taimūr Shāh whom his father, Ahmad Shāh, had appoint-

ed governor of Lahore and who was marching towards the city after sacking Kartārpur.

In response to the request of Ādinā Beg, who, after his dismissal from the governorship of Lahore, was attacked by the Durrānīs from Lahore under Murād Khān and Buland Khān, Jassā Singh came to his rescue and defeated the Durrānīs at Māhalpur, in the Jalandhar Doāb. In March 1758, the combined force of Ādinā Beg, the Marāṭhās, and the Sikhs ransacked Sirhind and then marched upon Lahore. The Dal Khālsā, led by Jassā Singh and other *sardārs*, took a decisive part in reinstalling, in April 1758, Ādinā Beg in Lahore.

In October 1759, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī crossed the Indus and invaded northern India for the fifth time. For 15 months he was occupied subjugating the Marāṭhās and the Jāts of Bharatpur. On 17 January 1761, he finally defeated the Marāṭhās at Pānīpat. During this period the Dal Khālsā established its authority in the Mālvā and Mājhā regions, exacted *rākhī* and levied *nazarānās* on Mughal as well as on Afghān satraps. The Sikhs under the leadership of Jassā Singh made a surprise attack on the Shāh's force near Amritsar in March 1761 and rescued 2,200 women captives whom the invader was carrying in his train as slaves. A combined force of Sukkarchakkīā, Kanhaiyā and Bhaṅgī *sardārs* worsted the troops of Khwājā Ubaid Khān, the Afghān governor of Lahore, near Gujranwālā in September 1761, victorious Sikhs pursuing him to the walls of Lahore. The city was besieged and occupied by the Sikhs without any resistance. Jassā Singh Ahlūvālīā was proclaimed King of Lahore with the title of Sultān ul-Qaum (King of the Nation). A coin was issued in the name of Gurū Nānak-Gurū Gobind Singh commemorating the Sikh victory with the inscription taken from the seal of Bandā Singh Bahādur:

*Deg o tegh o fateh o nusrat be dīving
Yāft az Nānak Gurū Gobind Singh*

(Prosperity, power and unfailing victory received from Nānak and Gurū Gobind Singh)

On hearing the news of the fall of Lahore, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī hastened towards the Punjab. This was in 1762 — his sixth incursion into India. The Sikhs retired to the south of the Sutlej. The Shāh sent orders to all his *faujdārs* in the Punjab to join forces with Zain Khān, the governor of Sirhind. He set out from Lahore with a mammoth army estimated at 1,50,000 strong, and covering a distance of about 250 km in fewer than 36 hours reached Mālerkoṭlā on 5 February. The Dal Khālsā, under the leadership of *sardārs* such as Jassā Singh, Shiām Singh and Charhat Singh lay encamped at Kup, 9 km from Mālerkoṭlā. In the battle which followed about 25,000 Sikhs (figure given in the Persian source *Tahmās Nāmāh*) were killed, Jassā Singh Ahlūvālīā sustaining twenty-two wounds on his body. The battle of Kup is still remembered in Sikh history as Vaḍḍā Ghallūghārā or the Major Holocaust. Returning to Lahore, Ahmad Shāh marched to Amritsar and had the Holy Harimandar blown up with gunpowder. Under the shadow of the carnage at Kup and the disaster at Amritsar, Jassā Singh, with the remnants of the Dal Khālsā, was waiting for his opportunity. While the Shāh was still in Lahore, he fell upon Sirhind on 17 May 1762 and exacted *nazarānā* from Zain Khān, the *faujdār*. In April 1763, he marched into the Jalandhar Doāb and, after defeating the *faujdār*, Sa'ādat Khān, occupied Kāṭhgarh and Garhshaṅkar. The Bhaṅgīs and the Sukkarchakkīās joined Jassā Singh, and their combined force defeated the Afghān commander, Jahān Khān, near Siālkoṭ, in November 1763. The Dal Khālsā was again active and the Kanhaiyā, Rāmgarhīā, Bhaṅgī and Sukkarchakkīā forces assembled under the command of Jassā Singh at Ropar. They occupied Kurālī and Moriṇḍā, and

attacked Sirhind on 14 January 1764. The Afghān *faujdar*, Zain Khān, was killed and the town laid waste.

On 17 April 1765, Sikhs reoccupied Lahore. The Dal Khālsā had during the preceding year carried their arms into the trans-Yamunā territories of Najib ud-Daulah, the *vakil-i-mutliq* (plenipotentiary) of Emperor Shāh Ālam of Delhi. When in 1765, the Durrānī came again, he was obliged to be conciliatory and he wrote to Jassā Singh and other *sardars* seeking an agreement with regard to the future political set-up in the Punjab, but the *sardars* spurned his overtures. Jassā Singh and the Dal Khālsā now had time to consolidate their conquests. The Indian empire of the Durrānīs lay in ruins. Najib ud-Daulah, alarmed at the growing influence of the Sikhs, resigned, and Emperor Shāh Ālam opened correspondence with Jassā Singh and other Sikh chiefs with a view to securing his trans-Yamunā territories against their raids. The new *wazir* of the emperor, Abdul Ahad Khān, who had led an imperial force against Rājā Amar Singh of Paṭiālā in 1779, was beaten back by Jassā Singh. He returned the entire tribute collected from the Sikhs and paid Rs 7,00,000 as an indemnity to the Dal Khālsā.

As a leader of the Dal Khālsā, Jassā Singh had organized the Sikhs militarily, overthrown Afghān power in northern India and won from the Mughal emperor the right for Sikhs to rule independently over territories they had wrested from the Afghāns. The *sūbā* of Sirhind came under the Phūlkīān chiefs; Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, was given over to the Bhaṅgīs; the Jalandhar Doāb was parcelled out among several of the *misl*s; and the foundations of the Ahlūvālīā principality laid firmly at Kapūrthālā. Besides his leadership in the military and political spheres, Jassā Singh was widely revered for his deeply religious and pious character. It was considered especially meritorious to receive *amrit*, the Sikh rites, at his hands.

Mahārājā Amar Singh of Paṭiālā was among those who sought him to administer to them the vows of initiation.

Jassā Singh died on 20 October 1783 at the age of 65 and a *samādh* or cenotaph in his honour stands in the precincts of Gurdwārā Bābā Aṭal, near the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Rām Sukh Rāo, *Jassā Singh Binod* (MS.)
2. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Sardār Jassā Singh Ahlūvālīā*. Patiala, 1969
3. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. IV. Delhi, 1982
4. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Panjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.
5. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963
6. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *History of the Panjab*. Delhi, 1964
7. Gopal Singh, *A History of the Sikh People*. Delhi, 1979
G.S.

JASSĀ SINGH NAUSHEHRĀ NAṄGLĪ (b. 1793), son of Kāhn Singh was born to Shergil Sikh family of Naushehrā Naṅgal, a village in Amritsar district. One Chaudharī Sarvānī, a descendant of Sher, founder of the tribe, built the village of Naushehrā, also called Rāipur Sarvānī, during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān. The emperor allowed him to hold it free of rent as a remuneration for the collection of revenue from the districts around it. The family retained the office of *chaudharīat* for several generations and continued collecting revenue and depositing it into the imperial treasury till at last Mirzā Singh, grandfather of Jassā Singh, joined the Kanhaiyā Sardars about 1752. Jassā Singh's father first served the Kanhaiyās and, after their fall, Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. When Desā Singh Majīthīā took over governorship of the hill districts lying between the Beās and the Rāvī, both Jassā Singh and his father served under him, performing

military as well as civil duties. Jassā Sīngh held charge of the Golden Temple at Amritsar for two years under Lahiṇā Sīngh Majīṭhīā. He continued to be in the employ of the Sikh government until the advent of the British who dispensed with his services. He was allowed to retain lands worth Rs 2,800 annually, mainly in Gurdāspur district. His son, Harnām Sīngh, served as deputy inspector of police under the British.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JASSĀ SĪNGH RĀMGARHĪĀ (1723-1803), founder of the Rāmgarhīā chiefship and one of the prominent military leaders of the Sikhs in the second half of the eighteenth century, was born in 1723 at Īchogill, a village 20 km east of Lahore. His grandfather, Hardās Sīngh (d. 1716) had received *pāhul*, the vows of the Khālsā, at the hands of Gurū Gobind Sīngh and had fought in the campaigns of Bandā Sīngh Bahādur. His father, Bhagvān Sīngh was killed in a fight against Nādir Shāh during his invasion of India in 1739. Young Jassā Sīngh then joined the *jathā* of Nand Sīngh Sānghaṇīā and learnt the art of warfare at an early age. In 1745, he was deputed to settle terms with Ādīnā Beg, the *faujdār* of the Jalandhar Doāb, who was harassing the Sikhs under instructions from Nawāb Zakarīyā Khān, the Mughal governor of Lahore. The wily *faujdār*, Ādīnā Beg, prevailed upon Jassā Sīngh to accept office under him, with a minor command of a regiment consisting of 100 Sikhs and 60 Hindus. The Sikhs were greatly annoyed at the conduct of their envoy, but Jassā Sīngh did not remain with Ādīnā Beg for long. When in October 1748, the Sikhs gathered at Amritsar to celebrate the festival of Dīvālī, Mīr Mannū, the new provincial governor, marched upon the city to expel the Sikhs. The Sikhs disappeared

into the neighbouring jungle, but 500 of them took shelter within their newly built fortress, Rām Rauṇī, and defied the Mughal force. The mud-fortress was besieged and skirmishes continued for four months in which two hundred Sikhs lost their lives. The survivors requested Jassā Sīngh to come to their rescue. Jassā Sīngh left Ādīnā Beg, and made an appeal to Kaurā Mall, the Dīwān of Lahore and a Sahajdhārī Sikh, to save the Sikhs from destruction. At the Dīwān's intercession, Mīr Mannū raised the siege, though the fortress of Rām Rauṇī was completely destroyed.

Mīr Mannū's death in November 1753 plunged the Punjab into anarchy. The Sikhs again emerged into the open and decided to rebuild the Rām Rauṇī fort. Jassā Sīngh was assigned to this task and he, with the help of his contingent, reconstructed the fortress and named it Rāmgarh. Since then Jassā Sīngh, earlier known as Īchogillīā after the name of his village, or *ṭhokā* (carpenter, the caste he came from) began to be called Rāmgarhīā in appreciation of the work done by him.

In April 1758, Ādīnā Beg became governor of the Punjab. He sent a strong force under Mīr 'Aziz Baḳhshī to clear the forests in which Sikhs had taken shelter. A large number of them including Jassā Sīngh Rāmgarhīā, Jai Sīngh Kanhaiyā and Amar Sīngh Kiṅgrā, fled to Amritsar and took shelter in the fortress. Rāmgarh was besieged. Jassā Sīngh and Jai Sīngh made numerous sallies killing a large number of the besiegers, but were ultimately forced to evacuate. After Ādīnā Beg's death in September 1758, the roving bands of the Sikhs returned. Jassā Sīngh Rāmgarhīā and Jai Sīngh Kanhaiyā united and within a short time they seized large slices of territory in four out of the five Doābs; they occupied the fertile tract called Riārki to the north of Amritsar embracing the district of Gurdāspur. Within a decade Jassā Sīngh became one of the leading fig-

ures of the Dal *Khālsā*. In 1770, he led plundering expeditions into the hills. The local *rājās* sought safety in submission and Jassā Singh collected a tribute of 2,00,000 rupees from the *Kānḡrā* states. He built a fort at *Talvārā* on the left bank of the *Beās* and stationed his brother, *Mālī Singh*, with 4,000 horse, in the fort. Jassā Singh *Rāmgarhīā* along with other Sikh *sardārs*, fought many a pitched battle against the *Afghān* invader, *Ahmad Shāh Durrānī*.

As the *Afghān* threat receded, the Sikh *sardārs* began fighting among themselves. The *Rāmgarhīā-Kanhaiyā* cleavage over their adjoining territories in the districts of *Gurdāspur* and *Hoshiārpur* widened. In the battle of *Dinānagar* in 1775, Jassā Singh *Rāmgarhīā* joined the *Bhaṅgī sardārs* against the forces of the *Kanhaiyās* and the *Sukkarchakkīās*. Soon a rift appeared between Jassā Singh *Rāmgarhīā* and Jassā Singh *Āhlūvālīā* when the latter wrested *Zahūrā*, a *Rāmgarhīā* territory, and conferred it upon *Baghel Singh Karoṣīnḡhīā*. Jassā Singh *Rāmgarhīā* and Jassā Singh *Āhlūvālīā* became sworn enemies of each other. *Jai Singh Kanhaiyā* joined Jassā Singh *Āhlūvālīā* and the *Rāmgarhīā Sardār* had to flee the *Punjab*.

Driven out of the *Punjab*, Jassā Singh became a soldier of fortune. He took possession of *Hissār* and raised a large body of irregular horse, his depredations extending to the gates of *Delhi* and its suburbs and into the *Gangetic Doāb*. Jassā Singh and other Sikh chiefs conquered *Delhi* and entered the *Red Fort*. Jassā Singh *Āhlūvālīā* ascended the throne on 11 March 1783, but Jassā Singh *Rāmgarhīā* challenged his right to do so at which the *Āhlūvālīā* chief vacated the royal seat. Jassā Singh *Rāmgarhīā* then invaded *Meerut* and levied an annual tribute of 10,000 rupees on the *Nawāb*. Soon a body of 30,000 horse and foot under him and *Karam Singh* crossed into *Sahāranpur* district, ravaging it freely.

After the death of Jassā Singh *Āhlūvālīā*

in October 1783, there were further fissures in the *Dal Khālsā*. *Jai Singh Kanhaiyā* and *Mahān Singh Sukkarchakkīā* fell out. *Mahān Singh* won over to his side *Rājā Saṅsār Chand* of *Kānḡrā* and invited Jassā Singh *Rāmgarhīā* to come back to the *Punjab* and make a bid to recover his lost possessions. Jassā Singh *Rāmgarhīā* returned to the *Punjab* and allied himself with the *Sukkarchakkīās* in order to destroy his old foe, *Jai Singh Kanhaiyā*. Together they marched upon the *Kanhaiyā* citadel of *Baṭālā* in 1787. *Jai Singh* was defeated and his son *Gurbakhsh Singh* killed. Jassā Singh recovered all his lost territories and set himself up at *Baṭālā*, which he fortified by a thick wall.

At the height of his power, Jassā Singh's territory in the *Bāri Dcāb* included *Baṭālā*, *Kalānaur*, *Dinānagar*, *Srī Hargobindpur*, *Shāhpur Kaṇḍī*, *Gurdāspur*, *Qādīān*, *Ghumān*, *Mattevāl*, and in the *Jalandhar Doāb*, *Uṛmuṛ Ṭaṇḍā*, *Sarīh*, *Miānī*, *Garhdīvālā* and *Zahūrā*. In the hills *Kānḡra*, *Nūrpur*, *Maṇḍī* and *Chambā* paid him a tribute of two lakh of rupees.

Jassā Singh died on 20 April 1803 at the age of 80.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. IV. Delhi 1982
2. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Panjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.
3. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963

H.R.G.

JASSĪ, also called Jassī *Bāgvālī* to distinguish it from another village of the same name, is an old village 23 km from *Baṭhiṇḍā* (30°-14'N, 74°-59'E). It claims an historical shrine commemorating the visit of *Gurū Gobind Singh* who broke journey here while travelling from *Muktsar* through *Lakkhī Jungle* to *Talvaṇḍī Sābo* in 1706. According to legend popularized by an anonymous and undated

old chronicle, *Sākhī Pothī*, Gurū Gobind Singh, on approaching Jassī, waded through the village pond on horseback. As he came out at the other bank, the black coat of the horse and the blue robes of the Gurū turned white. The pond, since developed into a 70-metre square *sarovar* with brick-lined embankment and steps, is called Baggsar, or the White Tank (*baggā* in Punjabi means white), and the shrine constructed near its southern bank is known as Gurdwārā Sri Baggsar Sāhib Pātshāhī Dasvīn. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, but is managed by Nihāṅgs of the Buddhā Dal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giāni, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. *Mālwa Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
4. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārikh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JASVANT SINGH, RĀJĀ (1775-1840), succeeded his father, Rājā Hamīr Singh, to the throne of Nābhā in 1783 at the age of eight, under the guardianship of his stepmother, Māi Deso, a very resourceful and energetic woman. In 1790, after the death of Māi Deso, he assumed the reins of government into his own hands. Jasvant Singh conducted protracted campaigns, first against Jīnd and then against Paṭiālā, to regain disputed territory for his state. His feud with Jīnd ended in 1789 with the death of the Jīnd chief, Gajpat Singh. With the help of General Perron of the Marāṭhā service, he succeeded in checking the advance of the Irish adventurer, George Thomas. In 1804, he entered into alliance with Lord Lake against Jasvant Rāo Holkar. In 1805, Rājā Jasvant Singh in company with Rājā Bhāg Singh of Jīnd appealed to Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh to arbitrate his dispute with Paṭiālā and though the dispute was

not resolved, Jasvant Singh was able to extend his territory with grants from Ranjīt Singh. Despite these favours, Jasvant Singh joined hands with the other Sutlej princes under the treaty of 1809. Jasvant Singh helped the British in the Gurkhā war in 1814 as well as in the Kābul campaign in 1838.

Rājā Jasvant Singh was a popular prince much loved by his subjects. Writing about him, Sir David Ochterlony, British diplomat and soldier, said, "Jaswant Singh is one of the principal Sirdars under our protection and by far superior in manner, management, and understanding to any of them I have yet seen." Sir Lepel Griffin considered him "the nearest approach to the civilized among the whole set of rude barons."

Rājā Jasvant Singh died at Nābhā on 22 May 1840.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, *The Rajas of the Punjab* [Reprint]. Delhi, 1977
2. Ganda Singh, *The Patiala and East Punjab States Union*. Patiala, 1951

S.S.B.

JASWANT SINGH (1896-1964), the youngest of the trinity of Jhabāl brothers who were all active in the Gurdwārā Reform movement, was born on 17 June 1896 at the village of Jhabāl, in Amritsar district of the Punjab. After matriculating from Khālsā High School, Lahorē, in 1916, Jaswant Singh joined Khālsā College, Amritsar, but had to discontinue his studies owing to his father's death in 1918. Like his elder brothers, Amar Singh and Sarmukh Singh, Jaswant Singh began to devote his time to religious and social work while still very young. At the age of 23, he was elected president of the village Srī Gurū Singh Sabhā. Side by side with his brothers, he participated in the agitations for securing the resignation of the manager of Srī Darbār Sāhib, Amritsar, appointed by the British, for rebuilding the

Gurdwārā Rikābgañj wall and for the reformation of Gurdwārā Bābe dī Ber at Siālkoṭ in October 1920.

In 1920, he was elected joint secretary of the newly established district branch of the Sikh League. He was nominated a member of the first Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1920, and he headed the first Local Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee formed for the management of the Darbār Sāhib at Amritsar after the control of the Sikh shrines had passed into the hands of the Shiromaṇī Committee. He was also a member of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. In Akālī and Congress movements, he courted arrest several times. On 11 May 1921, he was jailed for six weeks for a public speech he delivered at Tarn Tāran following the Nankāṇā Sāhib tragedy.

On 26 November 1921, he was arrested for convening a *ḍivān* at Ajnālā in support of the *morchā* for re-claiming from the British keys of the Golden Temple treasury. He was arrested again in February 1922, for an alleged seditious speech he had delivered, and sentenced to jail. He was sent to the Derā Ghāzī Khān Jail, where he was asked to remove his black turban. He protested against this for which reason his sentence was enhanced by nine months. He was set free in February 1925. On 4 November 1925, he was elected general secretary of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. In the elections of 1926, he was elected a member of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and president of the Local Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Srī Darbār Sāhib, Amritsar. He became president of the Darbār Sāhib Committee in the elections of 1933 as well, but he broke away from the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal and joined hands with its rival, Central Akālī Dal. Gradually, he receded from the political scene and died in obscurity on 14 July 1964 at Chaṇḍigarh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ashok, Shamsher Singh, *Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Kameṭī dā Pañjāh Sālā Itihās*. Amritsar, 1982
2. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975
3. Piār Singh, *Tejā Singh Samundrī*. Amritsar, 1975
4. Teja Singh, *Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening*. Jalandhar, 1922
5. Mohinder Singh, *The Akālī Movement*. Delhi, 1978

Jg.S.

JASWANT SINGH, BHAGAT (1881-1967), prominent in the Gurdwārā Reform movement of 1920-25, was born at Rāwalpiṇḍī, now in Pakistan, on 15 Poh 1938 Bk/27 December 1881, the son of Chaudharī Sajjan Singh. After matriculating from Mission School, Rāwalpiṇḍī, he passed his B.A. examination from Gordon College, Rāwalpiṇḍī. In 1921, he became a member of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, and was elected its general secretary on 16 July 1922. He was arrested in connection with the Gurū kā Bāgh agitation and was released on 14 March 1923. He suffered jail again in the Jaito *morchā*. He was set free on 26 January 1926 and, when fresh elections to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee took place, he was elected a member. Though he was re-elected in 1930, he gradually withdrew himself from *gurdwārā* politics to be able to give more time to the family's business.

Bhagat Jaswant Singh died in Ambālā on 22 August 1967.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Piār Singh, *Tejā Singh Samundrī*. Amritsar, 1975
2. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975
3. —*Akālī Lahir de Mahān Netā*. Amritsar, 1976
4. Mohinder Singh, *The Akālī Movement*. Delhi, 1978

Mt.S.

JATAULI, a village 5 km south of Nūrpur

Bedī in Ropar District of Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Gobind Singh, who, according to local tradition, came here from Basālī after the battle of Nirmohgarh in October 1700, and stayed for a short time. Gurdwārā Damdamā Sāhib Pātshāhī Dasvīñ commemorates the Gurū's visit. The Gurdwārā, comprising a 5x3-metre room with a 2-metre-wide verandah in front, stands in the middle of the village. In the courtyard Nishān Sāhib, the Sikh standard, flies atop a 6-metre high flagpost. The Gurdwārā is managed by the local *sañgat*.

Gn.S.

JATHĀ, from Sanskrit *yūṭha* meaning a herd, flock, multitude, troop, band or host, signifies in the Sikh tradition a band of volunteers coming forth to carry out a specific task, be it armed combat or a peaceful and non-violent agitation. It is not clear when the term *jathā* first gained currency, but it was in common use by the first half of the eighteenth century. After the arrest and execution of Bandā Singh Bahādur in 1716, the terror let loose by the Mughal government upon the Sikhs forced them to leave their homes and hearths and move about in small bands or *jathās*, each grouped around a *jathedār* or leader who came to occupy this position on account of his daring spirit and capacity to win the confidence of his comrades. For every able-bodied Sikh who had undergone the vows of the *Khālsā*, it became necessary to join one or the other *jathā* to fight against the oppressors. Besides skill in the use of arms, he had to be a good horseman, because in guerilla warfare, such as the Sikhs had to resort to against the superior might of the State, speed and mobility were of paramount importance. The weaponry, in the beginning, ranged from knobbed clubs, spears and battle axes to bow and arrows and matchlocks. A long sword and a dagger were of course carried by every member of the *Khālsā*. Some of them wore armour,

but no helmets. During raids on enemy columns and baggage trains, the booty most valued was good horses and matchlocks so that most of the *jathās* were gradually equipped with firearms. Heavy artillery pieces were not favoured, as they impeded mobility and speed. However, as Ratan Singh Bhañgū, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*, says, they did carry lighter pieces such as *zambūraks* or camel swivels and long-range muskets, called *janjails*. Usually, each *jathā* had to fend for itself; yet it was necessary to co-ordinate its activities with those of others and operate under an overall plan. The diverse *jathās* voluntarily accepted the control of Sarbatt *Khālsā*, the assembly of all the Sikh *jathās* at Amritsar on the occasions of Baisākhī and Dīvālī when plans of action were formulated in the form of *gurmātās* or resolutions adopted in the presence of Gurū Granth Sāhib.

The brief respite provided by a temporary detente with the government during 1733-35 enabled the Sikh *jathās* to assemble and stay in strength at Amritsar with immunity. Nawāb Kapūr Singh, their chosen leader, knit the entire force into two *dals*, i.e. branches or sections — the Buḍḍhā Dal (army of the old) and Taruṇā Dal (army of the young). Taruṇā Dal was further divided into five *jathās* each with its own flag. With the end of the detente and the renewal of State persecution with redoubled vigour, the Sikhs had again recourse to smaller and more numerous *jathās*. Need for co-ordination forced them again to regroup themselves on the Dīvālī of 1745 into 25 *jathās*, but the number multiplied again. 'Alī ud-Dīn Muftī, *'Ibrat Nāmāh*, mentions 65 *jathās*. They were finally reorganized on the Baisākhī of 1748 into 11 *mīsls*, under the overall command of Jassā Singh Āhlūvālīā. The entire fighting force of the Sikhs was named Dal *Khālsā* Jī. The *mīsls* were large bodies of mounted warriors and might have been divided into sub-units, but the terms *jathā* and *jathedār* gradually fell into disuse. The leaders of *mīsls* and

the Dal Khālsā preferred to be called *sardārs*, a term borrowed from the Afghān invaders under Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. The establishment of monarchy under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh put an end to all these older institutions — *jathā*, *misl*, Dal Khālsā, Sarbatt Khālsā and *gurmatā*.

During the religious revival of the later nineteenth century, the Sikh reformers adopted the term Khālsā *Dīwān* for their central bodies and Singh *Sabhā* for the local branches as well as for the entire movement. The term *jathā* was generally restricted to bands of preachers and choirs, a connotation still in vogue. It was during the Gurdwārā Reform movement of the early twentieth century that *dal* and *jathā* reappeared. The apex body of Sikh agitators for political action for the liberation of their shrines from the *mahants*, the effete priestly class, came to be named the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal and its locally organized branches Akālī Jathās. During the subsequent *morchās* or peaceful agitations organized by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, a body that later got statutory recognition under the Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925, and by the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal, which emerged as the major political party of the Sikhs, each band of volunteers going forward to press a demand or to defy an unjust fiat of the government, was called a *jathā*. This use of the term is still prevalent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914
2. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Sardār Jassā Singh Āhlūwālā*. Patiala, 1969
3. Forster, George, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, 2 vols. London, 1798
4. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963
5. Bhagat Singh, *Sikh Polity in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Delhi, 1978
6. Gandhi, Surjit Singh, *Struggle of the Sikhs for Sovereignty*.

Delhi, 1980

7. Fauja Singh, *Military System of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1964
B.S.

JĀTĪ MALL (d. 1642), also referred to as Jātī Malik or Malak Jātī, was the son of Bhāi Singhā who laid down his life for Gurū Hargobind in the battle of Amritsar (1629). Brāhmaṇ by birth, Singhā was the family priest of the Sodhīs. He converted to Sikhism and became a skilled warrior. Likewise, his son, Jātī Mall, practised the manly arts and took part in all the battles fought by Gurū Hargobind. Among his trusted commanders, he ranked next only to Balaī Bidhī Chand and Rāi Jodh. He is said to have trained Gurū Tegh Bahādur in his boyhood in the use of arms. In the battles of Mehrāj in December 1634, Jātī Mall was wounded in the chest by an arrow-shot, but made a quick recovery. He died at Kīratpur in 1642. His son, Dayā Rām, remained in the service of the Gurūs and fought valiantly in the battle of Bhaṅgānī in 1688.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevīn*. Patiala, 1970
2. Senapati, Kavi, *Srī Gur Sobhā*. Patiala, 1980
3. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
4. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
5. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1982

A.C.B.

JATPURĀ, village adjacent to Lammān, 14 km from Rāikoṭ (30°-39'N, 75°-37'E) in Ludhiānā district on the Gurū Gobind Singh Mārg, is believed to have been visited by Gurū Hargobind during his sojourn in the Mālva country in 1631-32. Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Hargobind Sāhib Bandī Chhor commemorates that visit. It consists of a rectangular hall with a verandah on three sides and a domed room on the first floor. A residential room and the Gurū kā Laṅgar are at the back. The Gurdwārā is managed

by Sant Ajaib Singh of Bopārāi, who also controls Gurdwārā Gurū Sar Pañjauāṇā at Lammān.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twāriḡh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
M.G.S.

JATṬŪ, BHĀĪ, a learned Tivārī Brāhmaṇ, who accepted Sikh faith at the hands of Gurū Arjan. The Gurū taught him to have belief in Gurū Nānak, who had revealed the Divine Truth to mankind.

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI.19

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JATṬŪ, BHĀĪ (d. 1621), a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Hargobind known for his fighting skill. In the battle of Ruhelā he was despatched at the head of two hundred warriors to meet the attacking Mughal force from Jalandhar. Towards the end of the action that ensued, Bhāi Jatṭū challenged the commander of the enemy vanguard, Muhammad Khān, to a duel. Musket shots of both having gone astray, they, narrates Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, took up bows and arrows. "This time the arrows from both ends found their respective targets and the two warriors fell together mortally wounded, as men from both sides looked on."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevīn*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.

JATṬŪ, BHĀĪ, an ascetic of Jaunpur, received

instruction at the hands of Gurū Hargobind and became a follower. According to Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 31, he dedicated the rest of his life to *sevā*, humble, dedicated service, and to preaching the Sikh faith.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Vir Singh, Bhāi, ed., *Vārān Bhāi Gurdās*. Amritsar, 1912

Gn.S.

JATṬŪ BHANḌĀRĪ, BHĀĪ, a Khatrī of Shāhdarā near Lahore, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. His name is included among the Gurū's devotees in Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JATṬŪ BHĪVĀ, BHĀĪ, a Khatrī Sikh of Gurū Arjan's time. He once visited the Gurū at Amritsar and received instruction from him. His name figures in Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI.20.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JATṬŪ CHADḌHĀ, BHĀĪ, a Khatrī of ChadḌhā clan, was initiated a Sikh by Gurū Arjan. The Gurū taught him always to remember God and to dedicate himself to the service of others. His name appears in Bhāi

Gurdās, *Varān*, XI.20.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JAUNPUR (25°-47'N, 82°-40'E), a district town in Uttar Pradesh, situated on the bank of the River Gomatī, claims a historical *gurdwārā* known as Gurdwārā Tap Asthān Srī Gurū Tegh Bahādur Jī (Baṛī Saṅgat) or simply Gurdwārā Baṛī Saṅgat. A Sikh *saṅgat* was in existence in Jaunpur when Gurū Tegh Bahādur passed by travelling from the Punjab to the eastern parts in 1665. Bhāi Gurbakhsh, a melodious singer of the divine hymns, called on the Gurū, along with the Jaunpur *saṅgat*, at Vārāṇasī. In appreciation of his enchanting *kīrtan*, the Gurū bestowed on him the gift of a *mridaṅg* (a double-sided Indian drum). From that day the *saṅgat* at Jaunpur came to be called Mridaṅgvālī Saṅgat. While returning from Patnā to the Punjab, Gurū Tegh Bahādur stayed for a while with Bhāi Gurbakhsh at Jaunpur. A platform was raised commemorating the Gurū's visit. A *gurdwārā* was constructed over it later. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in a commodious rectangular hall. A platform built inside a separate small room represents the Tap Asthān, the spot where Gurū Tegh Bahādur sat in meditation. Many persons, especially ladies, observe *chālīsā* here to have their wishes fulfilled. On top of a sandy mound on the river bank not far from the Gurdwārā, there is a ruined hut by the side of a narrow well. This hut and about two acres of land around it in the revenue village of Chāchakpur are still shown in the name of Gurdwārā Baṛī Saṅgat. According to local tradition, this was the spot where the Gurū during his brief stay at Jaunpur used to bathe in the river

early in the morning and then sit in meditation.

There used to be another shrine in Jaunpur known as Chhoṭī Saṅgat. It was located in a private house in Rāo Maṅḍal Mohallā. Till the death of the last Sikh occupant of this house, Sardār Jawāhar Singh, in the mid-1960's, it was functioning as a *saṅgat* with the Gurū Granth Sāhib installed in it. There used to be in this *saṅgat* an old hand-written copy of Gurū Granth Sāhib as well as a steel arrow handed down from Gurū Tegh Bahādur. Both these are now kept in Gurdwārā Baṛī Saṅgat. There are, in fact, two hand-written *bīṛs*, holy volumes, in that Gurdwārā — one of them transcribed in 1742 Bk/AD 1685 and the other in 1801 Bk/AD 1744.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twāriḅh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JAVĀLĀ SINGH, son of Desā Singh of Rājā Sānsī, in Amritsar district, accompanied Thākur Singh Sandhānvālīā to England in 1884 to call on the deposed sovereign of the Punjab, Duleep Singh, and stayed there for nine months as the Mahārājā's guest. In February 1887, Javālā Singh joined Thākur Singh in Pondicherry, a French colony near Madrās, where the latter had set up an emigre government on behalf of the Mahārājā. The same year, Thākur Singh died and Javālā Singh was charged with bringing his ashes to his ancestral village, Rājā Sānsī. In the Punjab, he remained under police surveillance for some time and was once arrested for interrogation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ganda Singh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement in the*

Panjab (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence). Patiala, 1972

K.S.T.

JAVĀLĀ SĪNGH (1866-1938), one of the pioneers of the *Ghadr* movement of 1914-15, was born about the year 1866 at *Ṭhaṭṭiān*, a village in Amritsar district of the Punjab. His father, Kanhaiyā Sīng, was a farmer of limited means. Javālā Sīng was an ambitious youth and left home in 1905 to seek his fortune abroad. Visiting China, Panama and Mexico, he reached California in the United States of America in 1908. He soon came in contact with Bābā Vasākhā Sīng of Dadehar, an old acquaintance of his, and they took on lease a farm of 500 acres of land near Sacramento, the capital of the state of California. Their hard work was rewarded and they made a reputation for themselves as growers of potatoes. The farm served as a meeting-place for Indian immigrants and all newcomers received here a warm welcome as well as hospitality. This led Javālā Sīng and his colleagues to plan for the establishment of a permanent centre to provide for the religious, cultural and social needs of the growing Sikh community. The centre appeared in the form of a *gurdwārā* at Stockton which became in course of time a centre of revolutionary activity.

Javālā Sīng was deeply impressed by the freedom and liberty the people of America enjoyed. With a view to spreading this spirit among his own countrymen, Javālā Sīng and Vasākhā Sīng set up Gurū Nānak Educational Society and invited four students from India to come and study at American universities and offered to underwrite their expenses. His patriotic fervour earned him great popularity and he was elected vice-president of the California branch of the Hindi Association at its meeting held on 31 December 1913 at Sacramento. As the First World War broke out, Javālā Sīng along with some of his friends, toured the Pacific

Coast telling their countrymen that the ill-treatment they met with in America was the direct outcome of their inferior political status and that they must rise against the British and free their motherland from their control. An organization, the *Ghadr* Party, was established to bring about an armed rebellion in India. The *Ghadr* newspaper which, besides English, was published in Punjabi and several other Indian languages, was the mouthpiece of its revolutionary ideology. Javālā Sīng was amongst the leaders of the first large group of *Ghadr*ites which left San Francisco for India on 29 August 1914. At Yokohama, he visited Japanese traders and secretly secured from them some pistols. He attended a meeting in Hong Kong *Gurdwārā* where he was elected a member of the central committee finally to work out the details of the rising. At Singapore, Javālā Sīng and some other leaders tried to win over the Indian regiments to join the national revolt against the British. As soon as Javālā Sīng landed at Calcutta on 29 October 1914, he was taken into custody along with several others. He was tried in the first Lahore Conspiracy Case and was sentenced, on 13 September 1915, to transportation for life with forfeiture of property. According to the trial court, Javālā Sīng was one of the brains of the party. He remained in Jail for 18 years. After his release in 1933, he identified himself with the cause of Punjab peasantry and worked for the Punjabi paper, *Kirtī*, which voiced their grievances. One of the founders of the Punjab *Kisān* Sabhā, he was elected its first president. He was again arrested in 1935 and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for his work in the Punjab peasants' movement. While he was on his way to Bengal to attend a session of the All-India *Kisān* Conference, he met with a fatal accident and died on 9 May 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Puri, Harish K., *Ghadr Movement*. Amritsar, 1983

2. Jagjīt Sīngḥ *Ghadṛ Pārḥī Lahir*. Delhi, 1979
3. Sainsarā, Gurcharan Sīngḥ, *Ghadṛ Pārḥī dā Itihās*. Jalandhar, 1969

G.S.D.

JAVĀLĀ SĪNGH of Sūjovāl, a village in Gurdāspur district of the Punjab, was a prominent associate of Bhāi Mahārāj Sīngḥ (d. 1856), leader of the anti-British revolt of 1848-49. He remained with Mahārāj Sīngḥ during the second Anglo-Sikh war and escaped with him to Jammū after the final defeat of the Sikh forces. He was later deputed to work in the Mājḥā area and prepare the people for a fresh uprising.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahluwalia, M.L., *Bhai Maharaj Singh*. Patiala, 1972

M.L.A.

JAVĀLĀ SĪNGH, BHĀI SĀHIB (1872-1952), a renowned exponent of the Sikh devotional music, was born in 1872 at the village of Saidpur in Kapūrthalā district of the Punjab. His father, Bhāi Devā Sīngḥ and grandfather, Pañjāb Sīngḥ were in their day celebrated *rāgīs* or musicians who recited Sikh *kīrtan* to the accompaniment of *sarandā*, a stringed instrument. Javālā Sīngḥ excelled at *tāūs*, another stringed instrument, and at harmonium. He had at his command such an abundance of traditional and classical tunes, composition of some of which was traced back to the times of the Gurūs themselves, that he did not have to repeat a tune even when singing for weeks on end. He possessed a vast treasure of *dhunīs* or tunes, *paṛtāls*, *rītīs* or musical styles and traditional compositions.

Bhāi Javālā Sīngḥ learnt to read Punjabi from Bābā Pālā Sīngḥ, a *granthī*, or scripture-reader, in his own village. Then he was sent to the Nirmalā *ḍerā* or monastery at the village of Sekhvāñ, in Fīrozpur district, and put under the charge of Bābā Sardhā Sīngḥ, who taught him music. At the *ḍerā*, he also

studied the religious texts. For further training in music, Bābā Sardhā Sīngḥ sent him to Amritsar to be under the tutelage of another maestro, Bābā Vasāvā Sīngḥ, popularly known as Bābā Raṅgī Rām Sīngḥ. After completing his course at Amritsar, Javālā Sīngḥ returned to his village, Saidpur. Gradually he made his mark as a leading Sikh musician who was much in demand for performing *kīrtan* at congregations at far-flung places. He subscribed to the Sīngḥ Sabhā ideology which he zealously preached and, when the Akālī movement for the reformation of Gurdwārā management got underway, he jumped into it with equal enthusiasm. He courted arrest in the agitation for recovering the keys of the Golden Temple treasury taken away by the British deputy commissioner of Amritsar and in the Jaito *morchā* as a member of the first *jathā* or band of protesting volunteers as well as of the last. He was present at the cremation of the Nankāñā Sāhib martyrs (1921) and, with the holy precincts reeking of blood, he most movingly recited, sitting by the side of the heap of corpses, Gurū Nānak's hymn: "*khūn ke sohile gāvīahi Nānak ratu kā kuṅgū pāi ve lālo* — Paens to blood are being sung, says Nānak (such are the times), and the saffron of blood is now the adornment, O Lālo!"

Javālā Sīngḥ presided over the first all-India Rāgīs Conference held at Amritsar in 1942. He died on 29 May 1952 at his village Saidpur.

Ad.S.

JAVĀLĀ SĪNGH PADHĀNĪĀ alias LAKHDĀTĀ (d. 1835), a Sandhū Jaṭṭ of the village of Padhāñā, in Lahore district, was a military commander in Sikh times. His father, Mit Sīngḥ (d. 1814), had joined service under Mahāñ Sīngḥ Sukkarchakkīā and continued to serve under his son Mahārājā Rañjīt Sīngḥ, taking part in several of his military campaigns. Sohan Lāl Sūrī,

the official Lahore diarist, lists Javālā Sīngh, among the principal *sardārs* of the Mahārājā. Javālā Sīngh following in his father's footsteps, took part in the Mahārājā's Mālva campaign of 1807 and in expeditions of Multān (1818), Kashmīr (1819) and Mankerā (1821). He was put in charge of the fortress of Attock which he, with a handful of troops, successfully guarded against Afghān onslaughts. In 1829, Javālā Sīngh suffered a stroke of paralysis and retired from active service. A brave soldier, he was a man of generous disposition. Many stories are current of his generosity towards *faqīrs*, Brāhman and indigent persons. It is recorded that he rescued from custody Dīwān Baisākhā Sīngh, a *kārdār* under Kaṅvar Sher Sīngh, by paying his entire fine of over one lakh of rupees whereafter he came to be known as Lakhdātā (dispenser of lakhs or millions).

Javālā Sīngh, who was married to the elder sister of Mahārānī Jind Kaur, laid out an extensive garden midway between Lahore and the Badāmī Bāgh, which became the Mahārājā's favourite resort. He often held his court there and received foreign dignitaries.

Javālā Sīngh died in 1835.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

G.S.

JAVĀLĀ SĪNGH, SANT (1878-1938), a pious and learned Sikh who also worked as a royal tutor for a time, was born at the village of Dhāmīān Kalān, in Hoshiārpur district of the Punjab, on 26 October 1878. He learnt to read Gurmukhī and the Sikh Scripture at the hands of an Udāsī priest, Giānī Prem Dās, and continued further religious study under different scholars and theologians, including Sant Khazān Sīngh Virakt

of Sukkho in Rāwalpīṇḍī district (now in Pakistan). The death register of the Municipal Committee of Paṭiālā where he died shows him, in the parentage column, as *chela* or disciple of Sant Gulāb Sīngh. Such was Sant Javālā Sīngh's reputation as a scholar that he was in 1905 appointed to instruct Mahārājā Bhūpinder Sīngh of Paṭiālā (1891-1938), then a young prince of 14, in Sikh texts and doctrine. Brought up in the austere way of a Nirmalā *sādhū*, Sant Javālā Sīngh now adopted the attire of a courtier, though he remained at heart a deeply religious person. Collection of rare articles became one of his hobbies. He also wrote humorous verse in Braj. However, none of his writings has survived, except a six-page *Sīharfī Vedānt Svarūp Bodhnī*, published in 1892. It is an acrostic in Punjabi, in *baint* metre, based on letters of the Persian alphabet.

Sant Javālā Sīngh died at Paṭiālā on 24 March 1938 in a stampede occurring in the funeral procession of his own pupil, Mahārājā Bhūpinder Sīngh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ganeshā Sīngh, Mahant, *Nirmal Bhūshan arthāt Itihās Nirmal Bhekh*. Amritsar, n.d.

Gs.S.

JAVĀLĀ SĪNGH, SANT (1889-1957), widely revered for his piety especially among Sikhs in the Doābā region of the Punjab, was born on 1 May 1889 at Laṅgerī, a village in Hoshiārpur district. His parents, Narain Sīngh and Rāj Kaur, were known as highly religious persons. Javālā Sīngh was their eighth child and the only brother of seven sisters. He received instruction at the village primary school and at the *gurdwārā*. Tall and of athletic built, he joined the army on 5 January 1907 as a soldier in the 35th Sikh Battalion. It was during his service at Rāwalpīṇḍī that he came in contact with Sant Āyā Sīngh, spiritual successor to the cele-

brated saint Sant Karam Singh of Hotī, a village near Mardān cantonment in the North-West Frontier Province. He formally became disciple of Sant Āyā Singh on 5 March 1911. Javālā Singh saw action in France during World War I, but resigned from the army on 1 January 1917 and joined the *ḍerā* at Hotī to devote himself to a life of contemplation and service. At the persuasion of Sant Harnām Singh of his native Hoshiārpur district and with the permission of his religious mentor, Sant Āyā Singh, Javālā Singh returned home to the Doābā in December 1918 and settled in a lonely place between the villages of Harkhovāl and Paṇḍorī Bībī, about 11 km southwest of Hoshiārpur. Santgarh, the name by which his *ḍerā* came to be known, attracted Sikhs in increasingly large numbers. They came drawn by Sant Javālā Singh's pious manner and by the simplicity and lucidity of his religious discourses. Thousands received the rites of *Khālsā* initiation at his hands, among them being Mahārājā Yādavinder Singh, ruler of Paṭiālā state. Sant Javālā Singh supported the Akālī and Babar Akālī movements and set himself staunchly against the heresy preached by the Pañch *Khālsā* Dīwān of Bhasaur. At his initiative several *gurdwārās* were raised or rebuilt at Sikh holy places, such as Anandpur, Paṭnā and Talvaṇḍī Sābo.

Sant Javālā Singh died at Domelī, a village in Kapūrthalā district of the Punjab, on 13 November 1957.

G.S.P.

JAVAND SINGH, one of the five Sikhs who administered *pāhul* or the vows of *Khālsā* to Mahārājā Duleep Singh at Aden, belonged to the village of Barkī, in Lahore district. After serving for a while as a police constable, he had retired to his village to take to farming. When the news came that the Mahārājā had been detained at Aden and refused permission to come to India, Javand Singh and Thākur Singh of Wāgāh

proceeded to Aden to meet him. At Aden, Duleep Singh decided formally to return to the faith of his forefathers and receive the rites of initiation. Javand Singh was included among the five Sikhs chosen to conduct the ceremony.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ganda Singh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement in the Panjab (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence)*. Patiala, 1972

K.S.T.

JAVAND SINGH, BHĀĪ (1887-1921), one of the martyrs of Nankāṇā Sāhib, was born on 22 September 1887, the second of the three sons of Bhāī Ālā Singh and Māī Bisso of Nizāmpur village in Amritsar district. His elder brother Gujjar Singh had registered himself as a volunteer for the liberation of holy shrines at Nankāṇā Sāhib, but when the call came on 19 February 1920, Javand Singh insisted that he take his brother's place in the *jathā* led by Bhāī Lachhmaṇ Singh Dhārovālī which was allowed. The *jathā* was killed in the firing on their entry into Gurdwārā Janam Asthān the following morning.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahidi Jwan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938.

G.S.G.

JAVAND SINGH MOKAL (d. 1840), soldier and courtier of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. His father, Thākur Singh, held a minor command. Javand Singh joined the Sikh army as a trooper. He was placed under Dīwān Muhkam Chand and took part in the battle fought near Attock, in July 1813. The same year he fought in the battle of Haidrū in which the Sikhs worsted the Wazīr of Kābul, Fateh Khān. For his gallantry in the battle he was assigned a *jāgīr* worth Rs 30,000 annually in Gujrat district. He also took part in the

expeditions of Multān (1818) and Kashmīr (1819). His fortune rose quickly, and he became a *sardār* and companion of the Mahārājā.

Javand Singh, along with his troops, was in the entourage of the Mahārājā at the Ropar meeting in 1831. His sons, Belā Singh and Gurmukh Singh, inherited the *jāgīr*. The former, with 200 horse, took part in the first Anglo-Sikh war. He was wounded at Sabhrāoñ and washed away in the River Sutlej. Belā Singh's son, Surjan Singh, fought in the second Anglo-Sikh war. His *jāgīr* was confiscated by the British.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1975
3. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JAVEHAR MALL, BHĀĪ, was a *masand* at Vārāṇasī during the time of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. Some of the Gurū's *hukamnāmās* or edicts issued to *saṅgats* of Banāras (Vārāṇasī) and still preserved in Gurdwārā Barī Saṅgat, Vārāṇasī, addressed him variously as Javehar Mall, Javehar Dās or simply as Javeharī. While passing through Vārāṇasī on the way to Paṭnā, Gurū Tegh Bahādur left one of his horses, named Sṛidhar, who had fallen sick, in the care of the *saṅgat* there. One of the *hukamnāmās* directs Bhāī Javehar Mall to send the horse upon recovery to Paṭnā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giāni Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986
2. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1982

P.S.P.

JAWĀHAR SINGH (d. 1838), son of Bishan Singh and great-grandson of Soḍhī Abhai

Rām, served in the Sikh army under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. The family traced its descent from Bābā Kaul, founder of the village of Dhilvāñ, now in Faridkot district. Abhai Rām, who enjoyed the esteem of the chiefs of Paṭiālā and Nābhā, added to the family's fortunes. Jawāhar Singh established himself at Dhilvāñ and being the eldest in the family succeeded to the *sardārī* or chiefship after his father's death in 1826. Jawāhar Singh fought under Dīwān Mohkam Chand in the cis-Sutlej campaign conquering territories for the Lahore Darbār. During this campaign Zīrā, Mudkī, Koṭ Kapūrā, Badhnī and Chūhar Chakk were occupied. Jawāhar Singh founded the village of Sibiāñ and took possession of Kāleke. As a reward for the services rendered by him in various expeditions including those of Multān and Peshāwar, Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh conferred upon him some villages in Zīrā *tahsīl* and Dusāñjh in Mogā. Jawāhar Singh died in 1838.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JAWĀHAR SINGH (1814-1845), son of Mannā Singh Aulakh, was *wazīr* or prime minister of the Sikh kingdom for a few months from 14 May 1845 to 21 September 1845 during the regency of his sister, Mahārāñī Jind Kaur. He was appointed guardian to his young nephew, Duleep Singh, who came to the throne in September 1843. After the fall of Hīrā Singh and his adviser Paṇḍit Jallā in December 1844, three persons, Lāl Singh, Gulāb Singh and Jawāhar Singh, staked their claim to prime ministership. Mahārāñī Jind Kaur, who kept the control of Lahore affairs in her hands, had ultimately Jawāhar Singh appointed prime minister on 14 May 1845. Jawāhar Singh's tenure of office proved to be the

briefest. He was drawn into the vortex of courtly intrigue and was instrumental in having Kañvar Pashaurā Sīngħ murdered after he had thrown himself at the mercy of the troops and was being brought back to Lahore from Attock. This enraged the army who resolved to punish him forthwith. Jawāhar Sīngħ was required by the army *pañches* (leaders) to present himself before them on 21 September 1845. He prevaricated, and even tried to win them over by free distribution of gold, but to no avail. At last he appeared before them on the given date in the company of his sister, Mahārāñī Jind Kaur, and the Mahārājā. Paying no heed to the entreaties of the wailing sister, the soldiers speared him to death as he came within their reach.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs, vol. II*. Princeton, 1966
2. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
3. Gill, Avtar Singh, *Lahore Darbar and Rani Jindan*. Ludhiana, 1983

J.S.K.

JAWĀHAR SĪNGH, a native of Sarhālī in Amritsar district of the Punjab, joined Bhāi Mahārāj Sīngħ (d. 1856) at Dev Baṭālā soon after the second Anglo-Sikh war. He was left behind at their camp at Chumbī in the interior of Jammū region, when Mahārāj Sīngħ with the main body of his troops shifted to Sūjovāl, in Gurdāspur district. He soon re-joined them at Zahūrā, in Hoshiārpur district. He was among the twenty trusted men detailed to rescue Mahārājā Duleep Sīngħ from British custody. He rejoined Bhāi Mahārāj Sīngħ at Shām Chaurāsī at the beginning of December 1849 and was among those arrested with him on the night of 28-29 December 1849.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahluwalia, M.L., *Bhai Maharaj Singh*. Patiala, 1972

M.L.A.

JAWĀHAR SĪNGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1924), one of the Jaito martyrs, was the son of Bhāi Khetū, a Mazhabī Sikh of the village of Kuṇḍal in Fāzilkā *tahsīl* of Fīrozpur district. He had served in the army for about five years during which time he had been admitted to the rites of the *Khālsā*. He had also learnt to read and write enough Punjabi to become a fluent reader of the Scripture. He had become an Akālī activist and joined the first *shahīdī jathā* or martyrs' column ready to die to have the sacrilege at Jaito indemnified. The *jathā* was fired upon by police as it reached near the Gurdwārā on 21 February 1924. Bhāi Jawāhar Sīngħ was one of those who died in the firing.

G.S.G.

JAWĀHAR SĪNGH NALVĀ (1809-1877), son of Mahārājā Rañjīt Sīngħ's celebrated general, Hari Sīngħ Nalvā, joined the Sikh army in 1832 and was sent to Jahāngīrā, a military post on the northwest frontier. Two years later he was posted to Peshāwar where he took part in numerous campaigns against the Afghāns up to the time of his father's death at Jamrūd in April 1837. During the second Anglo-Sikh war, he joined hands with Rājā Sher Sīngħ's forces and fought against the British with great gallantry at Cheliānvālā, leading a desperate charge of irregular cavalry, which had nearly proved decisive.

In 1857, Jawāhār Sīngħ was appointed Risāldār in the 1st Sikh Cavalry raised by the British after the abrogation of Sikh rule. He saw action at Lucknow, Kānpur and at several other places. In 1859, he was rewarded with *jāgīrs* for his services and, in 1862, was made an honorary magistrate at Gujrānwālā.

Jawāhar Sīngħ died in 1877.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Punjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*.

Chandigarh, 1975

3. Sandhu, Avtar Singh, *General Hari Singh Natwa*. Delhi, 1987

J.R.G.

JAWĀHAR SĪNGH RANDHĀVĀ, son of Prem Singh, a soldier in the army of Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh, belonged to the Randhāvā family of the village of Khuṇḍā in Gurdāspur district, who had once been with the Kanhaiyā *misl*, but a major portion of whose territory had been confiscated by the Mahārājā. Prem Singh had to seek a place under a relation, Desā Singh Majiṭhīā, with ten *sovārs* or horsemen, in which capacity he continued to serve Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh until his death in November 1824.

Jawāhar Singh joined the service of Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh in 1836 along with his brother Jaimal Singh. He proceeded to Peshāwar with Lahiṇā Singh when the latter marched out to relieve the Sikh army after the battle of Jamrūd in April 1837. Jawāhar Singh also served under Lahiṇā Singh in the hill country of Maṇḍī. The Khuṇḍā *sardārs* remained the hereditary *jagīrdārs* of the Majiṭhīā *sardārs* until the annexation of the Punjab in 1849.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JAWĀHIR SĪNGH, BHĀĪ (1859-1910), a leading figure in the Singh Sabhā movement, was the son of Bhāī Ātmā Singh Kapūr of Gujraṇwālā, now in Pakistan. He was born at Amritsar in 1859. After finishing school, he entered service in the accounts department of the North Western Railway in 1876, and making steady progress rose to be the superintendent in the Manager's office in 1903. In 1882, he attended law classes of the University of the Pañjāb, but did not continue to complete

the course. In 1886, he applied for the position of a *granthī* at the Harimandar at Amritsar, but his candidature was rejected owing to his earlier religious affiliations. In his younger days, Jawāhir Singh had been, under the influence of Sant Bahādur Singh, a follower of the Gulābdāsī sect, and had later joined the Ārya Samāj. He had been the secretary of the Lahore Ārya Samāj and vice-president of the Ārya Paropkārīṇī Sabhā from 1878 to 1883. He was also appointed a member of the *Ārya Patrikā* committee in 1885. Meanwhile, however, he, along with his friend and associate, Bhāī Ditt Singh, had been reclaimed to his ancestral faith through the influence of Bhāī Gurmukh Singh, Kaṅvar Bikramā Singh and Sardār Atar Singh of Bhadaur, although he did not formally break away from the Ārya Samāj until 25 November 1888, when, at its eleventh annual meeting at Lahore, Paṇḍit Gurū Dutt, of Government College, spoke in highly provocative terms attacking the Sikh Gurūs. Thereafter, Bhāī Jawāhir Singh devoted himself whole-heartedly to the cause of the Singh Sabhā movement. He became vice-president of the Lahore Singh Sabhā, and went out lecturing on its behalf when free from official duties during Christmas and other holidays. Promotion of education among Sikhs was one of his persistent concerns. Unlike some other leaders of the Singh Sabhā, he kept clear of the wranglings of the factional Lahore and Amritsar groups.

Jawāhir Singh's interest in education dated back to his Ārya Samāj days. He had been one of the original promoters of the D.A.V. College at Lahore in 1885, and had worked as secretary of its fund-raising committee. He had also been a fellow of the Añjuman-i-Punjab. Earlier, in 1882, he had pressed the claims of the Punjabi language before the Hunter Commission on Education. He himself passed the proficiency examination (Buddhīmān) in Gurmukhī

Punjabi from the University of the Pañjāb in 1886. In 1899, he was appointed a member of the Punjab Text Book Committee. He was made a fellow of the Pañjāb University in November 1904. Already, in 1897, he had been elected a member of the Calcutta Literary Society. But his singular contribution to the cause of Sikh education was his steadfast work for the establishment of the *Khālsā* College at Amritsar. He was one of the members of the *Khālsā* College Establishment Committee set up in 1890, and when, in March 1892, the College was opened, he was made honorary secretary of the College Council. He worked in this capacity for 14 years. He resigned the office twice, in 1897 and in 1902, but the Council considered him indispensable and persuaded him to stay on. When in 1906, he finally resigned the secretaryship as well as his membership of the managing committee, he still continued as a member of the College Council.

In July 1897 he was appointed a member of the management committee for Mahārājā Sher Singh's *samādh* at Shāh Bilāval, Lahore. His name was also enrolled in the list of assessors to help sessions courts in the trial of criminal cases. On several occasions, he approached the government, on behalf of the Sikh community, and presented addresses to British viceroys and lieutenant-governors. The refrain of these addresses was a request for the extension of educational facilities in villages and for making Punjabi the basis of education, with due provision for subsequent acquisition of English and high scholarship.

Bhāi Jawāhir Singh wrote a number of books, mostly in Urdu. He was once officially commended for preparing the best chronogram in Persian for the inauguration of the Lansdowne Bridge over the Indus at Sakkhar in 1889. The congratulatory note from the director of the North Western Railway said: "Bhai Jawahir Singh — allow me to

congratulate you as the best poet of all that we tried." His works include *Khālsā Dharam*, *Iflās-i-Hind*, *Dayānand Itihās*, *Dharam Vichār*, *Guide to Punjabi*, *Aimāl-i-Ārya* and *Radd-i-Bāllān* or *Taryāq-i-Sarasvatī Phobia*. The last two contain his polemic against the Ārya Samāj, following his disavowal of it. *Iflās-i-Hind* or *The Poverty of India* and *Dharam Vichār* or *Thoughts on Duty* were favourably reviewed even by English newspapers like the *Homeland Mail*.

Bhāi Jawāhir Singh commanded the respect of his British officers as well as of the Sikh aristocracy. He had the rare privilege of having *bartvārā* (mutual friendly relations) with the rulers of Pañjālā, Nābhā, Jind and Kapūrthālā on occasions of joy and sorrow. He died, after a brief illness, on 14 May 1910.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jagjit Singh, *Singh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974
2. Ashok, Shamsher Singh, *Pañjāb dīān Lahirān*. Patiala, 1954
3. *Jubilee Book*. Amritsar, 1936

Gd.S.

JEṬHĀ, BHĀĪ. See Gurū Rām Dās

JEṬHĀ, BHĀĪ, a Sikh of the time of Gurū Rām Dās. He received initiations and instruction at the hands of the Gurū himself.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gurdās, Bhāi, *Vārān*, XI, 17.
2. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Sī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

M.G.S.

JEṬHĀ, BHĀĪ, a Sethi Khatri, and Bhāi Pairā Chāṇḍālīā once visited Gurū Arjan and complained that Brāhmanṣ ridiculed them for not observing the traditional rituals during the preparation and eating of meals, without

which, according to the Brāhman, the food remained impure. The Gurū, as says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, told them that the only rituals worth observing were “feeding the hungry and the poor and reciting grace or thanks-giving prayer and uttering the name Vāhigurū before one starts eating.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gurdās, Bhāi, *Vārān*, XI. 24.
2. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

M.G.S.

JETHĀ BHĀI (d. 1634), a devoted Sikh who successively attended upon Gurū Arjan and Gurū Hargobind. He took part in *sevā* for the excavation of the sacred pool at Amritsar and the construction of the Harimandar. He was one of the five Sikhs who accompanied Gurū Arjan on his last journey to Lahore where he met a martyr's death in 1606. His other four companions were Bhāi Bidhī Chand, Bhāi Laṅgāh, Bhāi Paiṛā and Bhāi Pirāṇā. These Sikhs were witness to the events leading to the Gurū's martyrdom. They cremated his body and returned to Amritsar to relate to Gurū Hargobind and the Sikhs what had happened. Bhāi Jethā and the other four received training in the fighting skills and were appointed by Gurū Hargobind to lead a troop of one hundred horsemen each. He accompanied the Gurū to Delhi and was in attendance upon him during his detention in the Fort of Gwālīor. He took part in battles against the imperial troops, and fell fighting at Mehrāj on 16 December 1634. In Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, Bhāi Jethā is described fighting his last battle as an old man with a grey beard.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar,

1955

2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

M.G.S.

JETHĀ, BHĀI, Bhāi Phirnā and Bhāi Chaṅgā, all Bahil Khatri, once came to Gurū Arjan to seek instruction. They said, “Some repeat the name of Rāma, others of Kṛṣṇa; some repeat Om, others Soham. We have been taught to meditate on Vāhigurū. Tell us, Master, which name is the most efficacious?” The Gurū, says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, replied, “Any boat would take one across a river, but one should stick to the boat one has boarded. All names of God lead to liberation. For Sikhs the name revealed by Gurū Nānak is Vāhigurū.” Bhāi Jethā and his companions, thus enlightened, concentrated on Vāhigurū themselves and told others to do so.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JETHĀ, BHĀI, was the *masand*, or parish preacher, at Lakhnaur at the time of the visit, in 1670, of child Gobind Rāi (later Gurū Gobind Singh), who arrived there travelling with his mother, Mātā Gujārī, and grandmother, Mātā Nānakī, from Paṭnā to Anandpur.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Kāhn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahān Kosh*. Patiala, 1981

M.G.S.

JETHĀ SINGH was a Sikh of Gurū Gobind Singh's time. He was a merchant by profes-

sion and lived at Ahmadnagar. He was host, in Ahmadnagar, to Bhāi Dayā Singh, one of the Pañj Piāre, who travelled in 1706 to the South with Gurū Gobind Singh's letter, *Zafarnāmah*, to be delivered to Emperor Aurangzīb.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kahn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurushabad Ratnāker Mahān Kosh*. Patiala, 1981

M.G.S.

JHABĀL KALĀN (spelt Chabāl in Survey of India maps), village 15 km west of Tarn Tāran (31°-27'N, 74°-56'E) in Amritsar district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind, who came here to perform the marriage of his daughter, Bībī Vīro, on 26 Jeṭh 1686 Bk/24 May 1629. During the Mughal times Jhabāl fell on the main Delhi-Lahore highway and the road junction here was known as Māṅak Chowk. The shrine established at the spot consecrated by Gurū Hargobind's stay on the western edge of the village came to be called Gurdwārā Māṅak Chowk. It is now known as Gurdwārā Bībī Vīro Sāhib. Constructed, according to local tradition, during the eighteenth century, the building comprises a square marble-floored hall, with the sanctum in the middle. Above the sanctum there are two storeys of square rooms topped by a dome with a gold-plated pinnacle. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee.

Jhabāl has also produced some eminent personalities of Sikh history such as Bhāi Laṅgāh, Māi Bhāgo, Sardār Baghel Singh, the leader of the Karoṣīngihā *misl*, and the three Jhabālīā brothers, Amar Singh, Sarmukh Singh and Jaswant Singh who took a leading part in the Gurdwārā Reform movement. A *gurdwārā* commemorating Māi Bhāgo has been constructed within the compound of Gurdwārā Bībī Vīro Sāhib.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevin*. Patiala, 1970
3. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārikh Gurdūārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.

Gn.S.

JHANDĀ, BHĀĪ, of the village of Dālā, now in Kapūrthalā district of the Punjab, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Amar Dās. He was among those who waited on the Gurū when he visited Dālā. Among the visitors was also a learned Paṅdit. He undertook to serve the Sikhs by reciting to them the holy texts and ask for nothing in return. The Gurū ended the assembly by adjuring the Sikhs faithfully to observe the Gurūs' festivals.

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 16.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.D.

JHANDĀ, BHĀĪ (1580-1661), a prominent Sikh of Gurū Har Rāi's time, was a grandson of Bhāi Bhānā, the youngest son of the venerable Bhāi Buḍḍhā. He was born to Bhāi Bhānā's younger son, Sarvan and his wife Āiyān, in 1580. At the age of 16, he was married to Bībī Sulakkhānī. Even during the lifetime of his grandfather, he displayed interest in managing the family estate which he extended considerably. It is said that he had in that area twenty-five villages, the land revenue of which accrued to him. He also had a *jāgīr* given him by Emperor Shāh Jahān. He became a wealthy and influential man, yet he maintained his reputation as a pious and humble Sikh of the Gurū. He made frequent visits to Amritsar and, later to Kīratpur to wait upon him. When his father, Bhāi Sarvan, joined Gurū Hargobind's train, he summoned his son to Kīratpur. There Bhāi Jhandā devot-

ed himself whole-heartedly to the service of the Gurū and his Sikhs, who came from far and near to see him. He brought firewood from the forests for the Gurū kā Laṅgar. He was especially known for his spirit of humility and obedience. It is recorded by a contemporary chronicler, Zulfiqār Ardistanī, the author of *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, that once Gurū Hargobind, while having a stroll in the garden at Kīratpur, told Bhāi Jhaṇḍā to stand and wait for him at the entrance. The Gurū after some time left through another exit. Jhaṇḍā, in the absence of any further instructions, kept standing at the garden-gate until the Gurū, informed on the fourth day of what had happened, recalled him. After his father's death in 1651, Bhāi Jhaṇḍā took his place in the Gurū's train. He himself died at his village, Jhaṇḍā Ramdās, in early 1661. It is said that Gurū Har Rāi himself attended his funeral and appointed his son, Bhāi Gurdittā, to take his place at Kīratpur.

M.G.S.

JHAṆḌĀ KALĀṆ, village 7 km south of Sardūlgarh (29°-42'N, 75°-14'E), in Mānsā district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Gobind Singh, who, according to Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, stayed here overnight while on his way from Talvaṇḍī Sābo to Sīrsā in 1706. A shrine commemorating the visit was later established, about 200 metres southwest of the village. It was served by a line of Udāsī *sādhūs* until the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee took over possession under the Sikh Gurdwārās Act of 1925. The old shrine has since been demolished and a more spacious building constructed by Nihāṅgs of the Buḍḍhā Dal. The square high-ceilinged hall has a sanctum in the centre and a basement below. The sanctum is topped by a lotus dome. Special congregations take place on every no-moon day. The shrine is popularly known as Gurdwārā Jhaṇḍā Sāhib.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Curduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
4. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twāriḳh Curduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JHAṆḌĀ RĀMDĀS, popularly called Ramdās, a village in Amritsar district of the Punjab, celebrates Bābā Buḍḍhā of revered memory in the Sikh tradition. His son, Bhāi Bhānā, founded this village and named it after his own grandson, Jhaṇḍā, and the family shifted here from their ancestral village of Katthū Naṅgal. The long-lived Bābā Buḍḍhā himself had spent most of his time at the feet of the Gurūs, from Gurū Nānak to Gurū Hargobind, but he would occasionally come to visit his family at Jhaṇḍā Rāmdās. The last few months of his life were spent in this village. As the end came near, he longed to have a glimpse of the Gurū. Gurū Hargobind did arrive at Jhaṇḍā Rāmdās before Bābā Buḍḍhā died, on Maghar *sudī* 4, 1688 Bk/16 November 1631. The Gurū himself performed the last rites. Three *gurdwārās* now commemorate the Gurū's visit and the passing away of Bābā Buḍḍhā.

GURDWĀRĀ BUṄĠĀ SĀHIB, 200 metres east of the village, marks the site where Gurū Hargobind had encamped. From here he, according to the local tradition, went barefoot to see Bābā Buḍḍhā.

GURDWĀRĀ SAMĀDHĀN, about one kilometre northeast of Jhaṇḍā Rāmdās, was built on the site of the cremation of Bābā Buḍḍhā. Gurū Hargobind gave his shoulder to the bier, put the flame to the pyre and collected the ashes on the fourth day after the cremation.

GURDWĀRĀ TAP ASTHĀN BĀBĀ BUḌḌHĀ JĪ, on the southern edge of the village, stands where the venerable family had once lived and where Bābā BuḌḌhā had died. It is said that the Lahore troops sacked JhaṇḌā Rāmdās in 1824 and destroyed the house of Bābā BuḌḌhā's descendants. When Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh heard of this, he was filled with remorse. He then had this *gurdwārā* built on the site of the demolished house. The Gurdwārā stands on a raised plinth in the middle of a walled compound which is below the street level. It comprises a square sanctum, with a verandah all around. The floor is of white marble and the walls are lined with marble slabs. The interior surface of the walls as well as the ceiling is decorated with stucco work inset with reflecting glass pieces and painted artistically in gold, red and blue. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated on a canopied throne of white marble.

The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. It owns 2,200 acres of land. Besides the daily prayers and the usual Sikh anniversaries, largely attended gatherings take place on the fifth day of the dark half of each lunar month.

M.G.S.

JHAṆḌĀ SINGH (d. 1774) succeeded his father, Harī Singh, to the leadership of the Bhaṅgī principality upon his death in 1765. Under JhaṇḌā Singh, the power and prestige of the Bhaṅgī *misl* rapidly increased. In 1766, he challenged both Shujā' Khān, Afghān governor of Multān, and Mubārak Khān, the ruler of Bahāwalpur. As a result of the battle that followed, the holy town of Pākpaṭṭan was declared to be the line of demarcation between the Bhaṅgī territories and those belonging to the Muslim chiefs. In 1772, JhaṇḌā Singh attacked Multān once again, and drove out the Nawāb. Multān became a Khālsā territory and the city was parcelled out between JhaṇḌā Singh and his

commander, Lahiṇā Singh. JhaṇḌā Singh then went on to sack Jhaṅg, Khushāb, Mankerā and Kālā Bāgh. He also attacked the stronghold of Chaṭṭhā Jajṭs at Rasūlnagar, later known as Rāmnagar. He seized from there the Zamzamā gun, which later became famous as Bhaṅgiān dī Top, i.e. the gun of the Bhaṅgis, and carried it to Amritsar. JhaṇḌā Singh completed at Amritsar the Fort of the Bhaṅgis begun by his father, Harī Singh. He also laid out a garden there and erected another Kaṭrā or bazaar named after him.

Towards the end of his career, JhaṇḌā Singh was involved in constant warfare and feud with the other Sikh chiefs. He was killed in 1774 when embroiled in a battle with the Kanhaiyās and the Sukkarchakkīās at Jammū wither he had marched to settle the issue of succession to the chiefship.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Panjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.

S.S.B.

JHAṆḌĀ SINGH (d. 1797), of Sultānvinḍ near Amritsar, like many other Mājha Jajṭs of his time, took advantage of the breakup of the Mughal power to secure an estate for himself. Having seized certain villages in Siālkoṭ which he made over to his younger brother, he turned in 1759 eastwards to the rich country between the Sutlej and the Beās. He acquired 16 villages around Basī Kalān and Singhvālā, *tahsīl* Hoshiārpur, 40 villages in Kāthgarh, and 17 in Jamiātgarh, now in *tahsīl* Garhshānkar, yielding an annual revenue of over a lakh of rupees. He died in 1797, and was succeeded in his Hoshiārpur estate by his son, Tārā Singh, who built five small forts for the protection of his patrimony. But Tārā Singh had to admit the supremacy of Mahārājā Ranjīt

Singh, his acknowledgement taking the usual form of supply of horsemen fixed according to the extent of his holdings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JHAṆḌĀ SĪNGH (d. 1833), son of Gurbakhsh Singh, was a trooper under Sāhib Singh Bhaṅgī of Gujrāt before he joined Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's army in the early years of the nineteenth century. He fought in many of the Mahārājā's campaigns, including those of Kāṅgrā (1809) and Kashmīr (1819). Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh granted him eleven villages in *jāgīr* in Amritsar district. Jhaṇḍā Singh was killed in 1833 in a private feud. His son, Javālā Singh (d. 1847), served for some time in the Sikh army on the frontier at Bannū and Kohāt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JHAṆḌĀ SĪNGH BUTĀLĪĀ (d. 1883), son of Shām Singh, was a *jāgīrdār* and military commander under Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh. He saw military service in Puñchh where Dīwān Dhanpat Rāi and Mīr Bāz Khān had been giving trouble, and was then ordered to Hazārā. He accompanied the Mahārājā in the campaign of 1821-22 when Mankerā and Ḍerā Ismā'il Khān were taken, and received for his gallantry valuable presents. He remained mostly on the frontier, in Chhachh, Peshāwar and Hazārā. He was a man of energy and ability, and the Mahārājā gave him charge, under Sardār Harī Singh Nalvā, of this most unruly part of the country. In 1836, Jhaṇḍā Singh accompanied Prince Nau Nihāl Singh on his Ḍerājāt expedition. During part of the Kābul cam-

paign, he was governor of the Attock Fort. Prime Minister Jawāhar Singh made Jhaṇḍā Singh Adālatī, or chief justice of Lahore, in conjunction with Dīwān Hākīm Rāi, and he held this office until 1846. In 1847, he was sent to Hazārā as Nāib Nāzim, or deputy governor, under Chatar Singh Aṭārīvālā and Captain James Abbott, and in November he received, at the suggestion of the Resident, the honorary title of Bahādur, with the affix Ujjal Didār, Nirmal Buddh, meaning "open countenance and pure mind."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JHAṆḌĒĀNĀ, village 26 km west of Mogā (30°-48'N, 75°-10'E) in Farīdkoṭ district, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind who visited it while staying at Ḍaraulī. The Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Chhevīñ stands in the compound of an old house in the northern part of the village. The shrine is a small square room with a circumambulatory passage built on a high plinth. There is a domed pavilion on the first floor. This building has since been opened at the front and joined to a rectangular hall at the ground level, the front portion of the circumambulatory passage now forming the sanctum where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated. The Gurdwārā is managed by the village *saṅgat*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
2. Kāhn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahān Kosh*. Patiala, 1981

M.G.S

JHĀÑJHŪ, BHĀĪ, was a talented musician of the time of Gurū Arjan. Once he, accompanied by Bhāi Kidārā and Bhāi Mukandā, who were also musicians by profession, wait-

ed on the Gurū and prayed for instruction. Bhāi Jhāñjhū and his companions took the Gurū's precept and were content to spend their days thereafter performing *kīrtan* in his presence. They had no other worldly desire left. They lived on what they were offered and never aspired for more. In this way, tells Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, they attained liberation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

M.G.S.

JHAṬKĀ, the Sikh mode of killing an animal for food, also stands for the meat of an animal or bird so killed. Derived, etymologically, from *jhat*, an adverb meaning instantly, immediately or at once, *jhaṭkā* signifies a jerk, snap, jolt or a swift blow. For Sikhs *jhaṭkā karnā* or *jhaṭkāuñā* means to slaughter the animal instantaneously, severing the head with a single stroke of any weapon or killing with gunshot or electrocution. The underlying idea is to kill the animal with the minimum of torture to it. *Jhaṭkā* is opposed to *kuṭṭhā*, that is meat of an animal slaughtered by a slow process in the Muslim way known as *halāl* (lit. legal, legitimate, lawful). *Kuṭṭhā* is a participle derived from the Punjabi verb *kohṇā* (lit. to torture). While slaughtering for food, a Muslim must incise the throat of the animal to the accompaniment of the exclamation of the *kalīmā*, the Islamic formula meaning "By the name of Allah, the Merciful and Compassionate." For *jhaṭkā*, a Sikh while delivering the blow may utter *Sat Srī Akāl* (lit. True is the Timeless Lord), which is both a Sikh war slogan and a salutation, but there is no idea of sacrifice or ritual involved in such utterance, and it is not mandatory either. Sikhism does not sanction sacrificial

or ritual killing.

Historically, there is no positive injunction enforcing *jhaṭkā* mode of slaughter laid down by the Gurūs. However, Gurū Gobind Singh, when manifesting the order of the *Khālsā* in 1699, enjoined upon Sikhs to abstain from *kuṭṭhā* or *halāl* meat introduced by the Muslim ruling class. That many high-ranking Hindus had succumbed to the practice of eating *kuṭṭhā* is evidenced from a verse of Gurū Nānak's in *Āsā kī Vār*: "They eat *kuṭṭhā* of goats killed with the pronouncement of alien words, i.e. *kalīmā*, but do not allow anyone to enter their cooking square (to guard against pollution by touch)..." Instructions regarding *jhaṭkā* mode of slaughter are contained in various *Rahitnāmās* or codes of conduct for the Sikhs, and the Sikh chronicles written during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They all affirm that Gurū Gobind Singh made the taking of *kuṭṭhā* one of the four major *kurahits*, or violations of the Sikh code of conduct. However, two of these sources say positively: "Kill the male goat in the *jhaṭkā* way if you want to eat, but do not ever look at any other type of meat" (*Rahitnāmā* of Bhāi Desā Singh), and "Slaughter male goats through *jhaṭkā* and eat; do not go near carrion or *kuṭṭhā*" (Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*). *Rahitnāmā* of Bhaī Desā Singh also enjoins the slaughtering to be carried out away from the kitchen. Traditionally, it is also to be away from a holy spot. The mention of male goat in the chronicles is only illustrative and does not exclude other animals or birds the flesh of which the Sikhs usually eat.

Not many Sikhs are habitually meat-eaters. Their staple diet mainly consists of cereals, pulses, vegetables and milk products. Some of their sects even practise strict vegetarianism. The Sikh religion however neither recommends nor prohibits the eating of flesh. During their own rule in Punjab,

the Sikhs practised tolerance and never tried to enforce *jhaṭkā* on their Muslim subjects. But during the British rule, the predominating Muslim community in western Punjab opposed *jhaṭkā*. Even at government level, *jhaṭkā* was not allowed in jails and Sikh detenués during the Akālī movement and after had to resort to protests and agitations to secure this right. One of the terms in the settlement between the Akālīs and the Muslim-dominated Unionist government in the Punjab in 1942 was that the use of *jhaṭkā* meat would be permissible in public institutions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sṛī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1959
2. *Sikh Rahit Maryādā*. Amritsar, n.d.
3. Padam, Piārā Singh, ed., *Rahitnāme*. Amritsar, 1989
4. Bhṛṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1962

P.S.S.

JHĪVAR HERĪ, a village in Yamunānagar district of Haryāṇā 23 km southwest of Jagādhṛī (30°-10'N, 77°-18'E), has a Sikh shrine, Gurdwārā Nāvīn Pātshāhī, dedicated to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. According to local tradition, Gurū Tegh Bahādur converted here a *sādhū* named Bhikhārī Dās who was proud of his ritualistic piety. Lakkhī Shāh Vanjārā, a Sikh who owned a transport caravan, is said to have constructed a memorial platform and donated a small piece of land for a garden. In 1764, Sardār Desū Singh of Ḍallevalī *misl* occupied Mustafābād and its surrounding villages. He had the platform enlarged. Sardār Ajit Singh of Lāḍvā is said to have made a further land endowment.

Since 1851 (the date of the earliest revenue records) the Gurdwārā and its landed properties had been under the possession of a Sikh goldsmith family. A case for the transference of possession of the Gurdwārā to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā

Parbandhak Committee was brought before the Gurdwārā Tribunal in 1926, but it dragged on until 1937 when it was decided in favour of the Committee. Reconstruction of the building was begun in 1954. The present Gurdwārā has a large hall, including the original platform, now the seat for the Gurū Granth Sāhib. A separate compound houses the Gurū kā Laṅgar. The shrine is administered by a local committee. Devotees from the neighbouring villages and towns congregate on every *amāvasyā*, the last day of the dark half of the month, when *kīrtan*, sermons and community meal take place. An annual fair is held on 9 and 10 Phāgun (third week of February).

M.G.S.

JHORAR, a village still flanked on two sides by arid mounds of shifting sands, 6 km north-east of Baṛā Guḍhā railway station (29°-43'N, 75°-1'E), in Sirsā district of Haryāṇā, is sacred to Gurū Gobind Singh, who made a brief halt here while travelling from Talvaṇḍī Sābo towards Sirsā in the winter of 1706. Gurdwārā Pātshāhī X, constructed in the 1950's, is a flat-roofed hall, within a low-walled compound. It is maintained by the village *saṅgat*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Curbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Ed. Shamsheer Singh Ashok. Patiala, 1968
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Sṛī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

M.G.S.

JĪND (29°-18'N, 76°-19'E), a district town in Haryāṇā, was once the capital of a Sikh state of this name. Even after the capital had been shifted to Saṅgrūr in 1827, the coronation ceremony of the rulers continued to be performed at Jīnd.

GURDWĀRĀ MAŅJĪ SĀHIB SRĪ GURŪ TEGH BAHĀDUR SĀHIB, commemorating the visit of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, was constructed by Rājā Gajpat Singh, the first Sikh ruler of Jind state. Of the original building only the three-storeyed gateway now remains. The rest has been replaced by a modern building with a spacious assembly hall the cornerstone of which was laid on 20 April 1975. It is topped with a massive dome, with a domed pavilion at each corner. To the east of the hall is the *sarovar*. Accommodation for residential purpose and Gurū kā Laṅgar is to the south of it. The Gurdwārā is administered by a local committee with the assistance of a manager appointed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar-Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JIND KAUR, MAHĀRĀNĪ (1817-1863), popularly known as Jindān, was wife of Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh and mother of Mahārājā Duleep Singh, the last Sikh sovereign of the Punjab. She was daughter of Mannā Singh, an Aulakh Jatt of Gujrānwālā, who held an humble position at the court as an overseer of the royal kennels. Scant notice of Mahārānī Jind Kaur is taken either by the official Lahore diarist, Sohan Lāl Sūrī, or the British records until 1838, when according to the former, a *munshī* brought the blessed tidings of the birth of a son to her. It appears that she and her son lived a life of obscurity under the care of Rājā Dhiān Singh at Jammū. In August 1843, the young prince and her mother were brought to Lahore. In September 1843, both Mahārājā Sher Singh and Dhiān Singh were assassinated. Rājā Hīrā

Singh, Dhiān Singh's son, with the support of the army and chiefs, wiped out the Sandhānvālīā faction. Shortly after, Hīrā Singh captured the Fort of Lahore and on 16 September 1843, the army proclaimed minor Duleep Singh the sovereign of the State. Hīrā Singh was appointed the *wazīr*. The political history of Jind Kaur begins from that date. Gradually, she assumed the role of a *de jure* regent to the minor Mahārājā. Both Hīrā Singh and his adviser, Paṇḍit Jallā, did not show her the courtesy and consideration she was entitled to. Her establishment was put under the control of Misr Lāl Singh. Jind Kaur mobilized opinion at the Darbār against the dominance of the Ḍogrās. She and her brother, Jawāhar Singh, pleaded with the army *pañchāyats* (regimental committees) to banish Paṇḍit Jallā and protect the rights of minor Duleep Singh. "Who is the real sovereign?" she angrily asked the regimental committees assembled in council. "Duleep Singh or Hīrā Singh? If the former, then the Khālsā should ensure that he was not a king with an empty title." The council assured the Rānī that Duleep Singh was the real king of the Punjāb. The army *pañchāyats* treated Jind Kaur with deference and addressed her as Māi Sāhib or mother of the entire Khālsā commonwealth.

The eclipse of the Jallā regime was a political victory for Mahārānī Jind Kaur, who had goaded the army to overthrow Hīrā Singh and install her brother Jawāhar Singh as the *wazīr*. She now assumed control of the government with the approval of the army *pañchāyats* who declared that they would place her on the throne of Delhi. Jind Kaur proclaimed herself regent and cast off her veil. She became the symbol of the sovereignty of the Khālsā ruling the Punjab in the name of her son. She reviewed the troops and addressed them, held court and transacted, in public, State business. She reconstituted the supreme Khālsā Council by

giving representation to the principal *sardārs* and restored a working balance between the army *pañchāyats* and the civil administration.

Numerous vexatious problems confronted the Mahārānī. Pashaurā Singh had bestirred himself again. An alarm was created that an English force was accompanying him to Lahore, and that he was being helped secretly by Gulāb Singh. Second, the troops clamoured for a raise in their pay. The feudatory chiefs demanded the restoration of their resumed *jāgīrs*, remission of fines and reduction of enhanced taxes and burdens imposed upon them by Hirā Singh. Finally, it appeared that the diminishing revenues of the State could not balance the increasing cost of the civil and military administration.

Jind Kaur applied herself to the solution of these problems and secured to this end the assistance of a newly appointed council of elder statesmen and military generals. Kañvar Pashaurā Singh was summoned to Lahore and persuaded to return to his *jāgīr*. Early in 1845, a force 35,000 strong marched to Jammū for the chastisement of Gulāb Singh. The council had accused him of being a traitor to the Panth and charged him with treachery and intrigue against his sovereign. In April 1845, the army returned to Lahore with the Ḍogrā chief as a hostage. The pay of the soldiery was enhanced and Jawāhar Singh was formally installed *wazīr*. Mahārānī Jind Kaur's choice of Jawāhar Singh as *wazīr* became the subject of criticism. To counteract the rising disaffection, Jind Kaur hastily betrothed Duleep Singh, in the powerful Aṭārī family, opened up negotiations with Gulāb Singh and promised higher pay to the soldiery. When Jawāhar Singh was assassinated by the army *pañchāyats* suspecting his hand in the murder of Kañvar Pashaurā Singh, Jind Kaur gave vent to her anguish with loud lamentation. Early in November 1845, she, with the approval of the Khālsā Council, nominated Misr Lāl

Singh to the office of *wazīr*.

Mahārānī Jind Kaur has been accused by some historians of wishing the Khālsā army to destroy itself in a war with the English. A much more balanced and realistic view will be obtained by a closer examination of the policies of Ellenborough and Hardinge and of other incidental political factors which led to a clash of arms between the Sikhs and the English in December 1845. The Ellenborough papers in the Public Records Office, London, especially Ellenborough's and Hardinge's private correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, disclose the extent of British military preparations on the Sikh frontier. The correspondence reveals the inside story of the main causes of the first Anglo-Sikh war — the republican upsurge of the Khālsā soldiery to save Ranjīt Singh's kingdom from foreign aggression, the concentration of large British forces on the Sutlej, the British seizure of Suchet Singh's treasure, the intrigues of British political officers to subvert the loyalty of the Sikh governors of Kashmir and Multān, the rejection of Lahore claim to the village of Morān, and the extraordinarily hostile conduct of Major George Broadfoot, the British Political Agent at the North-West Frontier Agency, towards the Sikhs, particularly the virtual seizure by him of the cis-Sutlej possessions of the Lahore Government. In view of these factors, the theory that the Sikh army had become perilous to the regency and that the courtiers plotted to engage the army against the British becomes untenable. On the contrary, the Regent was the only person who exhibited determination and courage during the critical period of the war with the British.

In December 1846, Mahārānī Jind Kaur surrendered political power to the council of ministers appointed by the British Resident after the treaty of Bharovāl. The Sikh Darbār ceased to exist as a sovereign political body. The regent was dismissed with an an-

nulty of Rs 1,50,000 and "an officer of Company's artillery became, in effect, the successor to Ranjīt Singh."

Mahārānī Jind Kaur was treated with unnecessary acrimony and suspicion. She had retired gracefully to a life of religious devotion in the palace, yet mindful of the rights of her minor son as the sovereign of the Punjab. Henry Lawrence, the British Resident at Lahore, and Viscount Hardinge both accused her of fomenting intrigue and influencing the Darbār politics. After Bharovāl, Hardinge had issued instructions that she must be deprived of all political power. In March 1847, he expressed the view that she must be sent away from Lahore.

At the time of Tej Singh's investiture as Rājā of Siālkoṭ in August 1847, it was suspected that the young Mahārājā had refused to confer the title on him at the instigation of his mother. She was also suspected of having a hand in what is known as the Premā Plot — a conspiracy designed to murder the British Resident and Tej Singh at a *fete* at the Shālāmār Gardens. Although neither of the charges against Jind Kaur could be substantiated on enquiry, she was removed to Sheikhūpurā in September 1847, and her allowance was reduced to Rs 48,000. Lord Dalhousie, instructed Sir Frederick Currie, the British Resident at Lahore, to expel her from the Punjab. Currie acted promptly. He implicated Jind Kaur in a fictitious plot and sent her away from Sheikhūpurā to Banāras. She remained interned at Banāras under strict surveillance. In 1848, allegations were made by Major MacGregor, in attendance on her, that she was in correspondence with Mūlrāj and Sher Singh at Multān. A few of her letters were intercepted and an alarm was created when one of her slave girls escaped from Banāras. She was removed to the Fort of Chunār from where she escaped to Nepal disguised as a maid-servant.

Mahārānī Jind Kaur arrived at Kāthmāṇḍū on 29 April 1849. The British

Government promptly confiscated her jewellery worth Rs 9,00,000 and stopped her pension. At Kāthmāṇḍū, the sudden appearance of the widow of Ranjīt Singh was both unexpected and unwelcome. Yet Juṅg Bahādur, the prime minister, granted her asylum, mainly as a mark of respect to the memory of the late Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. A residence was assigned to her at Thāpāthālī, on the banks of the Vāgmatī river, and the Nepalese Government settled upon her an allowance for her maintenance. The Nepal Residency papers relate the details of Jind Kaur's unhappy sojourn in Nepal till 1860. The British Residency in Kāthmāṇḍū kept a vigilant eye on her throughout. It believed that she was engaged in political intrigue to secure the revival of the Sikh dynasty in the Punjab. Under constant pressure from the British, the Nepal Darbār turned hostile towards the Mahārānī and levied the most humiliating restrictions on her. But the forlorn widow of Ranjīt Singh remained undaunted. She quietly protested against the indignities and restrictions imposed upon her by Juṅg Bahādur. Juṅg Bahādur expelled from the valley one of her attendants, and the Mahārānī dismissed the entire staff foisted upon her by the Nepalese Government. She was then ordered to appear in person in the Darbār to acknowledge Nepalese hospitality, which she refused to do. The breach between her and Juṅg Bahādur widened. The Nepal Residency Records tell us that an open rift took place, and "several scenes occurred in which each seemed to have given way to temper, to have addressed the other in very insulting language."

Towards the end of 1860, it was signified to Mahārānī Jind Kaur that her son, Mahārājā Duleep Singh, was about to return to India and that she could visit him in Calcutta. She welcomed the suggestion and travelled to Calcutta to meet her son who took her with him to England. Mahārānī Jind Kaur died at Kensington, England, on 1 August 1863.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twāriḳh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Smyth, G. Carmichael, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
3. Bell, Evans, *The Annexation of the Punjab and Maharaja Duleep Singh*. London, 1882
4. Ganda Singh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement of the Panjab (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence)*. Patiala, 1977
5. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Princeton, 1966
6. Gill, Avtar Singh, *Lahore Darbar and Rani Jindan*. Ludhiana, 1983

B.J.H.

JINDVĀL, village 1 km southeast of Baṅgā (31°-11'N, 76°E) along the Phagwārā-Nawānshahr road in Nawānshahr district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind, who stayed here for a time, during his journey from Kartārpur to Kīratpur in 1635, to get his favourite horse, Suhelā, treated. The original building of the shrine, Gurdwārā Charan Kaṅval Pātshahī Chhevīn, constructed by Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh, was replaced by a new one raised in 1947. Built in a walled compound entered through an imposing gateway, the central building standing on a high plinth is a square marble-floored hall with the sanctum in the middle and a verandah around it. Above the sanctum is a domed room topped by a gold-plated pinnacle. The *sarovar* is to the north of the hall and Gurū kā Laṅgar and Mātā Nānakī Library to its south. The Gurdwārā is managed by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Besides the daily services and observance of major Sikh anniversaries, a largely-attended religious fair is held on 21st of Hāṛ (usually 4 July) every year.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tivath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Prataḥp Sūraj Granth*.

Amritsar, 1927-33

3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twāriḳh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.

Gn.S.

JINDVARĪ, village 14 km west of Anandpur in Ropar district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine formerly known as Gurūāṇā but now called Gurdwārā Jindvarī Sāhib. It marks the site where Bābā Gurdittā, the eldest son of Gurū Hargobind, inadvertently killed a cow during the chase. His use of mystical power to revive the cow, however, displeased Gurū Hargobind, and Bābā Gurdittā cast off his mortal frame in repentance. Gurū Gobind Singh is also said to have visited the place. The present rectangular building of the Gurdwārā replacing the old one was constructed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1940. Major anniversaries on the Sikh calendar are observed and an annual religious fair is held in February.

Gn.S.

JINWĀḌĀ, pronounced Jinvārā, 11 km from Bidar (17°-55'N, 77°-32'E) in Karnāṭaka is situated along the road connecting Bidar to Baraulī-Auradh, a Talluqā headquarters in Bidar district.

Gurdwārā Tap Asthān Māi Bhāgo at Jinwāḍā honours the memory of Māi Bhāgo, revered as a saint, who fought in the battle of Muktsar. From Muktsar onwards, she constantly remained in the train of Gurū Gobind Singh's followers and travelled with them to the Deccan. After the Gurū's passing away at Nānded, Māi Bhāgo retired further south. She settled down at Jinwāḍā, the seat of two chieftains, Bālā Rāo and Rustam Rāo, whose release from captivity at Satārā is attributed to a miraculous intervention by Gurū Gobind Singh. She lived to attain a ripe old age. Her hut was just outside the walls of the village fortress. The fortress is now nothing but a ruined enclosure of hewn stones, but Māi

Bhāgo's hut is still extant. The Sikhs took it over from one Gulāb Rāo, in 1948, when they secured possession of Nānak Jhīrā. The hut is now a single flat-roofed room, with a verandah in the front. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in the centre and is attended by a *granthī* supplied by Gurdwārā Srī Nānak Jhīrā, Bidar. Plans are afoot to raise a new building. As an inaugural measure, a 16-metre high Sikh flag, donated by Takht Sachkhaṇḍ Srī Hazūr Sāhib, Nāndēḍ, was unfurled ceremoniously on 26 November 1977.

M.G.S.

JĪT MALL, a cousin of Gurū Gobind Singh, was the son of Bhāī Sādhū, a Khoslā Khatrī of Mallā, in present-day Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab, and Bībī Vīro, daughter of Gurū Hargobind and elder sister of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. As recorded in Gurū Gobind Singh's autobiographical poem *Bachitra Nāṭak*, Jit Mall and his four brothers took a heroic part in the battle of Bhaṅgānī, near Pāoṅṭā, now in Himāchal Pradesh, fought on 18 September 1688. In reverberating verse matching the fierce pace of the battle, Gurū Gobind Singh describes how the mighty Rājā Harī Chand who had kept up a deadly discharge of arrows was challenged by Jit Mall and felled with a single thrust of his spear. Jit Mall was among two of the five brothers who were killed in the battle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*
2. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
3. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1966
4. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

M.G.S.

JĪTOJĪ, MĀTĀ, the first wife of Gurū Gobind Singh who died in 1700, was the daughter of Bhāī Hari Jas, a Subhikkhī Khatrī of Lahore. The betrothal had taken place in 1673. The father-in-law had desired that the bridegroom

should come at the head of a marriage party to Lahore where the ceremony should be performed with due dignity. But the fateful events leading to the martyrdom of Gurū Tegh Bahādur intervened, and in the changed circumstances it was not possible for the young Gurū to go to Lahore. Therefore, a temporary encampment was raised near the village of Basantgarh, 10 km north of Anandpur, and named Gurū kā Lahore where the nuptials were held on 23 Hār 1734 Bk/21 June 1677. Three sons were born to Mātā Jītojī — Jujhār Singh (14 March 1691), Zorāwar Singh (17 November 1696) and Fateh Singh (25 February 1699). As Gurū Gobind Singh was preparing *amrit* for initiating the *Khālsā*, on 30 March 1699, stirring clean water in an iron bowl with a *khaṇḍā* or double-edged sword, Mātā Jītojī, as the tradition goes, came with sugar crystals which were dropped into the vessel at the Gurū's bidding. Sweetness was thus added to the alchemy of steel. Mātā Jītojī died at Anandpur on 5 December 1700. The cremation took place at Agampurā, near the Holgarh Fort. A memorial shrine now stands upon the spot.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Chhibbar, Kesar Singh, *Bansāvalināmā Dasān Pātshāhān Kā*. Chandigarh, 1972

S.S.A.

JIŪN SINGH PARUPKĀRĪ, BHĀĪ (1884-1921), was the son of Bhāī Pahū Mall of Gujrañwālā district. His original name was Jiūn Mall. In 1902 he, listening to the preachings of Bhāī Mūl Singh Garmūlā, went through the rites of *Khālsā pāhul* and became Jiūn Singh. He shifted to Lyallpur town (now Faisalābād in Pakistan) where he set up a small provisions shop. He learnt Gurmukhī and committed to memory several passages from the Gurū Granth Sāhib and a few *Vārs* from Bhāī Gurdās. He regularly attended the local Gurdwārā where

he joined the morning choir to recite *Āsā kī Vār*. Jiṁ Singh made himself very popular for his honesty and polite manner and his earnestness to be of help to others. These qualities earned him the epithet *parupkārī*, one who delighted in being of help to others.

To a call from Jathedār Kartār Singh Jhabbar and Bhāi Lachhman Singh for the liberation of the holy shrines at Nankāṇā Sāhib, particularly Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, then controlled by the dissolute Udāsī Mahant Narain Dās, he responded with ready enthusiasm. Although under the orders of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, the entire operation had been called off, the news did not reach Bhāi Lachhman Singh and his men and they all met with a cruel death at the hands of Mahant Narain Dās and his hirelings. Likewise, Bhāi Jiṁ Singh missed the signal from Amritsar. He was waylaid in the vicinity of Sri Nankāṇā Sāhib and was shot down.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jivan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

JĪVĀ or living being is not merely physical or material body (*deha*). It is not even biological or vital breath (*prāṇā*). Nor is it just a cluster of sense-impressions (*manas*), nor intellect (*buddhī*), nor ego (*ahaṅkāra*). The essence of *jīva* is something beyond all these. It is the Transcendent Self or *ātman*, which is the knower (*sākṣī*), the seer (*drishṭā*) and pure consciousness (*chit*).

The composite whole of *chit* and *achit*, *drishṭa* and *drishya*, *kartā* and *karaṇa* is the total personality called *jīva*, the embodied self.

The constituents of *jīva*, according to Vedānt, are (i) *Ātman* or Self, (ii) *Avidyā* or ignorance enveloping the self, (iii) *Chidābhāsa* or reflection of the Self in the Ego, (iv) *karama*

śarīra, the causal body, (v) *liṅga śarīra* constituting *prāṇa* (vital airs), *man*, *ahaṅkāra* and *buddhī*, and (vi) gross physical body.

In *gurbānī*, *jīva* (also *jīa*) essentially stands for living being, an organism. *Jete jīa jīvahi lai sāhā*, all living beings live by breath (GG, 144), exemplifies this connotation. The same is also reflected in this line from *Akāl Ustatī*, *jīva jite jal meṅ thal meṅ*, as many living beings as abide in water or on land.

The term *jīva* also stands for *ātmā* or *jīvātmā* since that is presumed to be the source of life in any living being. Such lines as *īshvar jīva ek im jānai* : thus reckon *īshvar* (God) and *jīva* as one (*Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*) or *jīu eku aru sagal sarīrā* : consider it the same one *ātmā* in all different bodies (GG, 330).

The term has also been employed to connote *man* or *chit*, i.e. mind or consciousness, as in *jīa saṅgi prabhū apunā dhartā* : He fixes his mind on his Lord (GG, 384).

In brief, *jīva* in *gurbānī* stands for a living being or for any of the features — life, consciousness, mind or soul (*jīvātmā*) — that are deemed to characterize a living being in general, more specifically man.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Avtar Singh, *Ethics of the Sikhs*. Patiala, 1970
 2. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944
- J.S.N.

JĪVĀ, BHĀĪ, a Sikh living near Khaḍūr Sāhib in Amritsar district of the Punjab, who used to bring daily *khicharī* (a dish of rice mixed with lentils) and curds for Gurū Anḡad's *laṅgar* or community kitchen. One evening as a severe dust storm was raging, he, according to Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, said to the Gurū, "May it please you, Lord, to stop this storm so that I may be able to bring the usual victuals tomorrow morning." The Gurū remarked: "God's Will is supreme and no one may try to intervene in it. How does it matter if the meal gets

delayed a little." Bhāi Jivā bowed before the Gurū and learnt cheerfully to abide by the Divine Will.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

JĪVAN, BHĀĪ, the younger son of Bhāi Bhagatū (d. 1652), a Sikh reputed for his piety, was a devotee of Gurū Har Rāi (1630-61). While his elder brother, Gaurā, was a warrior and leader of the Siddhū-Brāṛs of the area around Baṭhiṇḍā (30°-14'N, 74°-59'E), Jīvan remained in attendance upon Gurū Har Rāi. He died young. His descendants are settled at Bhuchcho, in Baṭhiṇḍā district, and at Koṭ Bhāi, in Faridkoṭ district of the Punjab.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

B.S.

JĪVANDĀ, BHĀĪ, whose name is included by Bhāi Gurdās among prominent Sikhs of the first half of the sixteenth century, received initiation at the hands of Gurū Aṅgad. As he first visited the Gurū, he was accompanied by Bhāi Durgā and Bhāi Lālū. The Gurū in the words of Bhāi Mani Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, spoke to them: "There is nothing to match *parupkār*, i.e. acts of goodwill and charity. One should put the welfare of others above one's own interests, share with the needy what one has, contribute the labour of one's hands and limbs for the common good, and pray for the well-being of all." Bhāi Jivandā and his companions became the Gurū's disciples and practised

his advice. Bhāi Gurdās, in his *Vārān*, XI. 15, calls them *parupkārī* or men dedicated to doing good to others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Vir Singh, Bhāi, ed., *Vārān Bhāi Gurdās*. Amritsar, 1962

B.S.D.

JĪVANDĀ, BHĀĪ, a pious Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. He lived in Fatehpur and once, accompanied by Bhāi Jagsī and Tilokā Seth, both of the same village, visited the Gurū in Amritsar. Gurū Arjan was then engaged in assembling the compositions of the Gurūs as well as some of the *bhagats* and Sūfis into a volume. According to Bhāi Mani Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, Bhāi Jivandā and his companions mentioned the names of Kānhā, Chhajjū, Pilū and Shāh Husain, who, then living in Lahore, were well known for their piety, and suggested that their hymns might also be considered for inclusion in the Book. Gurū Arjan invited the four poets from Lahore and had them recite their compositions, but forbore from incorporating these in his text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mani Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JĪVAN-MUKTA, in Sikhism the ideal and aim or objective of man's spiritual life. The term is derived from *jīvan-muktī* (*jīvan*=life; *muktī*=release, liberation, emancipation, freedom from bondage), and means one who has attained liberation from human bondage or one who has attained to the highest

spiritual state of being in tune with the Ultimate while still living. The idea of *muktī* is encountered, with some conceptual variations, in practically all religious faiths, e.g. *mokṣa* in Hinduism, *nirvāṇa* in Buddhism, *nijāt* in Islam and salvation in Christianity. The belief underlying the concept of *muktī* is, that the soul, a particle of the Supreme Soul, is, while embedded in the physical frame, in a state of *viyog* or separation and longs for *saiyog* or reunion with its source, which for it is the supreme bliss.

If the body is the cause of the soul's bondage, it is clear that its release essentially involves its separation from the earthly cage, meaning death; and that is how it is generally understood. In the Indian context *muktī* means deliverance of the human soul from the cycle of birth, death and rebirth to which it is destined in consequence of its past and present *karma* (actions, deeds). Various ways, such as spiritual knowledge (*jñāna mārg*) disinterested service, ritualism (*karma mārg*), austerities (*haṭh yoga*) and devotion to God (*bhakti mārg*) are suggested to break the incarnation cycle. Whatever the soteriological means, the end is usually sought in the cessation of incarnate existence. Besides this idea of *videh* (incorporeal) *muktī*, however, references to the concept of *jīvan-muktī* are also found in the ancient scriptural literature of India. But it is in the *bāṇī* (utterances) of the Sikh Gurūs that *jīvan-muktī* and *jīvan-mukta* receive a greater emphasis and fuller treatment. The saint-poets of the Bhaktī movement had freely employed the vocabulary of *muktī*. Gurū Nānak and his spiritual successors accepted the terminology made current in the preceding generations by sages and men of piety. But, as in the case of numerous other concepts, the expression *muktī* is invested with a new meaning in their *bāṇī*. It is no longer the annihilation of human existence but the spiritual quality of one's life that serves as the central principle in the

Sikh conception of *muktī*. The body constitutes no barrier between the soul and the Supreme Soul. On the contrary, "the body is the fort limitless wherein resides He, the Cherisher Himself" (GG, 514). "Within the body resides the Ineffable One; the *manmukh* (the self-willed) fool does not know this and roams abroad in search of Him" (GG, 754). Gurū Arjan goes to the extent of rejecting *muktī* in the traditional sense of a post-death state and substitutes it with constant love of the Divine as the ideal state of being (GG, 534).

The root cause of the alienation of the human soul from its Supreme source is *avidyā* (ignorance), according to the Vedāntic way. In Buddhism, where *nirvāṇa* means soul's freedom from suffering, the cause of suffering is *trṣṇā* (craving). The Gurūs, however, hold *haumai* (the individuating sense of ego or I-ness) as the cause of ignorance, craving and bondage, as also of suffering. If liberation is sought, it is not from life or body but from the shackles of ego. Gurū Nānak's definition of *jīvan-mukta*, therefore, is in terms of the negation of egoism:

He alone is liberated while still living

Who is cleansed of the ego inside (GG, 1010).

The state of egolessness is the state of perfect detachment, not of renunciation, nor of self-mortification.

The *jīvan-mukta* of Sikh conception is the realized soul, identified as *gurmukh* (one whose face is turned towards God). He leads the life of a common householder enriched by the experience of spiritual harmony within. "He surrenders himself completely to the Will of God; joy and sorrow are the same to him; he experiences bliss always and *viyog* (separation) never" (GG, 275). Instead of the differentiating ego, the all-encompassing Divine Spirit resides in him. Existentially he belongs to the world, essentially he transcends the world.

A variant of the term *jīvan-muktī* in *gurbāṇī*

is dying-in-life (*jīvat marnā*). The paradoxical expression of dying while alive is employed by the Gurūs in order to stress the importance of abandoning one type of life and the adoption of another. It is dying to the life of *haumai*, of 'five evils', and entering into a life of contemplation, altruism and love of God. The person attaining to the state of *jīvat-marnā*, in this sense, is the one qualified for the designation of *jīvan-mukta*. He or she is the one who has realized the essence of human life, the essential life, concealed under the sheaths of egoism, of ignorance, passion, avarice, pride and infatuation.

The ideal state of *jīvan-mukta* is, notionally, within the reach of every human being, since anyone following an ethical and spiritual course faithfully, may receive the *nadar* (God's grace or blessing). Yet, as the Gurūs point out, rare are the individuals who actually arrive at the summit. The blessed few, fulfilled by the experience of Supreme realization, set out to serve their companions. They strive for the total well-being of fellow men, in all spheres of existence. However, the success of a *jīvan-mukta* in heralding an order of enlightened individuals or the Kingdom of God on earth, is not to be measured in terms of the number of "converts" to his way of life, but in terms of the model of humane, and enlightened living he presents for emulation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Wazir Singh, *Humanism of Guru Nanak*. Delhi, 1977
2. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944
3. Dharam Singh, *Sikh Theology of Liberation*, Delhi, 1991.
4. Shivkumar, Muni, *The Doctrine of Liberation in Indian Religions*. Panchkula, 1981
5. Lad, A.K., *A Comparative Study of the Concept of Liberation in Indian Philosophy*. Burhanpur, 1967
6. *Journal of Dharma* (Bangalore), October-December 1987

W.S.

JĪVAN SINGH, BHĀĪ (1649-1705), Bhāi Jaitā

before he had received the rites of initiation at the hands of Gurū Gobind Singh in 1699, was a Sikh belonging to the scavenger caste who was given by Gurū Gobind Singh the epithet of 'Raṅghareṭā Gurū Kā Beṭā' (the young man of the Raṅghar caste is the Gurū's own son) when he brought the severed head of Gurū Tegh Bahādur from Delhi where he was executed under the orders of the emperor. Bhāi Jaitā was born on 30 November 1649 to mother Karmo and father Sadā Chand. At the time of his birth, he was named Jāg Chand, shortened to Jāgū or Jotā. He and his younger brother Bhāg Chand, also called Bhāgū, were the disciples of Gurū Har Rāi, Nānak VII. From Kīratpur, in the Śivālik hills, where the Gurū then resided, they shifted, along with their parents, to the village of Jhaṇḍā Rāmdās where they stayed with Bhāi Gurdittā (1625-1675), the great-great-grandson of Bhāi Buḍḍhā. As Bhāi Gurdittā was detained in Delhi following the arrest of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, Jaitā was sent by the family to bring news of him. He was in Delhi when Gurū Tegh Bahādur was beheaded in a public thoroughfare (11 November 1675), and as no one came forward to claim the bodily remains for fear of reprisals, he succeeded in evading the guards and escaping with the severed head to Anandpur where he was received with much honour by Gurū Gobind Singh. He thereafter lived at Anandpur, becoming the first *nagārchī* or beater of drum when the Gurū set up the Raṅjīt Nagārā.

In 1691, he was married to Rāj Kaur daughter of Sujān Singh of the village of Riāṛ, near Amritsar, and had four sons born of him. He received the rites of initiation when Gurū Gobind Singh inaugurated the Khālsā on 30 March 1699. Jaitā was now renamed Jīvan Singh. He became famous as a marksman and trained the two elder sons of Gurū Gobind Singh in the art of warfare. He himself took part in all of Gurū Gobind Singh's battles against the hill chiefs and the

Mughals.

Bhāi Jīvan Sīng̃h fell a martyr in the battle of Chamkaur on 7 December 1705. A *burj* or a tower stands on the site as a monument to his memory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Senāpatī, Kavi, *Srī Gur Sobhā*. Patiala, 1980
2. Kuir Sīng̃h, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
3. Santokh Sīng̃h, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
4. Gurmukh Sīng̃h, *Bhāi Jaitā: Jīvan te Rachnā*. Ludhiana, 1994
5. *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*. Patiala, 1970
6. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1982

A.C.B.

JĪVAN SĪNGH CHHĀCHHĪ (d. 1852), son of Uttam Sīng̃h, a Kohlī Khatri, was a military commander in Sikh times. His father and grandfather had also served under Mahārājā Raṅjīt Sīng̃h. Jīvan Sīng̃h's contingent, consisting of sixty-five horse, five *zambūrās* or camel-swivels, and a kettledrum, was known all along the north-western frontier for its swift movement. He served at Bannū, Ṭonk, Miṭṭhā Tiwāṇā, Peshāwar and Jamrūd. For about eight years, he was stationed at Derā Ismā'il Khān where he had to face the hostility of the border tribes. He took part in the two Anglo-Sikh wars. He died on 22 September 1852.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JĪVAN SĪNGH, COLONEL (d. 1851), eldest of the six sons of Dūlā Sīng̃h of Kalāsvalā in Siākoṭ district, joined the army of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Sīng̃h and was placed under Prince Kharak Sīng̃h. He first saw active service in Kashmir where he was wounded. For the bravery he displayed in the Ṭonk campaign,

he was appointed to the adjutancy of the Sher Dil Paṭān. He again went on active service in 1841 in Kashmir where he lost his younger brother, Kishan Sīng̃h. For his services in the campaign, he was promoted to the command of the regiment. Shortly after the return of the regiment to Lahore, Jīvan Sīng̃h was sent with it to Amritsar to guard the Darbār Sāhib. On the occupation of the Punjab by the British, the regiment was taken over by them and it formed the nucleus of the 19th Punjab Infantry. Jīvan Sīng̃h was confirmed in the position of commandant, with the rank of Colonel.

Jīvan Sīng̃h died at Amritsar in 1851. The Commander-in-Chief published a special General Order lamenting his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JĪVAN SĪNGH KĀRSEVĀVĀLE, BĀBĀ (1894-1974), one of the principal disciples of Sant Gurmukh Sīng̃h Kārasevāvāle (1849-1947), was born to Fateh Sīng̃h and Khem Kaur, peasants of modest means residing in the village of Rāhal Chāhal, in Tarn Tāran *tahsil* of Amritsar district in the Punjab. Born in 1894, Jīvan Sīng̃h grew up into a sturdy young man, interested in wrestling and other rural sports, but never having the chance of going to school. At the age of eighteen, he married Bāvī, renamed Kartār Kaur, daughter of Naudh Sīng̃h, of Kāleke. Up to the age of about 40 years, Jīvan Sīng̃h tried his hand at various occupations, including farming and *tongā*-driving. He also took out a trip to Malaya to seek his fortune there. The turning point in his life came when he met Sant Gurmukh Sīng̃h under whose supervision reconstruction of Gurdwarā Derā Sāhib at Jāmā Rāi, close to his own village, was then in progress through *kār-sevā* or pious voluntary labour. Jīvan Sīng̃h was so

deeply impressed by the saintly demeanour of Sant Gurmukh Singh and the atmosphere of pure dedication and service that prevailed around him that he resolved to spend the rest of his life at his feet. Sant Gurmukh Singh assigned him to the execution of projects such as the construction of *hañsalis*, i.e. underground water channels connecting *sarovars* or sacred tanks at Derā Sāhib, Jāmā Rāi, Nankāṇā Sāhib and Khaḍūr Sāhib. He also had new buildings raised for Gurdwārā Paṭṭī Sāhib and Gurdwārā Kiārā Sāhib at Nankāṇā Sāhib. He joined the gigantic work of renovation and reconstruction of the shrines launched by Sant Gurmukh Singh at Muktsar. After the death of Sant Gurmukh Singh in November 1947, Bābā Jivan Singh made Pehovā, in Haryāṇā, his headquarters, and reconstructed historical shrines and *sarovars* at Pehovā, Thānesar, Kaithal, Siāṇā Sayyidān and Karhā. He also commenced *kār-sevā* for rebuilding the shrine at Garhī Nazīr, near Samāṇā in Paṭiālā district, commemorating Gurū Tegh Bahādūr's visit, which was completed by his successors in the late 1970's. Earlier in the 1950's he, along with Bābā Dalip Singh, had carried out the renovation of Gurdwārā Gaṅgsar at Jaito. But by far the most memorable of Bābā Jivan Singh's works (and of Bābā Dalip Singh's) are Gurdwārā Shikār Ghāṭ at Nāndeḍ and the bridge over the River Godāvarī constructed with the voluntary labour, mostly of Sikhs from distant Punjab, which was hailed as a great engineering feat. Bābā Jivan Singh also participated in the *kār-sevā*, i.e. desilting operations at the sacred pools at Tarn Tāran in 1971 and at Amritsar in 1973.

Bābā Jivan Singh died at the age of 80 years on 29 October 1974.

Pk.S.

JĪVAN SĪNGHVĀLĀ, village 18 km south-east of Bathiṇḍā (30°-14'N, 74°-59'E) along

the link road leading to Talvaṇḍī Sābo, claims a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Gurūsar Pātshāhī Dasviṇ, dedicated to Gurū Gobind Singh who, according to local tradition, stayed here for a brief period in 1706 while travelling from Koṭ Shamīr to Talvaṇḍī Sābo. The present two-storeyed domed building of the Gurdwārā was constructed in 1974. It is a rectangular hall with the sanctum at the far end. The Gurdwārā is managed by the local *saṅgat*.

Gn.S.

JODHĀ, BHĀĪ, *masand* at Tulaspur (location obscure) during the time of Gurū Arjan, was reputed for his probity. He collected the offerings from Sikhs and presented them to the Gurū at Amritsar without spending from these a penny on himself. To quote Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, he, like his fellow *masands*, Bhāi Jallo and Bhāi Mohan and Bhāi Ālam Chand of Gañj, Lahore, used to say that appropriation even of the smallest coin of the Sikhs' offerings was like swallowing a house-fly which would not only make one throw up the entire food eaten but also make the body sick and weak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JODHĀ, BHĀĪ, and Bhāi Jāmū, both Dhutṭā Khatrīs, waited upon Gurū Arjan and said: "Lord, you tell us to recite the Name of God with concentration, but our minds wander. What shall we do?" The Gurū replied, "He who conquers the mind conquers all. Practising the Name will itself help you restrain the mind from roaming. By repeating God's Name, you will achieve single-pointed attention and your liberation as well." Bhāi Jodhā and Bhāi Jāmū followed the advice, says Bhāi

Manī Singh, and attained liberation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JODHĀN, village 16 km from Ludhiānā (30°-54'N, 75°-52'E), has a *gurdwārā* in memory of Gurū Gobind Singh. The shrine, called Gurdwārā Damdamā Sāhib Pātshāhī 10, marks the site where Gurū Gobind Singh halted for rest during his journey from Ālangīr to Hehrān towards the close of 1705. The present building, raised in 1954, consists of a square hall with a verandah on three sides. There is an octagonal domed room above the *prakāsh asthān*. A row of five small rooms on a side provides residential accommodation for pilgrims and travellers. The Gurū kā Laṅgar is at the back. A flat-roofed square room with a basement, constructed within the Gurdwārā compound in 1966, is dedicated to Bābā Sāhib Singh Bedī, who visited the village twice, once in 1794 while on his way to Jagrāoṅ after his Mālerkoṭlā campaign and again in 1798 when he defeated the forces of the Muslim chief of Rāikoṭ in a fierce battle fought at Jodhān.

The Gurdwārā Damdamā Sāhib is administered by a village committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
4. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JODHĀ RĀM (d. 1845), a Brāhmaṇ of Jammū hills, was the father-in-law of Paṇḍit Jallā, adviser and confidant of Rājā Hīrā Singh

Dogrā, who became in 1843 the prime minister of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore. It was Jodhā Rām who captured Jawāhar Singh, brother of Mahārāṇī Jind Kaur, by order of Prime Minister Hīrā Singh. When Jawāhar Singh assumed power in May 1845, he had Jodhā Rām executed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Chopra, Barkat Rai, *Kingdom of the Punjab*. Hoshiarpur, 1969
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1956

H.R.G.

JODH, BHĀĪ, listed in Bhāī Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 14, as one of the Sikhs of Gurū Nānak. See PHIRNĀ, BHĀĪ

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

JODH, BHĀĪ, a Brāhmaṇ turned Sikh, served as a cook in Gurū kā Laṅgar in the time of Gurū Aṅgad as well as of Gurū Amar Dās. He was humble and dedicated and tirelessly cooked and served food at all hours of day. He used to clean the utensils too, contenting himself with the leftovers as fare for himself. As says Bhāī Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, Bhāī Jodh never touched money. "Jodh the cook prepared food in the *laṅgar* which he kept serving to the Sikhs all day. Himself he lived on what sustenance he could obtain from the used leaf-plates." Bhāī Gurdās, in his *Vārān* eulogizes him calling him an aṅgel who attained emancipation by humbly serving the Gurū.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955

2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.D.

JODH, BHĀI, a Saṅgar Brāhmaṇ, embraced Sikh faith at the hands of Gurū Arjan. His name is included among the Gurū's devotees in Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

JODH, BHĀI, minister or tithe-collector assigned to Koṭ Kamālīā (now in Pakistan), was one of a batch presented before Gurū Gobind Singh charged with appropriating offerings of the devotees. On enquiry he was found innocent and retired with honour while those found guilty suffered punishment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

JODH SINGH (1798-1864), son of Devā Singh whose ancestral village was Rariālā in Gujrañwālā district. Jodh Singh, who came into the *jāgīr* of Rariālā, rose to prominence in the kingdom of Mahārājā Rañjīt Singh. From 1813 to 1825 he served with the Ghorcharās (special cavalry) of Sardār Jodh Singh Sowariāñwālā. In 1831, Jodh Singh participated in Prince Sher Singh's successful campaign against Sayyid Ahmad Khān. In 1834 Jodh Singh became a trooper in Rājā Hirā Singh's *derā* (army unit) and achieved the rank of commandant in 1836; he remained with the same unit until 1848. Dur-

ing the unsettled years following Rañjīt Singh's death (1839) Jodh Singh served his country well under Dīwān Hukam Rāi in Mamdoṭ and Muktsar and later in the Mājhā where, along with the *sowars* under his command, he more than once restored order and administered justice. Following the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46), Jodh Singh served as the *adāltī* (judicial officer) at Amritsar where, during the second Anglo-Sikh war (1848-49), he kept things peaceful and supported the British. After the British formally annexed the Punjab in March 1849, Jodh Singh remained at Amritsar and entered government service as a trusted extra-assistant commissioner. He assisted the British in a number of important ways as a judicial officer in which capacity, among other things, he handled all cases relating to the Golden Temple. Equally important was his role from 1849 to 1862 as *sarbarāh* (manager) of the Darbār Sāhib (Golden Temple): he supervised the Temple's fiscal affairs and managed the Temple functionaries. Jodh Singh's tact and skill enabled the new British rulers of the Punjab to oversee from behind the scene the affairs of Sikhism's premier shrine: a pattern of colonial manipulation that was to continue under subsequent British appointed *sarbarāhs* until the Gurdwārā Reform movement of the earlier 20th century. Jodh Singh retired from government service in 1862.

Jodh Singh died in 1864.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *The Punjab Chiefs*, vol.II. Lahore, 1890
2. Kerr, Ian J., "British relationships with the Golden Temple, 1849-90" *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, -21:2, 1984

I.J.K.

JODH SINGH (d. 1874), a colonel in the army of Mahārājā Rañjīt Singh and the son of Jai Singh, was a descendant of the Mān

family of Mughal Chakk. This family originated from one Laddhā, who, having shifted from Delhi, laid the foundation of a small village of Mān in the suburbs of Gujrānwālā where he had settled. He was appointed headman of twenty-two villages around it which rank lasted long with the family. Jodh Singh's grandfather, Sarjā Singh, was an ally of Charhat Singh Sukkarchakkīā. The Mān family achieved great honour and influence under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh and almost twenty-two members of it held trustworthy military posts. During the Anglo-Sikh war of 1848-49, Jodh Singh fought against the British, but before long came back to Lahore. *Jāgīrs* of this branch of the family were confiscated by the British government after the Punjab was annexed. Jodh Singh was, however, granted a pension of rupees seven hundred and twenty. He died in 1874.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JODH SINGH, BHĀĪ (1882-1981), patriarchal figure for many years in the fields of Sikh theology, education and politics, was born on 31 May 1882 at Ghuṅgrilā, in Rāwalpīṇḍī district, now in Pakistan, the son of Rām Singh and Gulāb Devī. Named Raṅbīr Singh at birth and later called Sant Singh, Jodh Singh lost his father when he was barely two years old. Of his cleverness at studies, he gave evidence at the village primary school from which he passed out standing first in the district. At Rāwalpīṇḍī where he joined high school, his mind was exposed to the revitalizing influence of the Singh Sabhā renaissance. Singh Sabhā lectures stirred him deeply and he gave himself to the study of the Sikh sacred texts. While still at school, he had himself started delivering sermons on Sikhism. This was his introduction to the art of public speaking

which became his *forte* as he grew up. On 30 December 1897, he received the rites of baptism at the hands of Giānī Thākar Singh, a renowned scholar and interpreter of Sikh lore. At the ceremony, Sant Singh was given the name of Jodh Singh.

After passing the matriculation examination, Jodh Singh joined the Mission College, Rāwalpīṇḍī, where he studied for two years. Doing odd jobs for brief intervals in the Postal and Supply and Transport departments, he came to Amritsar to become a private tutor to the children of Sir Sundar Singh Majīṭhīā which enabled him to resume his studies. He took his Bachelor's degree in 1904 at the Khālsā College, winning the top position in the Pañjāb University. He stood first again in his M.A. in Mathematics which examination he passed from the Forman Christian College at Lahore in 1906. Simultaneously, he expanded his study of Sikh Scripture and theology.

Jodh Singh started his career at the Khālsā College as a lecturer in Sikh religion. This turned out to be a most fruitful association with that premier institution of the Sikhs of which he eventually became principal. In the struggle to rid the college of British management, he played a notable part and was made to sever his connection with it. Upon the withdrawal of the British control from its management in 1924, he returned to the college. An additional pre-occupation now was membership of the Punjab Legislative Council where he displayed exceptional parliamentary talent in carrying through the Punjab Legislative Council the Sikh Gurdwārās Act of 1925. He served on the various bodies of the Pañjāb University, and played an active part in laying down the educational policy in the Punjab. On three different occasions, he presided over the deliberations of the Sikh Educational Conference.

Bhāi Jodh Singh occupied in his day the

most honoured place in Sikh learning. As an exegete of the Holy Writ, he had few equals. He was regarded by his contemporaries as the most authoritative interpreter of Sikh faith and tradition. His commentaries on scriptural texts, marked by a catholic knowledge of Eastern and Western schools of thought and by clarity of expression, have already become classics. Besides his books, both in English and Punjabi, he contributed essays on Sikhism to several learned publications and reference works, including the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Among his more famous works in Punjabi are *Sikkhī kī Hai?* (1911), *Gurū Sāhib ate Ved* (1911), *Ṭīkā Japujī Sāhib*, *Bhagat Bānī Saṭīk* (1913), *Gurmat Nirṇay* (1932), *Prāchīn Bīṛān Bāre Bhullān dī Sodhan* (1947), and *Srī Kartārpurī Bīṛ de Darshan* (1968); in English, *Japjī* (1918), *Life of Sri Guru Amardas Ji* (1921), *33 Savaiyas* (1953), *Some Studies in Sikhism* (1953), *Gospel of Guru Nanak in His Own Words* (1969) and *Kabir* (1971).

Bhāi Jodh Singh served as a member of the Punjab Legislative Council after Independence. He was a member of Indian Sāhitya Akādemī and the founder-president of the Punjabi Sāhit Akādemī. He represented Punjab on the Council for National Integration set up by Jawāharlāl Nehrū. In 1962, at the age of 80, he took over as the first Vice-Chancellor of Punjabi University, Paṭiālā. He was awarded the title of Padma Bhūshan in 1966. He was also awarded honorary degrees of Doctor of Literature by Pañjāb University, Chaṇḍīgarh (1961), and Punjabi University, Paṭiālā (1979).

Dr Bhāi Jodh Singh died in Ludhiānā on 4 December 1981.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Piār Singh, *Bhāi Jodh Singh: Jivan te Rachnā*. Patiala, 1983
2. Gaṇḍā Singh, ed, *Bhāi Jodh Singh Abhinandan Granth*. Patiala, 1962

3. Jaggi, Rattan Singh, *Khoj Patrikā: Bhāi Jodh Singh Simritī Aṅk*. Patiala, 1982

G.S.Ms.

JODH SINGH CHASHMĀVĀLĀ (d. 1859) belonged, like his father Gajjā Singh, to the Sikh *misl* or chiefship of the Kanhaiyās. Later he joined service under Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. In 1822, he was sent to Attock where he held charge of the fort for four years. He was then recalled to Lahore and granted a *jāgīr* in Shakargarh *tahsīl* of Gurdāspur district, with a third share in the village of Chashmā, subject to the service of 35 horse. When Hirā Singh Ḍogrā became minister, Jodh Singh was posted to his own regiment, the Ḍerā Khās. Although an old man, he took part with his contingent in the first Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46. After the cessation of hostilities, he retired to his estate at Chashmā. He died in 1859.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

JODH SINGH RĀMGARHĪĀ (d. 1815), soldier and feudatory chief in Sikh times, was the eldest son of Jassā Singh, the celebrated Rāmgarhīā Sardār. Ranjīt Singh bound himself in a pledge of friendship with Jodh Singh Rāmgarhīā before the Gurū Granth Sāhib at Darbār Sāhib, Amritsar. The Mahārājā had great reverence for him and used to call him Bābājī. He was always seated next to the Mahārājā in the royal *darbār*. Jodh Singh was Ranjīt Singh's ally in his earlier campaigns. In 1802, he helped him to seize Amritsar from Māi Sukkhān, widow of Gulāb Singh Bhaṅgī. In 1807, he accompanied the Mahārājā to Kasūr with all his force against Qutb ud-Dīn, who surrendered after a month's resistance. The Faizullāpurīā possessions were annexed to Ranjīt Singh's domain by Dīwān Mohkam Chand and Jodh

Singh Rāmgarhiā in 1810-11.

Jodh Singh was a deeply religious person. He built the Rāmgarhiā Buṅgā on the Golden Temple premises, and supplied pieces of perforated marble that served as parapets on both sides of the causeway leading to the sanctuary. He also brought many pieces of mosaic work from Delhi and Āgrā. He built the first two storeys of Bābā Aṭal, the loftiest building in Amritsar, near the Golden Temple.

Jodh Singh died at Amritsar in August 1815.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Prem Singh, Bābā, *Khālsā Rāj de Usraiyye*. Hoti Mardan, 1944
3. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
4. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Punjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.
5. Ramgarhiā, Sundar Singh, *The Annals of the Ramgarhia Sardars*. Amritsar, 1902

S.S.B.

JODH SINGH RASŪLPURĪĀ (d. 1857), feudatory *sardār* of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. He was the son of Sujān Singh, who had acquired territories in the Jalandhar Doāb and in Ambālā. Jodh Singh, driven out of his possessions by the chief of Kalsiā, settled at Rasūlpur near Tarn Tāran in Amritsar district. He became a *jāgirdār* of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh on conditions of military service.

Jodh Singh Rasūlpurīā died in 1857.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Prem Singh, Bābā, *Khālsā Rāj de Usraiyye*, vol. II. Hoti Mardan, 1954

S.S.B.

JODH SINGH ROSĀ (d. 1819), military commander during Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's

regime, had joined service in the time of the Mahārājā's grandfather, Chaṛhat Singh. He rebuilt the old village of Rosā, in Chūniān *pargana* of Lahore. His father, Thākar Singh, had died in the expedition led against Kasūr in 1765 by the Sikh Sardārs, Harī Singh Bhaṅgī, Jassā Singh Rāmgarhiā and Jai Singh Kanhaiyā. After the death of Chaṛhat Singh, Jodh Singh retained his appointment at Gujrānwālā under Mahān Singh and Ranjīt Singh, and in 1799, he accompanied the latter to Lahore, when the city was captured. Jodh Singh served under Ranjīt Singh in the Kasūr, Piṅḍī Bhaṭṭiān and Jhaṅg campaigns, in the last of which he obtained, for his bravery, a *jāgīr* in Jhaṅg district. He was shortly afterwards severely wounded at the siege of Chiniot.

Jodh Singh was killed in 1819 during the Kashmir campaign. He had seven sons all of whom served the Sikh Darbār in various capacities. Three of his sons — Dayā Singh, Dīvān Singh and Mardān Singh — were killed in action at Ferozeshāh on 21 December 1845 while fighting against the British in the first Anglo-Sikh war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Prem Singh, Bābā, *Khālsā Rāj de Usraiyye*. vol. II. Hoti Mardan, 1944

S.S.B.

JODH SINGH WAZĪRĀBĀDĪĀ (d. 1809), son of Gurbakhsh Singh, was a powerful eighteenth-century Sikh chief. He possessed the *pargana*s of Wazīrābād, Kaṛiāl, Mitrānvālī and Talvaṅḍī Mūsā Khān, comprising about 500 villages. Jodh Singh and Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's father, Mahān Singh, were great friends, and both often joined hands together to fight against Sāhib Singh Bhaṅgī of Gujrāt. At the siege of Sodhrā in 1792, Jodh Singh is said to have betrayed Mahān Singh. Sāhib Singh, who was besieged in the fort,

was short of powder, and his surrender was certain. But Jodh Singh, who feared that Mahān Singh would become too powerful were Sāhib Singh to give in, supplied the latter with ammunition. Mahān Singh had been dangerously ill throughout the siege, and this treachery hastened his end. The action of Jodh Singh is said to have been the cause of Raṅjīt Singh's hostility towards him. But when Raṅjīt Singh found that the Wazirābād chief was too strong for him, he endeavoured to gain by stratagem what he was unable to take by force. He invited Jodh Singh to Lahore, but the latter brought with him a large force. This Raṅjīt Singh desired him to send back which he, too proud to show fear, did, and arrived at Lahore with only 200 picked men. Next day he attended court, leaving his escort outside. He was received by Raṅjīt Singh with the greatest courtesy. Suddenly however the Mahārājā arose from his seat and made a sign to his attendants to seize the *sardār*. Jodh Singh drew his sword and dared them to attack him, for, as he declared, he did not know how to flee. Raṅjīt Singh loved a brave man. He became Jodh Singh's admirer and dismissed him with honour and rich gifts.

Jodh Singh died in 1809.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Raṅjīt Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990

S.S.B.

JOGĀ, village 19 km north of Mānsā (29°-59'N, 75°-23'E), in Mānsā district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine dedicated to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. According to local tradition, the village was not in existence when the Gurū visited these parts. He encamped at the site now marked by Gurdwārā Pātshāhī IX, half a kilometre east of present-day vil-

lage of Jogā. No one noticed the Gurū's presence. It was only when he prepared to leave, that Jugrāj, the local chief, came to offer obeisance. He requested the Gurū to stay a little longer. Gurū Tegh Bahādur said, "Establish a village on that mound. The site is invulnerable." Jugrāj founded the habitation as directed and named it Jogā after his son. A memorial platform was also constructed where Gurū Tegh Bahādur had sat. This was later replaced by a *gurdwārā*. The present building, in the middle of a one-acre walled compound entered through a high gateway flanked by rows of rooms, comprises a square domed sanctum at one end of a spacious hall. The sanctum is supported by four grooved octagonal columns while another four pillars, cylindrical in shape, support the rest of the hall. The Gurdwārā owns 20 acres of land and is administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sakhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
4. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

JOGĀ SINGH, a Sikh youth from Peshāwar, who had lived in the presence of Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) at Anandpur for many years and served him with devotion. One day as his parents, eager to see him married, arrived to escort him back home, the Gurū permitted him to depart, saying that he must return at once when recalled. Jogā Singh was in the midst of his nuptials and had completed only two of the customary four circumambulations when a Sikh delivered to him the Gurū's letter of recall. He left the ceremony midway and, despite the protestations and importunities of his

relations, immediately set out for Anandpur. The elation aroused in him by his prompt compliance with Gurū's summons gradually turned into a sense of self-esteem and conceit. As he halted for a night at Hoshiārpur, not far from his destination, Anandpur, he fell for the charms of a beautiful courtesan. But providence, as it were, came to his rescue. As he went to the woman's door, he felt as if it were guarded by a person who sharply reminded him of his Gurū and of his teaching. Jogā Singh realized his error and was filled with remorse. Purged of his pride, he resumed his journey and presented himself before Gurū Gobind Singh at Anandpur with humility, and unashamedly told other Sikhs of how he had practically fallen and how he had been saved by the Gurū's grace.

A *gurdwārā* named after Bhāi Jogā Singh existed in Peshāwar until 1947.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī* 10. Patiala, 1968
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1966 P.S.P.

JOGENDRA SINGH, SIR (1877-1946), scholar and statesman of old Sikh lineage, and counted among the politest and most accomplished men of his day, was born the second son of Javālā Singh on 25 May 1877 at Airā Estate, in Kheṛī district of what then used to be the United Provinces. His ancestors belonged to the village of Rasūlpur in Amritsar district of the Punjab. In old family records he was usually referred to as Jogendra Singh Rasūlpurīā. His grandfather, Pañjāb Singh was a soldier in Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's *ghoṛcharhās*, irregular cavalry. He was awarded a *jāgīr* in Oudh in recognition of military service rendered by him after the annexation of the Punjab to the British dominions. Jogendra Singh inherited in 1898

an area of over 12,000 acres of land known as Airā Estate.

Self-educated, he was a man of high intellectual calibre and culture. From the very beginning, he had a flair for language and acquired especially mastery of the English language which he used with a rare finesse. His introduction to public life was through journalism. Besides publishing articles on farming and allied subjects in papers in India and abroad, he edited for some time his own journal *East & West* which he had taken over from Behrāmjī Mālābārī, a noted Pārsī journalist.

Two of his books directly on Sikh themes were late in coming. *Thus Spake Guru Nanak* was published in 1934 and *Sikh Ceremonies* in 1940. Prior to that he had published two of his works of fiction, *Nūr Jahān and Nasrīn*, both in London. His life of B.M. Mālābārī was published in London by G. Bell and Sons in 1914. Another novel, *Kamlā*, was published in Lahore in 1931 with a Punjabi translation from the pen of Gurmukh Singh Jeet. A novel, *Rasūlī*, was serialized in *East & West* (in 1911-12). After the death of Mālābārī, he took over the magazine *East & West*, of which he became the editor. In the thirties he launched his monthly, *The Khalsa Review*. His *The Persian Mystics* is a rendering into English of the sayings of the mystic 'Abdullah Ansārī (1005-1090) of Herat. The first edition of the book carrying a Foreword, by M.K. Gāndhī, dated 14 April 1938, was published by John Murray, London, in October 1939. It was reprinted posthumously in March 1951 and again in June 1959.

Jogendra Singh's interest in letters gradually waned as other claims arose. In 1911 he had to go to the princely state of Paṭiālā as Home Minister. In 1926, he was nominated to the Punjab Legislative Council and appointed minister for Agriculture and Public Works. This nomination was repeated three times and for three terms successively he became a minister in the Punjab

Government. A pioneer in tractor cultivation, he laid the foundation of mechanized farming in the Punjab. He helped establish hosiery industry in Ludhiānā. The Maṇḍī Hydro-electric Project was completed during his tenure. The adjoining town of Jogendra Nagar was named after him.

Jogendra Singh was knighted in 1929. In 1936, in collaboration with Sundar Singh Majīthiā, he founded the Khālsā National Party which won majority of the Sikh seats at polls in the 1937 elections under the Government of India Act of 1935. Sir Jogendra Singh then chose to retire from politics, though he continued his single-man campaign through his writings in the Press, especially in *The Statesman* and *The Tribune*, in favour of acceptance by political parties of the second part (Federation) of the Government of India Act of 1935. Paṭiālā called him again, this time as prime minister.

In 1941, the British Viceroy of India expanded his executive council to give representation to popular elements in the political life of India. At the time of the expansion the Sikhs were not given any representation which was resented by them and they held a protest meeting in Amritsar which was presided over by Sir Jogendra Singh. At that time his friend and fellow scholar, Umrāo Singh Majīthiā, father of Amrita Sher-gil, wrote to him a letter consoling him and quoting to him one of Akbar Allāhābādī's couplets:

*Council mein agar pūrsish na huī,
Maghmūm na tum ai yār raho.
Allah bulāne vālā hai,
Marne ke liye taiyār raho.*

This will translate:

Though to the council you have not been asked,

You need not be dismayed, dear friend.

Almighty Allah's summons are close at hand,

You must remain prepared for the call.

As it transpired, when the Council was

next expanded in July 1942, Sir Jogendra Singh was nominated a member. He was thus the first Sikh to be a member of the Viceroy's executive council and his portfolio included the departments of Health, Lands and Education.

Sir Jogendra Singh was Pro-Chancellor of Delhi University. He served on several committees and commissions such as the Indian Sugar Committee, the Indian Taxation Enquiry Commission, and the Indian Sandhurst Committee. He was also a Fellow of the Pañjāb University.

Throughout, Sir Jogendra Singh had been a leading figure in Sikh affairs. He had worked for the Chief Khālsā Dīwān, Khālsā College Managing Council and the Sikh Educational Conference, presiding over four of its annual sessions, at the 2nd (1909 Lahore), 5th (1912 Siālkoṭ), 18th (1927 Rāwalpiṇḍī) and 23rd (1933 Peshāwar). He was also one of the founders of the Khālsā Defence of India League and a member of the Sikh delegation meeting the Cripps Mission (31 March 1942) on behalf of the Sikhs.

As a liberal elder statesman, Sir Jogendra Singh enjoyed wide esteem in the country. He attracted equal notice for his scholarship and literary accomplishment as well as for his personal qualities of courtesy and humility.

Sir Jogendra Singh died of a paralytic stroke at Iqbāl Nagar, district Montgomery, now in Pakistan, on 3 December 1946.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1940
2. *Silvar Jubilee Book*. Amritsar, 1935
3. Tuteja, K.L., *Sikh Politics (1920-40)*. Kurukshetra, 1984
4. Ganda Singh, ed., *Bhagat Lakshman Singh Autobiography*. Calcutta, 1965
5. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Princeton, 1966
6. *The Tribune*. Chandigarh, 12 June 1983
7. *Prītam* (Punjabi). Lahore, May 1942

8. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, 22 December 1946

A.S.

JONES, a deserter from the East India Company's service, joined Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's army as a gunner. According to Charles Masson, the traveller, Jones participated in the final battle of Multān in 1818 and took charge of the guns, enabling the Akālīs to storm the fort.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India 1785-1849* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

JOTI BIGĀS is the joint title of two poetic compositions, one in Persian and the other in Punjabi, by Bhāi Nand Lāl Goyā, a devoted Sikh of Gurū Gobind Singh, much revered in Sikh piety and in letters. Bhāi Nand Lāl's verse is classed as approved Sikh canon and can be recited at religious assemblies along with the hymns of the Gurūs. Both the works included in *Joti Bigās* are in the nature of a fervent homage to the Gurūs, all ten of whom are acclaimed as sharing the same light, the same voice speaking through ten bodies. The work in Punjabi comprises forty-three couplets whereas the one in Persian has 175 couplets. In the former, the first twenty-six couplets are in praise of the Gurū who saves the good and punishes the evil, who is everlasting and who removes all fear, who fulfils all desires and grants liberation, who is perfect and the very image of God himself and turns men's hearts to remembering Him. The next five couplets (27-31) allude to Gurū Nānak and his nine successors, proclaiming them all to be one in genius. The concluding stanzas refer to the 330 million Hindu gods and goddesses, and innumerable *bhaktas*, *siddhas*, *yogīs* and prophets all of whom seek shelter under the Gurū. It is to the feet of such a Gurū that the poet has

attached himself.

The Persian part of *Joti Bigās* is a *masnavī*, beginning with an account of Gurū Nānak (1-22) who is the highest of the high (3), the emperor of both the worlds (5), and the embodiment of all virtues (6). Innumerable gods and goddesses bow before him (11-14) and innumerable planets (15-16) and sovereigns (22) are slaves to his will. Gurū Nānak was followed by a line of nine spiritual successors who, though different in body, shared the same light (23-27). The subsequent couplets (28-175) are in praise of Gurū Gobind Singh who fulfils the desires of all and who keeps both the worlds in order (100). He is blessed by God with the key to all problems (101). He is superior to all not only spiritually but also in the field of battle where he roars like a lion (120). He is the jewel in the ring of justice and the fruit of the tree of God's grace (117). He is the glow of the gems serene (104). The style of poetry is high-flown in the tradition of a *qasīdā*, i.e. encomium, in Persian. That the poet is attempting to match the Muslim *na'at* or laudatory verses addressed to the Prophet, is also obvious. The heroic qualities of Gurū Gobind Singh are described in terms of those of the heroes from Indian mythology and the Iranian tradition (160).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ganda Singh, ed., *Bhāi Nand Lāl Granthāvalī*. Malacca (Malaya) 1968

D.S.

A JOURNEY FROM BENGAL TO ENGLAND, "through the northern part of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Persia, and into Russia by the Caspian Sea," by George Forster, 2 vols., was first published in 1790 and reprinted in 1970 by the Languages Department, Punjab, Paṭiālā. The book is an account of travels, perhaps the first ever in this part of the world by a European writer. The first volume relates to the author's journey from Calcutta to the Punjab with a section on Hindu mythology,

a brief history of the Ruhīlās and a description of the origin and growth of the Sikhs in the Punjab. The narrative about the Punjab begins with sketches in chronological order of the ten Gurūs of the Sikh faith, followed by Bandā Singh Bahādur's career, repression of the Sikhs under Ādinā Beg and Mīr Mannū and their continued resistance. The invading hordes of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī suffer harassment at the hands of the Sikhs. At this point the narrative ends to discuss some of the salient features of the land of the Sikhs. It is recorded that the extensive and fertile territory yielded a revenue of 24,695,000 rupees. Extensive and valuable commerce was also maintained with Bengal, Bihār and other parts of India.

Forster does not fasten any distinguishing term upon the existing Sikh form of government. To him it bore an appearance of aristocracy (p. 328). The Sikh military force consisted mainly of cavalry, with a negligible artillery. Infantry, according to author, was held in low esteem and more often assigned meaner duties. In the end, Forster predicted with uncommon prescience: "Should any future cause call forth the combined efforts of the Sicques [Sikhs] to maintain the existence of empire and religion, we may see some ambitious chief led on by his genius and success, and, absorbing the power of his associates, display, from the ruins of their Commonwealth, the standard of monarchy" (p. 340). The second volume of the book begins with the author's journey through Kashmīr which, according to him, is "unparalleled for its air, soil and a picturesque variety of landscape" (p.l.) and ends with his arrival in Russia through Afghanistan and Persia.

The facts given in the book are, in the main, reliable, except at a few places. For example, the author seems to be unaware of the truce which took place between the Sikhs and Ādinā Beg, thus erroneously attributing to "the superior power of the Marhattas" and

the fear of "incurring the resentment of Adina Beg" (p. 318) the Sikhs' reluctance to lead incursions into the low country during Ādinā Beg's governorship of Lahore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*. Delhi, 1991
2. Khurana, Gianeshwar, *British Historiography on the Sikh Power in Punjab*. Delhi, 1985
3. Fauja Singh, *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1985

B.J.H.

JUGĀVALĪ, attributed to Gurū Nānak, is an apocryphal text. It is not included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. One version of it is available in the Prāṇ Saṅglī (chapter 79) edited by Sant Sampūran Singh. He places it under Rāga Rāmkalī, and on the authority of some manuscript copy of a *janam sākhi* states that in a moment of ecstasy Gurū Nānak at a place called Chhuṭghāt, in the year 1569 Bk/AD 1512, recounted to a disciple, Jhaṇḍā Bāḍhī, the history of the prolonged meditation he had undergone for full forty *yugas*, all the time concentrating on the name *Vāhigurū*. According to Sant Sampūran Singh, Gurū Nānak repeated the same text to Rājā Shivnābh of Saṅglādīp (Sri Lanka) in 1574 Bk/AD 1518 when he visited that country. However, as the text has not been incorporated in the Gurū Granth Sāhib by Gurū Arjan, it has to be rejected as apocryphal. Bhāi Vir Singh (*Purātan Janam Sākhi*) affirms that it is the work of a yogi belonging to the Āī sect.

The poem represents Gurū Nānak concentrating on different consonants of the name *Vāhigurū* for a total of 36 *yugas* (time cycles) of darkness and four *yugas* of light and cosmic creation. For the first nine *yugas* he contemplated on the consonant 'v', for the next nine on 'h', for further nine on 'g' and for the last nine on 'r'. In the four *yugas* of light (Sati, Tretā, Duāpar and Kali) he

contemplated on the full name Vāhigurū. During these long ages of meditation and contemplation, he went through successive stages of spiritual advancement. The final realization came as he reached the presence of God, who commissioned him to re-establish *dharmā* which had declined deplorably in the Kali age.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Vīr Singh, Bhāi, ed., *Purātan Janam Sākhī*. Amritsar, 1982

T.S.

JUJHĀR SINGH HĀDĀ (d. 1696), who comes in for a prominent mention in Gurū Gobind Singh's *Bachitra Nāṭak*, was a Rājput general sent by the Mughal authority to the Śivālik hills in the last decade of the seventeenth century to retrieve its hold on the hill *rājās*. When the news of Husain Khān's death on 20 February 1696 at the hands of the men of Rājā Gopāl of Guler reached Lahore, Dilāwar Khān, the Mughal chief, despatched Jujhār Singh to the hills. Jujhār Singh recaptured the town of Bhallān, in Ūnā district, which the hill *rājās* had occupied, but, before he could consolidate his position, he was attacked by Gaj Singh of Jasvān. In spite of Jujhār Singh's hostility, Gurū Gobind Singh paid him in the *Bachitra Nāṭak* glowing tributes for his fearlessness and martial prowess. Jujhār Singh, for instance, stood erect like a flagstaff planted on the battlefield. The flagstaff might waver, but not the brave Rājput. He did not flinch even when his right-hand man Chandan Rāi was killed. Jujhār Singh alone continued the fight. He was surrounded on all sides but, not caring for the consequences of his action, he rushed headlong into the ranks of his enemy wielding his weapons with dexterity, killing many a valiant soldier and falling, in the end, like a hero.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*
2. Kuir Singh, *Curbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968

3. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1968
B.S.

JUJHĀR SINGH, SĀHIBZĀDĀ (1691-1705), the second son of Gurū Gobind Singh, was born to Mātā Jītojī at Anandpur on 14 March 1691. Like his elder brother, Ajīt Singh, he started training in the fighting skills as soon as he started learning the religious texts. In 1699, when he was eight years old, he received the rites of Khālsā initiation. By the time it became necessary to leave Anandpur under the pressure of a besieging host in December 1705, Jujhār Singh, nearing the completion of his fifteenth year, was an experienced young warrior, strong and fearless. He was one of the band that successfully waded through the flooded Sarsā rivulet on horseback and made good their way to Chamkaur by nightfall on 6 December 1705, with the adversary in hot pursuit. With little respite during the night, he participated in the next day's battle warding off assault after assault upon the *garhī*, the fortified house in which Gurū Gobind Singh had, along with his 40 Sikhs and two sons, taken shelter. As they ran out of ammunition and arrows, Sikhs inside split themselves into batches of five each who would go out one after the other to engage the besiegers in hand-to-hand combat. Jujhār Singh led the last sally towards the end of the day (7 December 1705), and laid down his life fighting near the place where he had earlier seen his elder brother fall. Gurdwārā Qatalgarh in Chamkaur Sāhib now marks the site.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Chhibbar, Kesar Singh, *Bansāvālīnāmā Dasān Pātshāhīn Kā*. Chandigarh, 1972
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Panth Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1970
4. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Chār Sāhibzāde*. Patiala, 1970
5. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

S.S.A.

K

KABĪR, from his full name Kabīr Dās (*kabīr*, Arabic for “great”, *dāsa*, Sanskrit for “slave” or “servant”), is widely acknowledged as one of the great names in the literary and religious history of North India. He is one of the medieval Indian saints and Sūfīs whose compositions figure in Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib. From among all of them, Kabīr’s contribution is the largest, 227 *padas* in 17 *rāgas* and 237 *ślokas*. Under each *rāga* or musical mode marking a section of the Holy Book, Kabīr’s hymns appear at the head of Bhagat Bāṇī, a generic name for the works of contributors other than the Gurūs. The presence of a substantial amount of Kabīr’s verse in the Sikh Scripture and chronologically he being the predecessor of Gurū Nānak, founder of the Sikh faith, led some Western scholars to describe him as the forerunner of Sikhism. Some have even called him the preceptor of Gurū Nānak. There is, however, no evidence to prove that Gurū Nānak and Kabīr had ever met: their periods of time in fact do not coincide. There is little to suggest that the former owed anything to the latter’s teachings. Kabīr’s compositions do figure in what are known as Goindvāl *pothīs*, anthologies of the hymns of the Gurūs along with those of some of the Bhaktas prepared in the time of Gurū Amar Dās, Nānak III. They were included in the Gurū Granth Sāhib as well. But this happened much later when Gurū Arjan, fifth in spiritual line from the Founder, compiled the Holy Book. Besides his own works and those of his four predecessors, he entered in it hymns of

some saints and mystics, both Hindu and Muslim. Kabīr was one of them.

Kabīr lived in the fifteenth century after Christ, which was a time of great political upheaval in India. As is true of many other contemporary religious leaders, very little reliable information concerning Kabīr’s life is available, though there is no dearth of legend gathered around him. According to traditional accounts, especially those by Kabīrpanthīs, as the followers of Kabīr are called, he lived for 120 years, from 1398 to 1518. Recent scholarship, however, has come to accept 1398 as the year of his birth but 1448 as the year of his death. Relying especially on the researches of Hazāri Prasād Dvivedī, Charlotte Vaudeville is inclined to lend credence to these dates.

Kabīr’s life was centred around Kāshī, modern Banāras (Vārāṇasī). Legend has it that he was actually the son of a Brāhmaṇ widow who abandoned him and that he was found by a Muslim weaver named Nirū, who adopted the boy and taught him the weaver’s trade. It is not clear whether he ever married, but tradition gives him a wife named Loī and two children. His caste was that of *juḷāhā* and from his sayings (for instance, GG, 524) it seems clear that he followed (though in a somewhat erratic manner) his caste’s hereditary occupation of weaving. Latter-day studies have established a Nāth background for the *juḷāhās* as a strong possibility. On the basis of this modern research, it seems probable that Kabīr belonged to a family of non-celibate yogis converted, not long before

and to a considerable degree superficially, to Islam. Though Kabīr's name is most certainly a Muslim one, his knowledge of Islam seems to have been slight. Rather, there is in his poetical utterances (*bāñī*) a wealth of Haṭhayoga terminology and a thought structure which bears obvious resemblances to that of the Nāths. This is not to infer, however, that Kabīr was a Nāth yogi. In addition to the yogic conception that all truth is experimental, i.e. to be realized within the body with the aid of psycho-physical practices, concentration, control of breathing and sexual practices, thus making the body incorruptible and the yogis immortal, two other currents had already been added to the general religious stream of Kabīr's time — Vaiṣṇava devotion (*bhakti*), which had come from the South, and Islamic mysticism (Sūfism) which had been gaining influence in northwest India since the influx of Sūfī saints in the thirteenth century. Kabīr's debt to the *bhaktas* is evident in the primacy given to loving devotion in his sayings. His concept of love as a path of suffering may possibly indicate, in some measure, a debt to the Sūfīs. These and other elements from Nāth tradition, *bhakti* and Sūfism, Kabīr combined with his own mystical nature and produced the synthesis which is the distinctive religion of Kabīr. A strong tradition designates Svāmī Rāmānand as his *gurū*, but the numerous references which Kabīr does make to a *gurū* point unmistakably to the "True Gurū" within (Satgurū), the voice of God within the human soul.

In the fifteenth century, Banāras was, even more than it is today, the fortress of Brāhmaṇic orthodoxy and orthopraxis where the priestly elite held sway as masters. For the erudite Paṇḍīts and their holy scriptures, for the priestly *paṇḍās* and their idols, for the immense mystification and exploitation of the ignorant and credulous masses, Kabīr felt aversion joined with indignation. No less was the satirical wit exercised by him on the

superstitions of popular Hinduism. Not only did he condemn the worship of idols, he also rejected all the proceedings and ceremonies, purificatory bathing, ritual feasts, pilgrimages and all sorts of other practices by which popular Hindu devotion manifested itself.

Because of his open condemnation of established and popular religion, Kabīr became an object of the wrath of both Hindus and Muslims in and around Banāras. Popular with many among the masses but persecuted by the ruling classes of Banāras, it is entirely likely, as maintained in tradition, that Kabīr spent less and less time at his loom and took to an itinerant life-style. Exactly where he went and how long he stayed can only be matters of conjecture. It is unanimously agreed that Kabīr's final days were spent not in Banāras, thought by many to be the most auspicious place for a Hindu to die at since death there leads automatically to heaven, but in the small village of Magahar, 43 km southeast of Bastī. It is said that anyone who died in this unfortunate place would automatically be reborn an ass. Thus, even in death Kabīr demonstrated what he had given his entire life to doing, i.e. overruling popular religious prejudice and practice. He rejected entirely all the external signs of religion. He acknowledged no caste distinctions, saw no virtue in asceticism, fasting and almsgiving, and belittled the six schools of Hindu philosophy. The Hindu theogony was a clear rejection. Belief in a Supreme Being was certainly central to his religious understanding. Although he used the name Rām frequently, it is obvious throughout his utterances that Rāma, the son of Dasaratha and incarnation of Viṣṇu, was not what he meant thereby. In two of the *ślokas* by Kabīr in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, he clearly says that while uttering Rām, Rām, one must understand the distinction between Rāma (king of Ayodhyā) who was the bearer of a single body and was one of the many of

his kind, and Rām (God), the Lord of wonders (GG, 1374). It is within a person's soul that God may, by grace, reveal Himself. The revelation comes, however, only to him who has prepared himself to receive it. The way of preparation is the path of love, a love addressed directly to the supreme Lord, who is both transcendent and immanent, and a love which will inevitably involve long periods in the anguish of separation (*viraha*) akin to the "dark night of the soul" of which Western mystics speak. God, the True Gurū (Satgurū), discharges the arrow of the Word (*śabda*) and man is "slain" that in "death" he may find "true life" (GG, 1374). This is to be found in mystical union, an ineffable experience of dissolution (*samādhi*) in the Divine.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Kabīr's satire was brought to bear not simply on the vices and weaknesses of men but reached through and beyond them to the very systems themselves, which they defended or pretended to represent. It was the authority of the Vedas and the Qurān more than the authority of the Paṇḍit or the Qāzī which Kabīr attacked. More precisely, he rebelled against the pretension of resolving, by means of books or by way of authority, the mystery of the human conditions and the problem of liberation (*mokṣa*).

There is inevitably much that must remain obscure in Kabīr's attempts to describe his experiences, for they are fundamentally mystical in quality, and, as Kabīr himself repeatedly asserted, ultimately inexpressible. Throughout his utterances the emphasis is on interiorization. He constantly stressed that man ought to turn his attention away from the exterior world, from all sensible forms, in order to withdraw into the innermost depth of his soul where it is that God dwells. Monistic concepts, particularly as held and articulated by Nāth yogis, certainly influenced Kabīr, but it seems clear from what he indicates of his own understanding of the nature of his

relationship with God that his thought must be regarded as monotheistic and not monistic.

Kabīr composed no systematic treatise, rather his work consists of many short didactic poems, often expressed in terse vigorous language in the form of *padas*, *dohās* and *ramainīs*. Indeed, in some of his verses there is a tendency to rugged coarseness as fit expression for his unsparing invective. Besides his works recorded in 1604 in the Gurū Granth Sāhib by Gurū Arjan, Nānak V, and preserved inviolate since, two other collections exist — the *Kabīr Granthāvalī* and *Bījak*. From among these two the latter is not as old as Kabīr's followers, for whom it has a scriptural status, claim it to be. Kabīr is, however, often obscure and his meaning can only be understood through an acquaintance with traditional allegorical images, some of which were standard among the Sant poets and some unique to Kabīr. A further complicating factor is the riddle-like use of paradox (*ullābhānsī*) so characteristic of much of Kabīr's poetry. At the same time, he was quick to find illustrations of moral and spiritual truth in the incidents of everyday life, and many of his similes and metaphors are very striking.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jodh Singh, *Kabir*. Patiala, 1971
2. Westcott, G.H., *Kabir and the Kabir Panth*. Cawnpore (Kanpur), 1907
3. Mohan Singh, *Kabir and Bhakti Movement*. Lahore, 1934
4. Machwe, Prabhakar, *Kabir*. Delhi, 1968
5. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
6. Vaudeville, Charlotte, *Kabir Granthavali*. Pondichery, 1957
7. Tiwārī, Pārasnāth, *Kabir*. Delhi, 1968

D.C.S.

KABĪRPANTHĪS, followers of Kabīr (1398-1448), a saint and reformer some of whose

compositions have been included in Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Kabīr did not found any sect during his own lifetime; it was after his death that a *math*, called Kabīr Chaurā, was established by Sūrat Gopāl, said to be the first missionary of the *Kabīrpanth*, at Vārāṇasī which had been Kabīr's seat for many years. His object was to propagate the teachings of his mentor. This *math*, known as *bāp* (father), with a branch establishment at Magahar, covered the states of the Punjab, Gujarāt, Uttar Pradesh and Bihār. Another centre, established almost contemporaneously, was in Dhām Kherā, in the Chhātisgarh district of Madhya Pradesh. This *math*, known as *māi* (mother), was founded by Dharam Dās and, with branches at Rāipur, Bilāspur and Chhindwārā, it served to spread the message of Kabīr and gained adherents in central India.

A person freshly recruited must renounce polytheism and avow belief in One God. He must vow never to eat meat or drink wine. He must bathe daily and sing hymns to God, morning and evening. He is adjured to forgive up to three times those who trespass against him; to avoid company of all women of bad character and never to turn away from his house his lawful wife; never to tell lies; never to usurp the property of another man; never to bear false witness or speak ill of others on hearsay evidence. At the initiation ceremony, the candidate makes the required promise in the presence of the *gurū*.

For Kabīrpanthīs, *Bījak*, a collection of Kabīr's hymns, is the scripture. The Hindus among them recite the name of Rām whereas the Muslims that of *Khudā*. All of them greet each other with "Bandagi" (salutation to you) when they meet. The common people receive guidance from a *mahant* (celebrant) who presides over a centre. He wears a conical cap, a necklace (*kañṭhī*), a rosary of *tulsī* (sweet basil) and brick-coloured or white garments. Frontal mark, if borne, is usually of the Vaiṣṇavite type, or he makes a streak

with *sandal* or *gopīchandan* along the ridge of the nose. Marriage is not forbidden, though some of the *mahants* remain celibate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Westcott, G.H., *Kabir and the Kabir Panth*. Cawnpore, 1907
2. Rose, H.A., *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*. Patiala, 1970
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
4. Jodh Singh, *Kabir*. Patiala, 1971
5. Machwe, Prabhakar, *Kabir*. Delhi, 1968

B.S.N.

KABITT-SAVAIYYE, by Bhāi Gurdās who had worked with Gurū Arjan on the preparation of the original volume of Sikh scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, and who is remembered in the Sikh tradition as the first consistent interpreter of the Gurūs' word, is a collection of 675 *kabitts* and *savaiyyās* composed by the poet in Braj. Of his *kabitts* and *savaiyyās*, a total of 556 only were known before 1940 when Bhāi Vīr Singh searched out and published another 119 of them, thereby bringing their total to 675. However, nine *kabitts*, among the later 119, are almost identical with the other nine published earlier. Some scholars, thus, exclude these nine and take the total number of these *kabitts* and *savaiyyās* to be 666. It is generally believed that some of the *kabitts* and *savaiyyās* are still untraced.

As regards the time and place of these compositions, opinion varies. It is generally believed that a major part of this work was completed after the poet's more popular work, the *Vārs*, had been written. The more likely venue was Kāshī and Āgrā where the Bhāi had lived for some time. The conjecture is strengthened by several factors. One, the theme of the poetry belongs to the poet's maturer years. Second, the language of these compositions is akin to the contemporary religious and literary genius of Kāshī and

Āgrā. A pang of separation from the Gurū is the running theme of this poetry.

Bhāi Gurdās was able clearly to comprehend the meanings of the text and then explain it in the simplest vocabulary. For the Punjabi readers, he has done this in his *vārs* and for his readers in Kāshī and Āgrā in the *habitts* and *savaīyyās*. To make his works widely comprehensible, Bhāi Gurdās has used similes and metaphors from daily life. In the first section the poet has used *habitts* and *savaīyyās* in their simplest form. The thrust is in the fourth and final line in which his meaning is communicated very forcefully. The poetry also symbolizes Bhāi Gurdās's deep love for his Gurūs. Bhāi Gurdās spent long spells in Āgrā and Kāshī spreading the message of the Gurūs, but he always longed for a glimpse of the Gurū. Compositions dealing with poet's pangs of separation are a fine specimen of his poetic art.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kaur Singh, Akālī, *Tatkarā Bhāi Gurdās Ji de Kabitt Savaiyye*. Amritsar, 1929
2. Jaggi, Rattan Singh, *Bhāi Gurdās: Jīvanī te Rachnā*. Patiala, 1974
3. Darshan Singh, *Bhāi Gurdās*. Patiala, 1986

D.S.

KĀBUL VĀLĪ MĀĪ, or the Lady from Kābul, is the name chroniclers have given to a woman who rendered devoted service during the digging of the *bāoī* at Goindvāl under the supervision of Gurū Amar Dās. Day after day, says Sarūp Dās Bhallā, *Mahimā Prakāsh*, she toiled away at the site, without anyone knowing who she was, and where she had come from. One day Gurū Amar Dās told the Sikhs that the lady was from Kābul and that she had by her love of the Almighty and duty towards her husband attained spiritual insight.

An old manuscript, *Mahimā Prakāsh Srī Gurū Amar Dev*, and an inscription in Gurdwārā Havelī Sāhib at Goindvāl mention

a lady being in charge of the *mañjī* or Sikh centre at Kābul, though they name her differently — the former calling her Bībī Bhāgo and the latter Māi Sevāñ. It is likely that the Kābul Vālī Māi was that lady, later appointed by Gurū Amar Dās a preacher in her own country.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
 2. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
- B.S.D.

KĀFĪ (Arabic Qāfi), literally stands for the leader, the enlightener, one who fulfils the need. In poetics it denotes the refrain in a song or hymn, and is also the title given to a poetic form in Arabic as well as in Indian literature. Gurū Nānak was the first to use this poetic form in Punjabi literature, and in this he was followed by several Sūfi poets and others. Kāfi has also been called a *rāginī* and a metre (*tāṭānk*), though opinion differs on this count. In the Sikh Scripture, Gurū Granth Sāhib, *Kāfis* have not been collected under any one *rāga*; they occur under *rāgas* Āsā, Tilañg, Sūhī and Mārū. Similarly, they are assigned to different *gharus* in different *rāgas*: in Āsā, they belong to *gharu* 8, in Sūhī to *gharu* 10 and in Mārū to *gharu* 2. Except for Gurū Añgad, all the other five Gurūs who have contributed to the Holy Volume have composed *kāfis*. The main theme of these *kāfis* is the transient nature of this manifest world with the implicit suggestion that one should not get attached to it. Attachment to worldly possessions and relations leads to the soul's bondage. In order to break the circuit of birth, death and rebirth and achieve *mukti* (liberation or union with the Absolute) man must eradicate *haumai* and submit to His will. Neither material possessions nor any position in this mundane world is going to help him in the Divine Court where only good and noble

deeds signifying man's love for the Divine are valued.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kähn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurushabad Ratanākar Mahān Kosh*. Patiala, 1981
2. *Pañjābī Sāhit Kosh*. Patiala, 1971

D.S.

KÄHN CHAND, son of Amīr Chand, served under Mahārājā Rañjīt Singh and his successors in various capacities. His family originally belonged to Multān. His father had served as a revenue officer under Mir Dīvān Chand at the Lahore court and afterwards as a commander under Harī Singh Nalvā. Kähn Chand joined service as a scribe in 1823 and was promoted to the position of *murāsālā-navīs* or dispatch-writer in 1834. This was an office of trust. The correspondence being secret was conducted under the direct *farmān* or order of the Mahārājā by his trusted courtier Faqīr 'Azīz ud-Dīn. It was Kähn Chand who first raised the *Ḍerā Khās* or bodyguards, a regiment of young Sikh *sardārs*, who were the pick of the Sikh army. On the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, Kähn Chand's *jāgīrs* were resumed and he was granted a pension of Rs 1,200 by the British.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

G.S.N.

KÄHN SINGH, son of Bābā Binod Singh, a Trehaṇ Khatrī, was with Gurū Gobind Singh at Nāndēḍ during his last days. He, along with his father, was among the five Sikhs chosen to accompany Bandā Singh Bahādur to the Punjab in 1708. He took part in Bandā Singh's campaigns against the Mughal rulers. After the capture of Sirhind by the Sikhs in May 1710, Kähn Singh was

made deputy to his father who was given charge of the border district of Karnāl. He fought battles against the Mughal commander Firoz Khān Mevātī at Amīn, Tarāorī, Thānesar and Shāhābād to check the latter's advance towards the Punjab. Later, he had differences with Bandā Singh during the siege at Gurdās Naṅgal and left his camp. He was captured and taken to Delhi along with other Sikh prisoners for execution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
2. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
3. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1962
4. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
5. Ganda Singh, *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*. Amritsar, 1935

G.S.D.

KÄHN SINGH was, like his father Mirzā Singh, in the service of Jai Singh Kanhaiyā before joining Rañjīt Singh's army. He was made an officer in the irregular cavalry. He fought along with his regiment at Kasūr and in the Kāṅgrā campaign of 1809. Kähn Singh was placed under Desā Singh Majīthiā when the latter was made governor of the hill districts between the rivers Beās and Sutlej.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

G.S.N.

KÄHN SINGH (d. 1846), son of Pañjāb Singh of Gharjākh, in Gujrānwālā district, joined Mahārājā Rañjīt Singh's army and was sent to Piṅḍī Gheb in command of 500 horse. He remained there for nine years when he was recalled and placed under General Harī Singh Nalvā. Kähn Singh accompanied Harī Singh

on his numerous expeditions. He fought in the campaign against the Yūsafzai tribes on the northwest frontier in 1831. In 1834, he accompanied General Mīhān Singh, the newly appointed governor of Kashmir. Kāhn Singh returned after three years to Lahore with a considerable fortune. His son, Lahiṇā Singh, married the daughter of his old commander Harī Singh Nalvā, who took his son-in-law with him to Peshāwar in the campaign of 1837 in which the great general was killed. During the reigns of Mahārājā Kharak Singh and Mahārājā Sher Singh, Kāhn Singh and his three sons — Fateh Singh, Jodh Singh, Lahiṇā Singh — were treated with favour and received military appointments but when Rājā Hirā Singh rose to power, trouble came upon the family and not until Jawāhar Singh became minister did it regain its former position.

Kāhn Singh was killed by a musket-shot in 1846 during the first Anglo-Sikh war.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl; *'Umdāt-ut-Twāriḡh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

KĀHN SINGH (d. 1876), son of Dūlā Singh, belonged to the village of Kalāsvālā, in Siālkot district. He began his career in Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's army under General Avitabile and was present in the Khaibar Pass actions and throughout the Yūsafzai campaign. He served in the Sher Dil Paṭan in the first Anglo-Sikh war. After the annexation of the Punjab, he joined the 30th Punjab infantry. He rose to the rank of Sūbahdār-Major and rendered service in the Bhūṭān campaign of 1864-65 shortly after which he retired. He died in 1876.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

G.S.N.

KĀHN SINGH, a Kūkā leader, was born in 1840 at the village of Hazro in Rāwalpiṇḍī district, now in Pakistan. His father's name was Bhāi Mannā Singh. He was a nephew of Bābā Bālak Singh, founder of the Kūkā faith, after whose death he came to be acknowledged as the head of the group known as Hazro Kūkās.

M.L.A.

KĀHN SINGH, of Fatehābād in Kapūrthalā district of the Punjab, was an associate of Bhāi Mahārāj Singh, leader of the revolt against the British in 1848-49. He joined him at Amritsar early in 1848 and took part in the second Anglo-Sikh war. He was captured, with Mahārāj Singh near Shām Chaurāsī, in Hoshiārpur district, on the night of 28-29 December 1849.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahluwalia, M.L., *Bhai Maharaj Singh*. Patiala, 1972

M.L.A.

KĀHN SINGH, of Nābhā (1861-1938), celebrated scholar and encyclopaedist, was born on Bhādoṇ vadī 10, 1918 Bk/30 August 1861, in a Dhillon Jaṭṭ family at the village of Sabaz Banerā, in what then used to be the territory of the princely ruler of Paṭiālā. His father, Naraiṇ Singh (mother: Har Kaur), was a man of saintly character and he succeeded to the charge of Gurdwārā Derā Bābā Ajāpāl Singh, at Nābhā, upon the death in 1861 of his grandfather, Sarūp Singh. Kāhn Singh, the eldest of three brothers and one sister, did not attend any school or college for formal education, yet he mastered several branches of learning by private effort. By the age of 10, he could recite freely both the Gurū Granth Sāhib and the Dasam Granth. He read Sanskrit classics with Paṇḍits in and around Nābhā and learnt music from a famous musicologist, Mahant Gajjā Singh. He sought Maulawīs in Delhi to teach him Persian. In 1883 he went

to Lahore where during his two-year stay he studied Persian texts and assisted Professor Gurmukh Singh, a leading figure in the Singh Sabhā, in the publication of his *Sudhārarak*. In 1887 he was appointed tutor to Ṭikkā Ripudaman Singh, the heir apparent of Nābhā state. From the Mahārājā's private secretary to judge of the High Court, he held several different appointments in the state, serving for a brief interregnum, 1915-17, in the neighbouring Sikh state of Paṭiālā. In 1885, he had a chance meeting with Max Arthur Macauliffe which led to a life-long friendship. Macauliffe depended a great deal on his advice and guidance in the work he was then doing on Sikh scriptures and on the history of early Sikhism. He took him along to England when his 6-volume *The Sikh Religion* was in print at the Clarendon Press. Such was his admiration for Bhāi Kāhn Singh that he assigned to him the copyright of the book.

From among Bhāi Kāhn Singh's works, *Gurushabad Ratanākar Mahān Kosh* (1930), an encyclopaedia of Sikh literature, will remain a permanent monument to his unmatched industry and erudition. His maiden work *Rāj Dharam* (1884), written at the instance of Mahārājā Hirā Singh of Nābhā, was followed by *Nāṭak Bhāvārth Dīpikā* (1888), an exegesis of extracts from the *Hanūmān Nāṭak*, based on his notes prepared for the instruction of the young prince under his tutelage. In 1898, he published *Ham Hindū Nahīn* which set forth forcefully the Singh Sabhā standpoint with regard to Sikh identity. The *Gurmat Prabhākar*, a glossary of Sikh terminology, concepts and institutions, was published in 1898, and *Gurmat Sudhākar*, an anthology of important Sikh texts, scriptural and historical, in 1899. His *Guru Chhand Divākar* (1924) and *Gur Sabad Alaṅkār* (1925) deal primarily with rhetoric and prosody employed in the Gurū Granth Sāhib and some other Sikh texts. His *Guru Girā Kasauṭī* answers some of the questions raised by his

pupil, Ṭikkā Ripudaman Singh, about the meanings of certain hymns in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, and his *Sharāb Nikhedh* (1907) is a didactic work stressing the harmful effects of drinking. Among his other works are *ṭīkās* or exegeses of *Jaimanī Aśvamedh* (1896), *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (1903), *Sadu* and *Chaṇḍī dī Vār* (1935). From among his works which were published posthumously, *Gurmat Mārtaṇḍ* (2 volumes) which essentially follows the format of his earlier *Gurmat Prabhākar* but includes much more explanatory material was published in 1960. A travelogue was published in 1984.

Bhāi Kāhn Singh lived in seclusion, totally immersed in his scholarly pursuit, yet his influence transcended the bounds he had created around himself. From the privacy of his study, he continued to enrich contemporary Sikh life in its diverse aspects. A man of aristocratic bearing, he was extraordinarily handsome, with sharp, chiselled features. He had the interests of an aesthete and loved art, flowers and music. In several spheres, he was the arbiter of taste. Through his writings, he subtly moulded the course of Sikh awakening at the turn of the century. On latter-day Sikh learning, he has left a permanent imprint.

Kāhn Singh died at Nābhā on 24 November 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Vidiārthī, Devinder Singh, *Bhāi Kāhn Singh Nābhā: Jīvan te Rachnā*. Patiala, 1987
2. Sukhjit Kaur, *Bhāi Kāhn Singh Nābhā te unāñ diāñ Rachnāvān*. Patiala, 1973
3. Amarjit Singh, ed., *Bhāi Kāhn Singh : Ik Adhiain*. Patiala, 1982
4. Ashok, Shamsher Singh, *Prasidh Vidvān Bhāi Kāhn Singh Nābhā*. Amritsar, 1966

Sy.S.

KĀHN SĪNGH AṬĀRĪVĀLĀ (d. 1873), soldier and *jāgirdār*, was the second son of Shām Singh Aṭārīvālā, the celebrated general

of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh. He inherited only a small part of the *jāgīr* of his father, subject to the maintenance of 97 horse, 25 foot and 10 *zambūrās*. His contingent was assigned in 1848 to serving Rājā Sher Singh Aṭārīvālā at Multān in 1848, but it left the Rājā when the latter moved northwards to join his father, Chatar Singh, against the British. Twenty-five of his horsemen remained with the Rājā while the rest marched back with Shamsheer Singh Sandhānvālīā. Kāhn Singh's *dīwān*, Narain Singh, supplied provisions and carriage to the British army at Gaṇḍā Singhvālā and Kasūr. For his loyalty to the British Kāhn Singh was allowed to keep his *jāgīrs* after the annexation of the Punjab. He died in 1873.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Sardār Shām Singh Aṭārīvālā*. Amritsar, 1942
2. Kirpāl Singh, *Shām Singh Aṭārīvālā*. Patiala, 1978
3. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
4. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

G.S.

KĀHN SINGH BHIKKHĪVINḌĪĀ, from his native village Bhikkhīvinḍ, in present-day Amritsar district of the Punjab. He was with Bhāī Mahārāj Singh during the second Anglo-Sikh war. After the war he, like Bhāī Mahārāj Singh, escaped to the Jammū hills. He played an important role in establishing contact with Rām Dās, a Ḍogrā official of Jammū, with whose help it was planned to capture the Fort of Rāmnagar belonging to the widow of Rājā Suchet Singh. But the plan leaked out and Rām Dās was arrested by state authorities. Bhāī Mahārāj Singh and his Sikhs were also expelled from the state. On re-entering the Punjab, Kāhn Singh was deputed to Amritsar to make preparation for another uprising. The government declared Kāhn Singh a proclaimed offender with a reward of Rs 300 on his head.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahluwalīā, M.L., *Bhai Maharaj Singh*. Patiala, 1972
M.L.A.

KĀHN SINGH MAJĪṬHĪĀ (d. 1853), son of Amar Singh Majīṭhīā, served as a general in the Sikh army in the second Anglo-Sikh war. During Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's reign, Kāhn Singh was a minor military officer when he is said to have killed a lion with his sword while out hunting with the Mahārājā in 1831. In 1838 he was an officer in the Ghorḍaḥā *Khās*. He was commandant of the Sikh force at Peshāwar in 1848 when his troops marched out of Peshāwar to join Chatar Singh and Sher Singh; Kāhn Singh fought the British both at Chelīānvālā and Gujrāt. At the time of the annexation of the Punjab by the British, his *jāgīr* worth Rs 40,000 was confiscated and he was given a pension of Rs 3,600 per annum. He died in 1853 at Majīṭhā, his ancestral village, where, it is said, he used his two elephants for ploughing his lands with a specially designed 20-pronged plough. He also had a very large well and Persian wheel constructed, and used the elephants for irrigating his fields.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Cunningham, Joseph Davey, *A History of the Sikhs from the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej*. London, 1849

S.S.B.

KĀHN SINGH MĀN (d. 1848), son of Hukam Singh, was appointed commandant of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh's bodyguard at a comparatively young age. He took part in several campaigns under the Mahārājā, rising to the rank of general in 1836, commanding four regiments of infantry and a 10-gun *derā* of artillery. In 1846, after the first Anglo-Sikh war, Kāhn Singh was sent at the head of

an expedition against Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn, the rebellious governor of Kashmīr. He succeeded in bringing Imām ud-Dīn a prisoner to Lahore without having to fire a shot. Next year, he was appointed by the Lahore Darbār, on the recommendation of the Resident, Henry Lawrence, to the judgeship of Lahore as successor to Rañjodh Sīng Majīṭhīā. In March 1848, Frederick Currie, the acting British Resident at Lahore, nominated General Kāhn Sīng governor of Multān to replace Dīwān Mūl Rāj who had resigned. Reaching Multān on 14 April 1848, he recommended to the British officers to take the Fort without delay. On 19 April, as General Kāhn Sīng Mān and the British officers were coming out of the Fort after taking over charge from Dīwān Mūl Rāj, two Multān sepoys attacked and killed two British officers, Vans Agnew and William Anderson. Dīwān Mūl Rāj rebelled and imprisoned Kāhn Sīng and his minor son, Vasāvā Sīng. When the British army bombarded the Fort, both father and son perished in the prison on 30 December 1848.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Cunningham, Joseph Davey, *A History of the Sikhs from the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej*. London, 1849
4. Hasrat, Bikramajit, *Anglo-Sikh Relations, 1799-1849*. Hoshiarpur, 1968
5. Khushwant Singh, *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*. Calcutta, 1962
6. Kohli, Sita Ram, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*. Bombay, 1967

S.S.B.

KĀHN SĪNGH ROSĀ (d. 1864), son of Sukkhā Sīng, was appointed Jamādār in the Dragoons corps of the Sikh army in 1822 and was placed under General Allard. The following year he was made a Risāldār in the

same regiment. In 1829, he was, on General Ventura's recommendation, appointed commandant in the Khās Paṭṭan, or Life Guards. He served with his regiment in Kullū and Maṇḍī in the hills. He was severely wounded in the chest by a musket shot in the attack on Rājā Suchet Sīng in March 1844. In 1848, Kāhn Sīng was posted at Peshāwar as colonel of the Dragoons. He was one of the first to join the uprising against the British. A man of great bravery and an admirable cavalry officer, his influence with the army was great. Throughout the second Anglo-Sikh war, he fought stubbornly against the English. After the annexation of the Punjab, Kāhn Sīng's *jāgīrs* were confiscated, though he was granted a cash pension of Rs 600 per annum.

Kāhn Sīng died in June 1864.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

KAIRONĀ (31°-19'N, 74°-52'E), village in Amritsar district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Jhār Sāhib, sacred to Gurū Arjan (1563-1606). Located half a kilometre west of the village, it marks the site where the Gurū, during one of his journeys through the Mājhā country, stayed for a short time. The *karīr* tree (*Capparis aphylla*) to which, according to local tradition, the Gurū's horse was tethered was still standing until 1976 when it got uprooted in the construction work undertaken to renovate the building originally raised in 1925. The present building is a marble-floored hall, with the sanctum in the middle and a verandah all around. North of the hall is a small octagonal *sarovar*. The Gurdwārā is maintained by the local *saṅgat* or Sikh community.

Gn.S.

KAITHAL (29°-47'n, 76°-23'E), district town of Haryānā, is an old historic place. Bhāi Desū Singh, a descendant of Bhāi Bhagatū, ੜ Siddhū jatt of Barār clan, occupied it in 1767 and made it the capital of the principality he had established. The state came under British protection in 1809 and lapsed to the British on the death of its third ruler, Bhāi Udai Singh, who died on 15 March 1843 without an heir. It was in Kaithal that, under the patronage of the last ruler, Bhāi Santokh Singh wrote his monumental *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, popularly known as *Sūraj Prakhāsh*. There are two historic shrines in the town, both commemorating the visit of Gurū Tegh Bahādur.

GURDWARĀ NIMM SĀHIB PĀTSHĀHĪ NAUVĪN is situated outside the old town to the west of it at a spot referred to in old accounts as Ṭhaṇḍār Tirath. There used to be an old *nimm* (margossa) tree here under which Gurū Tegh Bahādur had first sat and preached. He is believed to have cured patients by administering to them leaves from this tree. The sanctum of the Gurdwarā marks the site of the tree which existed till at least the third decade of the twentieth century when it was destroyed in a fire. The present building, in a walled compound, has a marble-floored assembly hall, with a *sarovar* close by. The Gurū kā Langar is in a separate double-storied block. The Nishān Sāhib in front of the main building is topped by a goldplated *khandā*. Inside the hall, the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated on a canopied throne of pure white marble. The hall is rectangular in shape with a verandah all around.

GURDWARĀ MAŅJĪ SĀHIB is located inside the town. On this site lived a devout Sikh, Roḍā Bāḍhī, who was a carpenter by profession. When he heard that Gurū Tegh Bahādur was staying outside the town in the open, he went to make obeisance and to request him to shift to his humble dwelling. The Gurū

granted his wish and stayed with him for a few days. Roḍā Bāḍhī's house opened on an open space where the *sangat* daily assembled to hear the Gurū's word. Bhāi Lāl Singh, the son and successor of Bhāi Desū Singh, had a small shrine constructed on the spot. This has now been replaced by a more imposing building.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Giān Singh, Giānī, *Ṭwārīkh Gurdwārān*. Amritsar, n.d. M.G.S.

KĀLĀ, BHĀĪ, and his fellow-hillsmen, Bhāi Mehrā and Bhāi Nihālū, all devout Sikhs, once went to Amritsar to see Gurū Arjan. They asked a question: "O support of the supportless! Amritsar is a holy place no doubt, but if some habitual sinners come and settle here, how shall they be liberated?" "A spot which leads to virtuous living must do good to the sinners as well," said the Gurū.

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI.23

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KĀLĀ SĪNGH, a Mazhabī Sikh, was of pitch-black colour as his name (*kālā* = dark) indicated. He was converted to Sikhism by Jhaṇḍā Singh (d. 1774), a Bhaṅgī chieftain. A bold and desperate man, Kālā Singh joined the band of Gujjar Singh Bhaṅgī (d. 1788) who appointed him *thānedār* or administrator at Hasan Abdāl, mid-way between Rāwalpiṇḍī and Attock, where the famous Sikh shrine of Pañjā Sāhib is located. Kālā Singh settled down amidst the fanatic and warlike Muslim chiefs of Gandgarh and its neighbourhood. He set up his headquarters at Sarāi Kālī which was at that time the

Sikhs' last frontier outpost on the northwest. Kālā Singh firmly established his authority in the area.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol.IV. Delhi, 1982
S.S.B.

KĀLAU, BHĀĪ, a Kakkā Sunār or goldsmith and a Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan, was known for his martial skill. He once waited on the Gurū and enquired how a warrior might be saved. The Gurū, according to Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, said, "He who lays down his life in a *dharam yuddh*, i.e. fighting for a righteous cause, and remembers God in his last moments will attain liberation."

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI.23

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KALAU, 9 km east of Bassī Paṭhānān (30°-42'N, 76°-25'E) in Fatchgarh Sāhib district, claims a historical shrine dedicated to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. A raised platform was constructed on the top of the ruined mound in the village to commemorate the visit of Gurū Tegh Bahādur who made a brief halt here on his way from Kīratpur into the plains of the Mālvā. This was later replaced by a Mañjī Sāhib. The present building was constructed only in 1968. It consists of a rectangular hall, with a *verandah* on two sides. The Gurū kā Laṅgar is close by and a row of rooms for the pilgrims at the foot of the mound. A local committee administers the Gurdwārā.

Kalaur is also important now as the birth place of Giānī Ditt Singh, one of the pioneers of the Singh Sabhā movement. A library to

honour his memory was set up in the village in 1976.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
M.G.S.

KĀLE KHĀN, one of the Paṭhān officers who had joined service under Gurū Gobind Singh at Pāoṅṭā Sāhib after their dismissal from the Mughal army. He is said to have remained steadfast in his devotion to the Gurū and his troops fought on his side in the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī (1688), whereas most of his other companions had deserted him and crossed over to the hill rājās. Unlike some other participants in the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī, Kāle Khān is not mentioned in Gurū Gobind Singh's *Bachitra Nāṭak*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*
2. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
3. Sukhā Singh, Bhāi, *Gurbilās Dasvīn Pātshāhī*. Lahore, 1912
4. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.

KALGĪDHAR DĪWĀN MALAYA, a socio-religious body of the Sikhs in Malaya (Malaysia), and an off-shoot of Khālsā Dīwān Malaya, was first formed in January 1918 as Khālsā Dīwān, Selangor (3°-20'N, 101°-15'E), by those elements of the Khālsā Dīwān Malaya who were dissatisfied with the parent body's affiliation with the Chief Khālsā Dīwān, Amritsar, and its indifferent attitude to the *Komagata Maru's* sufferers. During the annual Sikh conference at Penang (5°-24'N, 100°-19'E) in 1919, differences between the two groups became more pronounced on the question of disposal of surplus funds of the Khālsā Dīwān Malaya. While the establishment wanted to remit them to the Chief Khālsā Dīwān, the dissidents insisted

on their retention in Malaya for educational purposes. The rift was complete with the establishment of the Kalgīdhar Dīwān Malaya in place of Khālsā Dīwān Selangor. It was registered as a central body of Malay Sikhs on 1 February 1920. Its aims and objectives were the same as those of the parent body, viz. religious, social and educational uplift of the Sikh community. The activities of the Dīwān included *prachār* or preaching of Sikhism, maintenance of *gurdwārās* and cremation grounds, running of educational institutions, and welfare of orphans and other needy Sikhs. Its preachers co-operated with those of the Khālsā Dīwān Malaya in religious service and baptismal ceremonies. On theological points, the Kalgīdhar Dīwān was nearer to the Pañch Khālsā Dīwān, Bhasaur. It was against the recital of *Rāgmālā* at the conclusion of the reading of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Proper etiquette was insisted upon in holy assemblies. *Rumālās* or coverlets for the Gurū Granth Sāhib with the sketches or pictures of the Gurūs printed on them were prohibited. The leadership of the Dīwān excluded uninvited persons from their business meetings by issuing identification badges for attendance.

Paradoxically, while it disliked the Chief Khālsā Dīwān's pro-government policies in India, the Kalgīdhar Dīwān solicited the British government's favour in Malaya. It presented scrolls of honour to retiring British officers and its leaders accepted titles and honours such as 'Sardār Sāhib' and 'Justice of Peace' awarded by the government. Cordial relations with the authorities were, of course, not without dividends for the community. For example, the Director of Education agreed to encourage Sikh students to maintain unshorn hair and beard; Sikh civil servants and students were allowed any two of three optional holidays Baisākhī and birth anniversaries of Gurū Nānak and Gurū Gobind Singh; and the government agreed

that death in hospital of a Sikh without relations to claim the body would be intimated by the hospital authorities to the nearest Sikh temple, the latter undertaking to perform the last rites and to transmit information to the next of kin in India. In 1924, jointly with the Khālsā Dīwān Malaya, legal permission for the Sikhs to wear *kirpān* (a small sword as a religious symbol of the Khālsā) was sought; and, although formal permission was not granted, no official notice was taken of the Sikhs wearing it. Again, in 1925, at the joint representation of the two Dīwāns, Sikh weddings under the Anand Marriage Act of India received legal recognition in Malaya.

Kalgīdhar Dīwān took up an educational programme in December 1924, advocating the need for education in Punjabi particularly for girls, in all *gurdwārās*. In 1934, land was purchased near Ipoh (4°-35'N, 101°-5'E) for a school, and the Gurū Kalgīdhar School, Ipoh, started functioning on 1 January 1937. Early in the 1920's a Punjabi newspaper, *Khālsā Prakāsh*, had been floated. In 1931, Bachittar Singh Musāfir, an immigrant from the Sikh state of Pañjālā, set up a Punjabi Press under the aegis of the Kalgīdhar Dīwān and started a Punjabi daily, *Pardesī Khālsā Sevak*. It came under the control of the Indian Independence League during the World War II. In 1947 Bachittar Singh retired to his native village in India. A limited company was formed to run the press and a new paper *Malaya Samāchār* replaced *Pardesī Khālsā Sevak*. The Dīwān had been dormant under the Japanese occupation (1942-45), and was again inactive after the declaration of emergency in Malaya in 1948. In 1962, a meeting to revive its activity was summoned in Penang, but several old guard stalwarts having passed away and the effort having received little support from the younger generation, Kalgīdhar Dīwān Malaya phased out quietly.

KALHĀ, RĀI, feudatory chief of Rāikoṭ in Ludhiāṇā district of the Punjab, was a contemporary of Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708). Converted from Hinduism to Islam, the Rāi's family were still among the admirers of the Gurūs. When Gurū Gobind Singh, after his escape from Chamkaur, was passing through his territory, Rāi Kalhā received him warmly and served him with devotion. He sent one of his own men to Sirhind to bring news of the Gurū's mother and his two younger sons, while he himself attended upon the Gurū who was then putting up at Lammān-Jaṭpurā. As the messenger returned and narrated how the Gurū's sons had been executed under the orders of the Sirhind official, Rāi Kalhā was overwhelmed with grief. Gurū Gobind Singh consoled him and before departing bestowed upon him three gifts — a sword, a water-jug and a rack to hold a religious book for recitation. Kalhā kept these articles as sacred relics and so did his son after him. But his grandson is said to have put on the sword during chase. According to Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, he hurt himself with it while attempting to kill a deer and died of the wound thus sustained. In British days, a descendant of the family presented the sword to the English deputy commissioner of Ludhiāṇā. It was ultimately sent to England, where it was kept in the British Museum. The other two relics were preserved in the family until 1947 when it migrated to Pakistan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Sukhā Singh, Bhāi, *Gurbilās Dasvīn Pātshāhī*. Lahore, 1912
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

P.S.P.

KALIĀṆĀ, BHĀĪ (d. 1621), a Bindrāo Khatri,

was a leading Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. He received initiation at the hands of the Gurū, who instructed him to practise the Word and to devote himself to the service of others (See ĀLAM CHAND HĀṆḌĀ, BHĀĪ). Bhāi Kaliāṇā was also trained in the fighting skills and served in the armed retinue of Gurū Hargobind. In the battle at Ruhelā, he fell fighting valiantly.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giāni Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

T.S.

KALIĀṆĀ, BHĀĪ, a prominent and learned Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. The Gurū once sent him to the hill country, present-day Himāchal Pradesh, to raise funds and bring timber for the holy Harimandar, then being built at Amritsar. When Kaliāṇā arrived at Maṇḍī, the capital of a hill state of the same name, he found that it was Janam Aṣṭamī, the birth anniversary of Lord Kṛṣṇa, proclaimed by the ruler, Rājā Harī Sen, to be observed by the entire population as a day of fasting. Bhāi Kaliāṇā and the Sikhs accompanying him did not consider themselves bound by the prince's fiat in a purely religious matter and did not observe the fast. He was pulled up by the Rājā for the "sacrilege," but he argued against compulsion in matters of faith so convincingly that Rājā Harī Sen became interested to know more about the Sikhs and their Gurū. He not only helped Bhāi Kaliāṇā with whatever he needed, but also accompanied him back to Amritsar. He paid obeisance to Gurū Arjan and received instruction at his hands.

Bhāi Kaliāṇā, according to Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, was among

those who were specially blessed by Gurū Arjan for their dedication and piety and who enjoyed a place of honour in his retinue. Bhāi Kaliānā had the privilege of being included in the (Gurū) Hargobind's marriage party travelling to the village of Dallā in 1604.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KALIĀN CHAND, BĀBĀ (1440-1522), variously mentioned by chroniclers as Mahitā Kālū, Kālū Rāi, Kālū Chand, Kaliān Rāi and Kaliān Chand, was the father of Gurū Nānak, founder of Sikh faith. He was the elder of the two sons of Bābā Shiv Rām, a Bedī Khatri, and Mātā Banārasī of the village of Paṭṭheviṇḍ (no longer in existence). The village fell in what is now the Amritsar district of the Punjab. The family later shifted to Talvaṇḍī Rāi Bhoi Kī, now known as Nankānā Sāhib, in present-day Sheikhpurā district of Pakistan, where Shiv Rām became the village *paṭvārī* or keeper of revenue records, a post occupied by Bābā Kaliān Chand after his father's death. Bābā Kaliān Chand was married to Triptā, daughter of Rāmā of Chāhal, a village near Lahore. A daughter, Nānakī, and a son, (Gurū) Nānak, were born to the couple — the former in 1464 and the latter in 1469. Bābā Kaliān Chand died in 1522 at Kartārpur, founded by Gurū Nānak on the right bank of the River Rāvī.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Vir Singh, Bhāi, ed., *Purātan Janam Sākhī*. Amritsar, 1971
3. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975

4. McLeod, W.H., *Early Sikh Tradition*. Oxford, 1980
5. Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origins of the Sikh Faith*. Bombay, 1969
6. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

Gn.S.

KALIĀN SINGH, son of Dyāl Dās, was a warrior in the retinue of Gurū Gobind Singh. He died fighting in defence of Tārāgarh Fort at Anandpur in 1700.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

M.G.S.

KALIĀN SŪD, a resident of Lahore, was a soldier by profession. He once waited on Gurū Arjan, and, as records Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, began relating his feats on the field of battle. The Gurū said, "It is easy to wield a weapon in the field of battle, but a true soldier is one who overcomes such foes as ignorance, lust, anger, avarice, and worldly attachment. Humility is his armour and God's Name his only weapon." Kaliān learnt to be humble and fell at the Gurū's feet. He received initiation at the hands of the Gurū.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KĀL JHIRĀNĪ, village 33 km southwest of Baṭṭhīḍā (30°-14'N, 74°-59'E), claims an historical shrine, Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Dasviṇ, commemorating the visit of Gurū Gobind Singh in 1706. The present building of the Gurdwārā was raised in the early 1970's. The shrine is managed by the village *saṅgat*.

Another Gurdwārā, 3 km east of the village, was built by Nihāᅅgs of the Buᅇᅇhā Dal during the late 1960's. According to tradition, Gurū Gobind Siᅅgh had killed a cobra on this site with an arrow.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Giān Siᅅgh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
M.G.S.

KALMOṬ (also called Kherā Kalmot), village 18 km northwest of Anandpur (31°-14'N, 76°-31'E) in Ropar district of the Punjab, was in 1700 the scene of a clash between the Sikhs and the local Gujjar-Raᅅgharᅅ who challenged Gurū Gobind Siᅅgh while out on a chase. The Sikhs defeated the Raᅅgharᅅ and occupied the fortress. The Raᅅgharᅅ tried to seize the fortress by night but were repulsed. The fortress is no longer in existence. The shrine established on the site on top of a hillock west of the village was reconstructed in 1975. The two-storeyed building of Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Dasvīn, as it is called, has on the ground level a mosaic-floored hall with a verandah in front. The Gurdwārā is maintained by the local *saᅅgat*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Giān Siᅅgh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
Gn.S.

KĀLŪ BAMMĪ, BHĀĪ, a resident of Sultānpur Lodhī, embraced Sikh faith in the time of Gurū Amar Dās. He once waited upon Gurū Arjan with the *saᅅgat* and received the holy precept.

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 20

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Siᅅgh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Siᅅgh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KĀLŪ, BHĀĪ, named in Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 13, among Gurū Nānak's leading Sikhs. He received instruction at the Gurū's hands and became a devoted disciple. He, as says Bhāi Manī Siᅅgh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, led several others into the holy path.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Siᅅgh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Siᅅgh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

M.G.S.

KĀLŪ, BHĀĪ, a Sikh of Lahore, was a mason by trade. He once waited upon Gurū Arjan, who explained to him that mere recitation of the sacred hymns did not lead to liberation unless it was accompanied by faith and virtuous action.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Siᅅgh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Siᅅgh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

KĀLŪ NĀTH, son of Jaimal, also called Dātā, a Dhālīvāl Jaᅇ of the Mālvā region, became a Vaiᅅᅇnav *sādhū* while still very young and, according to his biographer, Bālmukand Dās, roamed the countryside accompanied by his mother, Mohinī, and young brother, Chīkhā. Later, he settled down under a *jaᅅᅇ* tree near Nathāᅇā, a village in Baᅇhiᅇᅇā district, and practised severe austerities. During the battle of Mehrāj in 1634, he served Gurū Hargobind and his Sikhs with milk and food. As Gurū Hargobind visited Nathāᅇā after the battle, Kālū Nāth offered obeisance and received the Gurū's blessing. Kālū Nāth is still remembered with reverence in that part of the Punjab, and an annual fair is held in April at his shrine at Nathāᅇā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Chhevin*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.

KĀM (Skt. *kāma*), meaning desire, longing, concupiscence, sensuality or lasciviousness, is counted among the five cardinal sins or sinful propensities. In common usage, the term stands for passion for sexual pleasure and it is in this sense that it is considered an evil in Sikhism. In Brāhmaṇical literature *kām* is not always disdained. Kām as Kāmadeva is a god in the Hindu pantheon comparable to Eros of Greek mythology and Cupid of the Romans, and is as such not contradictory to spiritual life. *Kām* (gratification of desire) is in Hinduism one of the four objectives (*puruṣārthas*) of human life, the other three being *artha* (acquirement of wealth), *dharma* (discharge of duty), and *mokṣa* (final emancipation). Jainism and Buddhism, which arose as protest movements against Brāhmaṇical ritualism and superstition, however looked upon *kām* with horror. For *munis* and *śramaṇas* of Jainism and Buddhism and for *yogīs* of the Sāṅkhya school, *kām* was to be deliberately suppressed to achieve ultimate release. As a result, they preached celibacy and asceticism.

The Gurūs rejected Brāhmaṇical superstition as well as self-mortifying austerities. Yet they recognized the four *puruṣārthas*, referred to in *gurbāṇī* as *chār padārthas* or the four human pursuits. However, in Sikhism *kām* is not unrestricted gratification of carnal desires, but an impulse which needs to be kept under check like other impulses and passions. Unrestrained propensity towards *kām*, especially sexual relationship outside the marital bond, is condemned in the strongest terms in Sikh codes of conduct as well as in the Scripture. It is a destructive evil and a deadly sin. To quote Gurū Arjan, Nānak V: "O Kām, thou

landest people in hell and makest them wander through many births, enticest all minds, swayest all the three worlds and undoest one's meditation, austerities and restraint. The pleasure is ephemeral and thou afflictest high and low alike" (GG, 1358). Gurū Tegh Bahādur, Nānak IX, says: "In the sinning heart reigns *kām* and the fickle mind breaks out of control. *Kām* casts its noose even upon *yogīs*, *jaṅgams* and *sannyāsīs*. Only those imbued with God's Name (fall not a prey to it) and are able to go across the ocean of existence" (GG, 1186). Bhāi Gurdās describes an ideal Sikh as one who is loyal to his wife and "regards all other women as mothers, sisters and daughters" (*Vārāṇ*, XXIX. 11). Gurū Gobind Singh also said: "Love your own wedded wife ever so more, but do not go to another woman's bed even in a dream." Sikh codes of conduct strictly prohibit extra-marital relations.

While prescribing self-control and restraint and not total annihilation of *kām*, the Gurūs suggested two ways of channelizing and sublimating it. On the one hand, they pronounced *grihastha* or married life to be the ideal one, and, on the other laid down love of God and absorption in His Name as the essential principle of spiritual discipline. Says Gurū Gobind Singh, "Hear ye all, I proclaim here the truth: only they who love God find Him." The image of a devotee most common in Sikh Scripture is one of a wife deeply in love with her *kant* or husband presently separated from him, and waiting, craving, praying for a reunion with him. Such fervent devotion cannot but bridle the wayward passion in man. According to Gurū Arjan, a person who has cultivated the love of the Lord's feet would desire neither kingship, nor worldly power, nor even *mukti* or liberation (GG, 534).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1964

2. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944
3. Avtar Singh, *Ethics of the Sikhs*. Patiala, 1970
4. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990

L.M.J.

KAMAL, also written as *kañval* in Punjabi, is a flower, lotus, bearing the richest symbolic and philosophical significance in Indian lore.

Its use in Indian romantic and spiritual literature goes back to ancient times. It carries, in Sanskrit, a multiplicity of names such as *saroj*, *jala*, *vārij*, *nīraj* (grown in water), *pañkaj* (grown in mud), *padma*, *aravind*, *puñḍrik*, and *śrīnivās* (abode of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth). This flower grows in muddy water and yet it keeps itself untouched by it: thus it serves as a symbol of purity amidst impurity. In its usage in the religious literature it generally stands for the self emancipated from contamination of allurements and temptations of the mundane existence. In this sense, it is used in the *Bhagavadgītā* (V. 10) and at numerous places in the Sikh canon. In the latter, it has been coupled with the duck which holds its wings dry while swimming on water. In the mythology and spiritual history of India, it figures in the legend of Viṣṇu from whose naval sprang the lotus that contained Brahmā, thus giving Viṣṇu the attributive name of Padmanābha, i.e. one who has lotus in his navel. Viṣṇu is also called Padmapāñī (having lotus-like hands) but this latter attributive name is used for Brahmā and Buddha as well. Lakshmi, Viṣṇu's consort, is called Kamalā or Padmā (one with a lotus in hand) and Kamalālaya because, according to one Hindu legend, she appeared at creation floating over water on the expanded petals of a lotus.

Brahmā is called Padmālaya because he was seated on the lotus that came from Viṣṇu's navel. Like Brahmā, Buddha is also

delineated in figures as seated on a lotus.

Padma-rekhā (the lotus line) is believed to be a lotus shaped figure of lines on the right hand or foot of a great man betokening eminence. Such a figure is said to have adorned a foot of Kṛṣṇa. Gurū Amar Dās, the third spiritual preceptor of the Sikh faith, is also said to have had such a sign on his foot.

Kamal also symbolizes the beauty of various organs of the body, so that we have such substantives as *kamal-nayan*, *aravind-lochan* (lotus-eyed), *mukhārvind* (the lotus mouth), *charna-kamal*, *charanārvind* (lotus feet), *hast-kamal* (lotus hand), etc. Apart from Hinduism and Buddhism, in Jainism too the lotus has been employed as a sacred, auspicious symbol standing for purity and spirituality.

In the Indian spiritual tradition, a particular posture in meditation, commended also in Sikhism, is called *padmāsan* (the lotus-posture), i.e. sitting cross-legged with the body slightly inclined forward in a meditative mood. In the mysticism of *haṭh yoga*, the six nerve centres sought to be penetrated by the aroused *kuṇḍalinī* are also called *padmas* (lotuses).

The typical representation of lotus in Indian art is somewhat stylized in the form of a standing cup, symbolizing the mind receptive to the elixir of illumination (*gyān*, *jñāna*), as against the mind not receptive to that elixir which has been likened to a cup turned upside down — in the direction of *māyā*, i.e. illusion or ignorance.

In Sikh sacred literature its symbolic use is of frequent occurrence. So ubiquitous is this use of the lotus symbol in this context that by a long-established convention the metaphor has come to signify the object symbolized, without overtly instituting a comparison or giving it the form of a simile or a metaphor. Says Gurū Nānak, "When by the Master's Word is the lotus opened its wanderings and desires cease" (GG, 224).

The lotus here stands for the mind. Similarly, Gurū Amar Dās also affirms that "When by the Lord's Word the lotus is illumined, the egoistic, foul thinking is cast out" (GG, 1334).

The symbol of lotus has also been employed to represent *gurmukhs*, untouched by worldly impurities. Gurū Nānak says "God's devotees, beloved of Him, remain uncontaminated even as a lotus in a pool remains untouched with water" (GG, 353). Similarly, Gurū Rām Dās says: "The devotee, even though a householder, remains ever detached, just as lotus in water" (GG, 1070). At some places, the human body, because of its beauty and tenderness, has also been compared to the lotus flower. Gurū Amar Dās says: "The lotus of the body must one day wither away" (GG, 1051).

The lotus at places has also been employed to symbolize the mankind in general. There it comes in association with the symbol of swan that is used for the pure and the liberated among the mankind. Gurū Nānak says: "One is the lake, on which are found lotuses of unique beauty, ever blossoming, in fragrance. There swans pick up the orient pearls, sharing in the supreme bliss of the Lord" (GG, 352). The lake here symbolizes the supreme Self, the lotuses, the creatures of the universe, and the swans, the liberated souls. At another place, all these symbols represent, in union, the supreme Self (lake), mankind (the lotus) and the liberated (swan), signifying the essential oneness of all. Gurū Nānak, invoking the supreme Self, says: "Thou art the lake and the swan, the lotus and the lotus-buds, and Thou beholdest in joy Thy own beauty" (GG, 23). The devout attachment of the self to the Lord has been symbolized in the *gurbāṇī* as the attachment of the humming bee (*bhaṅvar*) to the lotus (GG, 496). Bhāi Gurdās in his *Vārāṇ*, XXIV. 23, paying homage to Gurū Arjan's sacrifice, compares the Gurū in bliss of absorp-

tion with Lord to the humming bee lying at night inside the shelter of the closed lotus flower. The honey of the lotus flower has also been used symbolically to express the sweetness of the bliss of the mystic union of the self with the supreme Self. At the close of the *Āratī*, it is said, "My heart yearns for the sweet honey of Thy lotus feet fragrant in unquenchable thirst. Bestow on the *chātrik*, Nānak, the water of Thy bounty and grant him endless abode in Thy Name" (GG, 663).

The lotus thus symbolizes, in Indian religious poetry, the pure and the unsullied self, the liberated self, the mind receptive to illumination of knowledge, a right-minded householder uncontaminated by worldly impurities and devoted to, and blissfully united with the supreme Spirit. This is the theme it illustrates in *gurbāṇī*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1959
2. Gurdās, Bhāi, *Vārāṇ*. Amritsar, 1962

G.S.T.

KAMAL, BHĀĪ, was, according to Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, a devout Sikh of the time of Gurū Nānak. He kept the Gurū company at Kartārpur during his last years, and earned merit by his humility and devotion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

Gn.S.

KAMĀL, BHĀĪ, a Kashmirī Muslim, was, according to Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, a devotee of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644). He remained in attendance on the Gurū at Kīratpur, in the Śivālik hills.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

Gn.S.

KAMĀLPUR, village 22 km southwest of Samāṇā (30°-11'N, 76°-11'E) in the Punjab, commemorates both Gurū Nānak and Gurū Hargobind. Two separate shrines mark the sites visited by them. The one dedicated to Gurū Nānak is only a small Mañjī Sāhib on a mound to the north of the village. The other, Gurdwārā Pātshāhī VI, situated in a large *havelī*, again to the north of the village, was constructed and endowed by Mahārājā Karam Singh (1798-1845) of Paṭiālā. The building, renovated in 1969, comprises a large hall including a square sanctum on the ground floor, a hall on the first floor, and a domed pavilion on the second floor above the sanctum. The dome is lined with multi-coloured glazed tiles. A 65-metre square *sarovar* was added in 1979-80. The Gurdwārā owns 25 acres of land. It is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee but is at present administered by the followers of Bābā Gurmukh Singh who constructed the *sarovar*. A largely attended assembly takes place on every *amāvasyā*, the last day of the dark half of the month.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

KAMĀLPUR, village in Ludhiāṇā district, 10 km southeast of Jagrāon (30°-47'N, 75°-28'E) has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Gurū Gobind Singh Sāhib, situated one kilometre east of the village along Kamālpur-Talvaṇḍī Rāi Kī road. It commemorates the visit of Gurū Gobind Singh during his journey from Hehrān towards Sīloaṇī and Lammān-

Jaṭpurā in December 1705. A new building has been constructed to replace the old Mañjī Sāhib raised in 1903. Over the *prakāsh asthān*, the site of the old building, stands a tall four-storeyed tower capped by a lotus dome covered with glazed tiles in milk-white and grass-green colours. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee.

M.G.S.

KANAKVĀL KALĀN (also called Kanakvāl Bhaṅgūān), a village 25 km southwest of Sunām (30°-7'N, 75°-48'E) in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur, who visited it during one of his travels through the Mālvā territory. Gurdwārā Sāhib Nauviṅ Pātshāhī which honours his memory is situated half a kilometre to the northwest of the village across a minor canal distributory. Constructed in 1921, it comprises a square domed sanctum, with cubicles on either side and an assembly hall in front. The Gurdwārā is maintained by the village *saṅgat* and is served by a lone Nihaṅg who is a native of the village. Seven acres of land are attached to it for its maintenance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
2. Visākhā Singh, Sant, *Mālvā Itihās*, 3 vols. Kishanpura 1954
3. Faujā Singh, *Gurū Teg Bahādur, Yātrā Asthān Pramprāvān te Yād Chinh*. Patiala, 1976

M.G.S.

KANDŪ, BHĀĪ, a Saṅghar Jaṭ, received initiation at the hands of Gurū Arjan. The Gurū taught him to contemplate on the holy Word and serve the *saṅgat*. Bhāī Gurdās, in one of his stanzas, describes Bhāī Kandū as one with a smiling countenance.

See Bhāī Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI, 22

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KANECH, village 20 km southeast of Ludhiānā (30°-54'N, 75°-52'E), has a historical *gurdwārā* called Mañjī Sāhib Pātshāhī Dasvīn. Gurū Gobind Singh stopped in this village for a short time in the course of his journey from Māchhivārā into interior of Mālvā in December 1705. He was still disguised as the Pīr of Uchch. As a local farmer, Fattā by name, came to pay homage and offered to render any service he would command, the Gurū asked him to lend him a horse. Fattā went home and brought a gaunt mare. The Gurū rejected it and said that nothing except his best horse would do. Fattā evaded the Gurū's bidding by making a false excuse that the horse had been taken away by his son-in-law. The Gurū smiled and resumed his journey in the palanquin; but when Fattā returned home, he found that his horse had died of a snakebite.

A Mañjī Sāhib established later to commemorate the Gurū's visit has since been replaced by a larger building. It comprises a rectangular hall, with the sanctum within and a verandah around it. There is a domed square room above the sanctum. The Gurdwārā, on the top of a mound, is administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a village committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārikh Curduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

KANĠANPUR, a large village along Kasūr-Lodhrān railway line in Lahore district of Pakistan, had a historical Sikh shrine dedicated to Gurū Nānak. Local tradition

established Kanġanpur as the locale of an episode given in the *Purātan Janam Sākhī*. It is said that once Gurū Nānak accompanied by Bhāi Mardānā came to this village, but the villagers treated them with gross indifference. They did not even let them put up in the village. Before departing, the Gurū blessed them saying, "Vasde raho — May you live happily here" and went to the next village, Mānak Deke, 3 km away. The inhabitants of this village warmly welcomed the visitors and extended to them their wonted hospitality. On leaving this village, Gurū Nānak remarked, "Ujjar jāo — May you be dispersed." Bhāi Mardānā was puzzled and questioned the Master about his strange way of blessing the wicked and cursing the virtuous. The Gurū explained that in the former case he had wished the ill-mannered residents of Kanġanpur to stay where they were, so that they did not spread their sullenness to people elsewhere, whereas he expected the people of Mānak Deke to spread goodness by their gentle example. The Gurdwārā Sāhib at Kanġanpur used to attract devotees especially on the first of every Bikramī month. It was the site of a largely-attended religious festival on the first of the month of Chet (mid-March) every year, until it was abandoned in August-September 1947 in consequence of the partition of India.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Vir Singh, Bhāi, ed., *Purātan Janam Sākhī*. Amritsar, 1971
2. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
3. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārikh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

KANHAIYĀ, BHĀĪ (1648-1718), founder of the Sevāpanthī or Aḍḍanśhāhī sect of the Sikhs, was born in a Dhamman Khatri family of Sodharā near Wazīrābād in Siālkoṭ district (now in Pakistan). His father was a wealthy

trader, but he himself being of a religious bent of mind left home when still very young and roamed about with *sādhūs* and ascetics in search of spiritual peace. His quest ended as he met Gurū Tegh Bahādur (1621-75) and accepted initiation at his hands. Kanhaiyā established a *dharamsāl* at Kavhā village in the present Attock district of Pakistan which he turned into a preaching centre. His special mission was selfless service of humanity with no distinction of nationality, caste or creed. In 1705, he was on a visit to Anandpur when Anandpur was invested by a combination of hill troops and the imperial army. During the frequent sallies and skirmishes, Bhāi Kanhaiyā used to roam around serving water to the wounded and the dying without distinction of friend and foe. Some Sikhs complained to Gurū Gobind Singh that Kanhaiyā had been resuscitating the fallen enemy soldiers. As Gurū Gobind Singh summoned Bhāi Kanhaiyā and told him what the Sikhs had said, he spoke, "Yes, my Lord, what they said is true in a sense, but I saw no Mughals or Sikhs in the battlefield; I only saw the Gurū's face in everyone." The Gurū, pleased with the reply, blessed him and told his Sikhs that Kanhaiyā had understood his teaching correctly.

After the evacuation of Anandpur, Bhāi Kanhaiyā retired to Sodharā where he died in 1718.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Lāl Chand, *Srī Sant Mālā*. Patiala, 1955
2. Gurmukh Singh, *Sevāpanthiān dī Panjābī Sāhit nūn Dep.* Patiala, 1986

P.S.P.

KANHAIYĀ LĀL son of Shiv Diāl, was introduced by his father at the Lahore court and was appointed *kārdār* or administrator of Sāhivāl, part of the estate of Prince Kharak Singh. Kanhaiyā Lāl was later appointed head of the finance office under Dīwān Motī Rām during the latter's second tenure of office as

governor of Kashmīr. Kanhaiyā Lāl was employed as manager of the salt mines of Piṇḍ Dādan *Khān* when those mines were made over to Gulāb Singh of Jammū. He held the post until 1834 and continued, along with his son Ratan Chand, receiving a cash allowance of rupees two thousand from the salt revenue till the annexation of the Punjab in 1849.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ul-Tawārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

KANHAIYĀ SINGH, BHĀĪ (1881-1921), son of Bhāi Sundar Singh and Māi Atar Kaur of Pharālā village in Jalandhar district, was one of the victims of Mahant Narain Dās of Nankānā Sāhib. One of their relations, Bhāi Bodh Singh, had settled in Chakk No. 91 Dhannūānā in Lyallpur district (now in Pakistan). A death occurred in his family and Bhāi Kanhaiyā Singh went there to condole with him. While there, he found that a *jathā* from that village was getting ready to go for the liberation of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, Nankānā Sāhib. Kanhaiyā Singh along with his cousin, Bechint Singh, who also happened to be there for condolences, joined the *jathā* and attained martyrdom on 20 February 1921.

See NANKĀNĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahidī Jwan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

KANĪPHĀ or Karnaripā, one of the 84 Gorakhpantī *siddhas* (exalted personages believed to have attained occult powers and immortality through the practice of *yoga*), is mentioned in *Bālā Janam Sākhī* as a participant in the Siddhas' discourse with

Gurū Nānak during the latter's visit to Mount Sumer.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
2. Kohli, Surindar Singh, *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
3. Dvivedī, Hazārī Prasād, *Nāth Sampradāya*. Varanasi, 1966
4. Jodh Singh, *The Religious Philosophy of Guru Nanak*. Delhi, 1989

Gn.S.

KĀŅJHLĀ, village 18 km from Saṅgrūr (30°-14'N, 75°-50'E) in the Punjab, has a common *gurdwārā*, called Jhīrā Sāhib, honouring the memory of Gurū Nānak, Gurū Hargobind and Gurū Tegh Bahādur, all of whom are believed to have visited the site successively. Gurdwārā Jhīrā Sāhib stands where there used to be a large copse (*jhīrā*, in Punjabi) about 200 metres west of the village and where the Gurūs had their camps. The foundation of the present building was laid on 18 April 1912 by Sant Atar Singh whose disciple, Sant Bishan Singh, completed it in 1936-37. The sanctum, within a modest sized hall, has marble floor and a canopied seat, also of marble, for the Gurū Granth Sāhib, with a large dome above. Across a brick paved compound from the hall is a row of rooms for the staff. The *sarovar* is at the back of the hall. A separate spacious compound contains the Gurū kā Laṅgar and rooms for pilgrims. The Gurdwārā owns 35 acres of land and is managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. Special religious gatherings mark the death anniversaries of Sant Atar Singh and Sant Bishan Singh in February and August respectively.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Faujā Singh, *Gurū Teg Bahādur, Yātrā Asthān, Pramprāvān te Yād Chīnh*. Patiala, 1976
2. Kāhn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahān Kosh*.

Patiala, 1981

3. Visākhā Singh, Sant, *Mālvā Itihās*. Kishanpura, 1954
M.G.S.

KĀNPUR (26°-25'N, 80°-17'E), formerly Kanhaiyāpur, possesses a Sikh shrine sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. Gurū Tegh Bahādur visited the site at the beginning of 1666 while on his way to the eastern parts. The memory of his visit was kept alive by a modest single-roomed shrine which was developed into the present Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Tegh Bahādur by Sant Praduman Singh in the early years of the twentieth century. The present building, a multi-storeyed modern structure, was completed in 1971. The ground floor serves as a reception hall. In the hall on the first floor, non-stop recital of the Gurū Granth Sāhib continues simultaneously on several *bīys*. The Gurdwārā, registered as the Srī Gurū Singh Sabhā, is administered by a local managing committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Faujā Singh, *Gurū Teg Bahādur, Yātrā Asthān, Pramprāvān te Yād Chīnh*. Patiala, 1976
2. Kāhn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurushabad Ratnākar Mahān Kosh*. Patiala, 1981

M.G.S.

KĀNRE KĪ VĀR, by Gurū Rām Dās, is one of the twenty-two compositions entered in the Gurū Granth Sāhib under the rubric of *vār*. Like other *vārs* it is assigned to a specific musical measure — Kānrā, in this instance. At the head of the *Vār* is recorded by Gurū Arjan, who prepared the first recension of the Holy Book, the direction as to the tune to which it should appropriately be sung, i.e. the tune of the folk ballad celebrating a popular hero, Mūsā, who attacked the chief to whom his fiancée had been married, capturing both the bridegroom and the bride, and then gallantly setting them free. The *Vār*, in simple Punjabi with an occasional touch of Sādh Bhākhā, consists of fifteen

paurīs, or stanzas, and thirty *ślokas*, all of them of Gurū Rām Dās's composition. Each *paurī* comprises five lines, preceded by two *ślokas* of unequal length.

The central theme is the praise of God, the Supreme Being, the Infinite. He is the Creator of all that exists. His light is the light in all souls. He Himself is the seeker and the sought, the lover and the beloved. He is the repository of the highest moral virtues, the treasure of all merits. He is the bestower of grace and bounties, and ferries man across the worldly ocean. What He wills comes to pass. He can be realized through constant remembrance of Him. Man is adjured to practise *simran* (*smarṇa*). Thus will his ignorance (*avidyā*) be dispelled and his *haumai* (egoity) erased. Following the instruction of the Gurū and meeting with the holy in *saṅgat* one is put on the spiritual path. One thereby cultivates *śabda* and becomes receptive to *nām*. The snare of *mayā* or temptation is then rent asunder. It is with God's grace that the seeker meets such a Gurū and learns to abide by his will.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sṛī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1964
2. Sāhib Singh, *Sṛī Gurū Granth Sāhib Darpan*. Jalandhar, n.d.

K.L.S.

KĀONKE, village 7 km southwest of Jagrāon (30°-47'N, 75°-28'E), in Ludhiānā district, has a historical shrine called Gurū Sar, commemorating the visit of Gurū Hargobind in 1631-32. Approached by a metalled link road, it is two and a half kilometres to the northwest of the village. The small square sanctum with a verandah on three sides and a dome on top was constructed in 1912. In 1955, a square pavilion was added for larger assemblies. The *sarovar* is on the right of these buildings as one enters the premises, and the Gurū kā Laṅgar and residential

accommodation for pilgrims near the entrance gate. The Gurdwārā is administered by a wholetime manager appointed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. There is also a village committee to help the manager. The biggest festivals of the year are Baisākhī and Māghī falling on the first of the Bikramī months of Baisākh and Māgh respectively.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā*. [Reprint] Patiala, 1970
2. Visākhā Singh, Sant, *Mātvā Itihās*, 3 vols. Kishanpura 1954

M.G.S.

KAPĀL MOCHAN, an ancient pilgrimage centre of the Hindus, 20 kilometres from Jagādhri (30°-10'N, 77°-18'E), was visited by Gurū Gobind Singh as he was returning from Pāoṅtā to Anandpur in 1688. He is said to have stopped at this place for 52 days. A small shrine commemorated the Gurū's visit until a new complex was raised after the partition of 1947, the main building having been completed in 1951. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in the main building in an octagonal-shaped marble-floored room approached through a flat-topped gateway. A separate enclosure contains rooms for pilgrims and the Gurū kā Laṅgar. An annual fair is held in Kārtik, October-November, to celebrate the birthday anniversary of Gurū Nānak. The Gurdwārā is administered by a local committee through a manager appointed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurduārān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

KAPŪR DEV, BHĀĪ, a prominent *masand* of the time of Gurū Arjan, once expressed his desire to see a model Sikh. The Gurū,

says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, asked him to go and see Bhāi Samman, who lived at Shāhbāzpur. When Kapūr Dev reached Samman's house, he was unloading firewood he had purchased for the household. Then he started mending some worn-out mats, without paying any particular heed to the visitor. Finally, Kapūr Dev spoke: "I have been sent by the Gurū especially to meet you, but you are engaged in these petty tasks." Samman calmly said that no work was ever low or petty, and that he would attend to him in the evening. In the evening, Samman and his son, Mūsan, sang God's praises far into the night. Next morning some dacoits suddenly appeared and drove away the village cattle. The villagers, Mūsan among them, chased the dacoits but Samman, unruffled, stayed back with the guest. Shortly afterwards they learnt that Mūsan had been mortally hit by a marauder's bullet. His body was brought home. Everyone sat wailing and lamenting the death of the young man, but Samman did not lose his composure. He brought out the wood purchased the day before, arranged his son's cremation amidst hymn-singing, and spread the mended mat for the mourners to sit on. Kapūr Dev, greatly puzzled, said, "You are a strange man. If you knew what was going to befall you, why did you not pray to the Gurū to grant a longer lease of life to your son?" Samman replied, "The body is impermanent. Death, which is the certain end of the body, is not strange. What is notable and wonderful is that man lives. To lament the loss of the body is folly. It is material and must sooner or later perish. What is essential in man is neither born nor dies. Nothing is worth begging the Gurū except *nām* which assists man to unite with the Essence." Kapūr Dev, enlightened as well as impressed, bowed to Samman saying: "Hail the Gurū! And hail the Gurū's Sikhs who have been liberated from all attachment!"

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KAPŪRGARH, village 16 km from Amloh (30°-36'N, 76°-14'E), in Fatehgarh Sāhib district, has a shrine called Gurdwārā Ḍerā Bābā Natthā Singh. Bābā Natthā Singh (or Nāthā Singh) after whom the Gurdwārā is named, was a Nihaṅg Jathedār during the early nineteenth century, highly respected by the rulers of Paṭiālā and Nābhā. His *ḍerā* or dwelling place, built in the form of a fortress on top of a mound, is now in a dilapidated condition. The Gurdwārā, about 25 metres away from the *ḍerā*, was built later. The *ḍerā* as well as the Gurdwārā is now in the possession of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee who have appointed a manager-cum-*granthī* to look after it.

In the Gurdwārā are preserved old articles, such as weapons, musical instruments and garments. Among them is a three-foot-long sword which is said to have once been Gurū Gobind Singh's. The Gurū's name is inscribed on it in Gurmukhī characters, with a vowel omitted and a consonant in Devanāgrī. Transliterated, it would read: "Gū Goband Singh Sāhib".

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Viśakhā Singh, Sant, *Mālvā Itihās*, 3 vols. Kishanpura, 1954

M.G.S.

KAPŪR SĪNGH (1628-1708), an ancestor of the Faridkot ruling house, was born the son of Lālā in 1628. He succeeded in 1643 his uncle, Bhallaṅ, to the *chaudhāriat* or headship of the Brār Jaṭṭs. He was a brave and able man, and consolidated his possessions winning many victories over Bhaṭṭī and other tribes in his neighbourhood. He at first

resided at Pañj Grāīn, but subsequently founded Sārīvālā, now a deserted place near Bagīānā, which he soon abandoned for a new site, Koṭ Kapūrā, named after himself, and which he is said to have founded in 1661 at the suggestion of Bhāī Bhagatū, a holy man who was an ancestor of the Kaithal family. The reputation for justice and benevolence which Kapūrā enjoyed induced many immigrants to settle in Koṭ Kapūrā which soon became a place of considerable importance. During his long life, Kapūr Singh had the rare honour of serving Gurū Har Rāi and Gurū Gobind Singh during their travels in his part of the country. It is said that he received the *pāhul* or rites of Sikh initiation at the hands of Gurū Gobind Singh who bestowed upon him a sword and shield, still preserved in the family.

In 1708, at the age of eighty, Kapūr Singh was treacherously assassinated by his old rival 'Īsā Khān, a Mañjh Rājput, with whom he had a long-standing feud and who, in turn, fell at the hands of his revengeful sons, Sukhīā, Semā and Mukhīā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Harbañs Singh, *Farīdkoṭ Itihās Bāre*. Farīdkot, 1947
S.S.B.

KAPŪR SINGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1924), one of the martyrs of Jaito, was born around the turn of the century, the son of Bhāī Variām Singh Brāṛ and Māi Nand Kaur, a peasant couple of village Lanḍe in the present Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab. He took *pāhul* of the Khālsā and joined the first *shahīdī jathā*, or a band of Akālī volunteers, ready for martyrdom, who were marching towards Jaito, a town in the then Nābhā state, to win the right of freedom of worship in the historical Gurdwārā Gañgsar there. As the *jathā* approached the outskirts of Jaito on the morning of 21 February 1924, it was fired

upon by the state security forces. A bullet pierced Bhāī Kapūr Singh's body through the hips. Some comrades carried him to Gurdwārā Ṭibbī Sāhib where he succumbed to his injury. The state police took away his body for mass cremation along with twenty-odd other victims of the firing. Bhāī Kapūr Singh was unmarried and had already lost his parents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Pratāp Singh, Giāni, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahīr*. Amritsar, 1975
2. Josh, Sohan Singh, *Akālī Morchiān dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1972

G.S.G.

KAPŪR SINGH, NAWĀB (1697-1753), eighteenth century Sikh hero and founder of the Dal Khālsā. He was born in 1697 in a peasant family of Virks of the village of Kāloke, now in Sheikhūpurā district of Pakistan. His father's name was Dalīp Singh. When Kapūr Singh was of the age to bear arms, he seized the village of Faizullāpur, near Amritsar, renamed it Singhpurā and started living there. For this reason he is also known to history as Kapūr Singh Faizullāpurīā and the principality he founded as Faizullāpurīā's or Singhpurīā's *misl* or chieftaincy.

Kapūr Singh was eleven years old at the time of Gurū Gobind Singh's death and nineteen when Bandā Singh Bahādur and his companions were tortured to death in Delhi. He had thus passed his early life in an atmosphere charged with the fervour of faith and sacrifice. Side by side with religious discipline, Kapūr Singh practised manly exercises like horse-riding and swordsmanship. In 1721, he received the vows of Khālsā initiation at the hands of Bhāī Manī Singh, a pious and learned Sikh of that time, at a large gathering of Sikhs held at Amritsar on the occasion of the Dīvālī festival. Kapūr Singh's physical prowess and

spirit of boldness proved valuable assets in those days of high adventure, and he soon gained a position of eminence among his people who were then engaged in a desperate struggle for survival. When Zakariyā Khān, who became the governor of Lahore in 1726, adopted rigorous measures against the Sikhs, Kapūr Singh organized a band of warriors, who, with a view to paralyzing the administration and obtaining food for their companions forced to seek shelter in remote hills and forests, attacked government treasuries and caravans moving from one place to another. Such was the effect of these depredations that the Delhi government, in 1733, at the instance of Zakariyā Khān, decided to lift the quarantine forced upon the Sikhs and made an offer of a grant to them. Subeg Singh, a Sikh resident of Jambar, near Lahore, who was for a time *kotwāl* or police inspector of the city under Mughal authority, was entrusted with the task of negotiating peace with the Khālsā. He reached Amritsar and offered the Sikhs, assembled there on the occasion of the Baisākhī festival, on behalf of the government the title of Nawāb and a *jāgīr* consisting of *parganahs* of Dīpālpur, Kaṅganvāl and Jhabāl. After the Sikhs accepted the offer, Kapūr Singh, humbly swinging a hand-fan over the assembly, was unanimously chosen to be honoured with the title of Nawāb. Kapūr Singh reluctantly accepted the honour and, as a mark of respect, he placed the robe of honour sent by the Mughals at the feet of five revered Sikhs before putting it on. The dress, according to Sikh chroniclers, included a shawl, a turban, a jewelled plume, a pair of gold bangles, a necklace, a row of pearls, a brocade garment and a sword.

During the respite thus secured, Kapūr Singh gave attention to reorganizing the Sikh force which he divided into two sections — the Buḍḍhā Dal, army of the elderly, and the Taruṇā Dal, army of the young. The former,

under the charge of Nawāb Kapūr Singh, was entrusted with the task of looking after the holy places, preaching the Gurū's word and administering the vows of the Khālsā to Sikhs, while the latter was the more active division whose function was to fight in times of emergency. As Taruṇā Dal grew in strength, Nawāb Kapūr Singh further split it into five parts, each with a separate centre and its own banner and drum.

The detente with the Mughals did not last long and before the harvest season of 1735, Zakariyā Khān sent a force and occupied the *jāgīr*. The Buḍḍhā Dal being driven away towards the Mālvā, Nawāb Kapūr Singh continued his missionary and military activities in the cis-Sutlej parts. He conquered the territory of Sunām and made it over to Ālā Singh, the Phūlkīān chief, who had received rites of initiation from him.

Nawāb Kapūr Singh led the Buḍḍhā Dal right up to the vicinity of Delhi, vanquishing, on the way, the chieftains of Jhajjar, Dādri, Dojāṇā and Paṭaudī. Overrunning Faridābād, Ballabgarh and Gurgāon in the *parganah* of Delhi, the Dal returned to the village of Ṭhikrivālā in the Mālvā. When in 1739, Nādir Shāh was returning to Persia after a hearty plunder of Delhi and the Punjab, Nawāb Kapūr Singh swooped down upon his rearguard, near Akhnūr on the river Chenāb, and rescued a number of innocent girls who were being abducted, and restored them to their parents.

On the occasion of Baisākhī (29 March) of 1748, when Sikhs were able to assemble at Amritsar after a long interval, a new force known as the Dal Khālsā was constituted at the instance of Nawāb Kapūr Singh. Different groups of the Sikhs, whose number had already touched sixty-five, were leagued together into eleven main associations, each with a separate banner, a stable, a kitchen and a leader but acting under one supreme commander binding each group with the other group and also with the whole Panth.

Kapūr Sīngh surrendered charge to Jassā Sīngh Āhlūvālīā who was, at his suggestion, chosen the supreme commander of the Dal Khālsā.

Nawāb Kapūr Sīngh died on 7 October 1753 and was cremated in the premises of Gurdwārā Bābā Aṭal at Amritsar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Sīngh, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914
2. Hotī, Prem Sīngh, *Nawāb Kapūr Sīngh*. Ludhiana, 1952
3. Gaṇḍā Sīngh, *Sardār Jassā Sīngh Āhlūvālīā*. Patiala, 1969
4. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*. Bombay, 1950
5. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1963
6. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983

H.R.G.

KAPŪR SĪNGH, SIRDĀR, BHĀĪ SĀHIB (1909-1986), civilian, parliamentarian and intellectual, was master of many-sided learning. Besides Sikh theology, he was vastly learned in philosophy, history and literature. He was born into a farming family, at the village Chakk in Ludhiāṅā district on 2 March 1909. His father's name was Dīdār Sīngh. Sirdār Kapūr Sīngh received his Master's degree, first class first, at the prestigious Government College, Lahore, after which he went to Cambridge to take his Tripos in Moral Sciences. He was a distinguished linguist and had mastered several of the languages of the east and the west. Besides English which he could spin around his fingers with extraordinary subtlety and finesse, he had facility in Persian and Arabic as well as in Sanskrit.

In addition to these, he claimed easy acquaintance with such discrete fields as astrology, architecture and space science. In spite of his knowledge covering many disparate areas, Sirdār Kapūr Sīngh's

principal focus was Sikh literature and theology. He was a stickler for accuracy of fact and presentation. He stood up foursquare to any misrepresentation or falsification of any shade of Sikh thought and belief. He was most vigilant and unbending in this respect.

He was selected into the Indian Civil Service and served in various administrative posts in the cadre. In 1947, he was appointed deputy commissioner of Kāṅgrā. He was particularly irked by the growing narrow politics of the government biased against the Sikhs. What incensed him most was a circular letter dated 10 October 1947, issued by the state governor, Chandū Lāl Trivedī, warning district authorities in the Punjab against what was described as the criminal tendencies of the Sikh people. Kapūr Sīngh filed a strong protest against this utterly wild accusation. He thereby invited the governor's wrath. Charges were brought against him which led to his dismissal from the service.

Sirdār Kapūr Sīngh became an ardent supporter of the Akālī demand for a Punjabi-speaking state. After a brief stint as Professor of Sikhism under the authority of the Akāl Takht, he joined active politics. In 1962, he was elected to the lower house of Indian Parliament and a member of the Punjab Vidhān Sabhā (State Legislative Assembly) in 1969. He was forthright in speech and an unrelenting critic of government's policies where they crossed the path of the Sikhs. As a Sikh ideologue he was the moving spirit behind the Anandpur Sāhib resolution adopted by the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal in 1973, which like several other of his pronouncements became a crucial enunciation of modern Sikh political formula and policy.

A very stirring Sikh document of the modern period was the Presidential address given at Harī Sīngh Nalvā conference convened at Ludhiāṅā on 14 July, 1965. Although it was nowhere specified, all

important Sikh political or intrinsically scholarly documents of this period bear the imprint of Kapūr Singh's penmanship. In sonorous phrase, the conference resolution said:

1. This Conference in commemoration of General Hari Singh Nalwa of historical fame reminds all concerned that the Sikh people are makers of history and are conscious of their political destiny in a free India.
2. This Conference recalls that the Sikh people agreed to merge in a common Indian nationality on the explicit understanding of being accorded a constitutional status of co-sharers in the community, which solemn understanding now stands cynically repudiated by the present rulers of India. Further, the Sikh people have been systematically reduced to a sub-political status in their homeland, the Punjab, and to an insignificant position in their motherland, India. The Sikhs are in a position to establish before an impartial international tribunal, uninfluenced by the present Indian rulers, that the law, the judicial process, and the executive action of the State of India is consistently and heavily weighted against the Sikhs and is administered with unbandaged eyes against Sikh citizens.
3. This Conference, therefore, resolves, after careful thought, that there is left no alternative for the Sikhs in the interest of self-preservation but to frame their political demand for securing a self-determined political status within the Republic of Union of India.

The author's name is not mentioned here, but it is clearly the handiwork of Sirdār Kapūr Singh. The Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee's publication at the time of the Nirānkārī attack on the Sikhs is described thus:

THEY MASSACRE SIKHS

A White Paper
by
Sikh Religious Parliament
(Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak
Committee)

Sirdār Kapūr Singh, besides being an extraordinarily learned man, was a prolific writer. In addition to his *Parāsarpraśna*, in English, which ranks as a classic on Sikh philosophy, his other works include *Hashīsh* (Punjabi poems), *Saptasring* (Punjabi biographies), *Bahu Vistār* (Punjabi essays), *Punḍrīk* (Punjabi essays on culture and religion), *Mansūr al-Hallaj* (monograph on a Sufi saint), *Sāchī Sākhī* (memoirs), *Sacred Writings of the Sikhs* (a UNESCO publication), *Me Judice* (English miscellany), *Sikhism for Modern Man*, *Contributions of Guru Nanak*, *The Hour of Sword*, and *Guru Arjun and His Sukhmani*.

Sirdār Kapūr Singh died after a protracted illness at his village home in Jagraon in Ludhiānā district on 13 August 1986.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kapūr Singh, *Sāchī Sākhī*. Jalandhar, 1972
2. — *Parāsarpraśna*. Amritsar, 1989
3. Dīlgīr, H.S., *Shiromani Akālī Dal*. Chandigarh, 1980
4. *The Ajit*. Jalandhar, 14, 24 and 25 August 1986
5. *The Tribune*. Chandigarh, 14 August 1986

M.G.S.

KAṚĀ, situated in Allāhābād district of Uttar Pradesh, on the right bank of the River Gaṅgā, was once a flourishing town and a provincial capital under the Muslim Sultanate and under the Mughals though now it is no more than a large village. Sikh chronicles usually refer to it as Kaṛā-Mānakpur, but Mānakpur is a separate village 5 km away on the opposite bank of the Gaṅgā.

Gurū Tegh Bahādur in the course of his journey to the eastern parts in 1665-66 halted at Kaṛā on his way from Kānpur to Allāhābād. At Kaṛā, he met Sant Malūk Dās,

a famous Vaiṣṇava saint. Malūk Dās had heard about Gurū Nānak and the spiritual line issuing from him. He was surprised to see his Ninth successor accompanied by armed disciples who hunted animals. But on beholding Gurū Tegh Bahādur, his doubts disappeared as clouds disperse before high winds. He, according to *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, said to himself, "Though the Gurū is clad as a prince, his mind is fixed in divine knowledge. He is the ocean of qualities. How can an ignorant one like me praise him? Sinner I have been from birth. His sanctity I did not fathom." Malūk Dās fell at the Gurū's feet and took him to his hut where he served him with humility.

There is no Sikh shrine at Kaṛā at present, but a pamphlet published by the followers of Sant Malūk Dās testifies that a Sikh *saṅgat* and a Sikh *gurdwārā* once flourished here, and that once in a year a gathering took place here of members of all communities when *kaṛāh prasād* was freely distributed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twāriḥh Curduwāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.
M.G.S.

KARĀH PRASĀD. *Kaṛāh*, soft sweetened food made of flour or semolina and ghee, which placed before the Gurū Granth Sāhib as offering gets transubstantiated for Sikhs into *prasād*, i.e. a mark of Akāl-Purakh's grace. *Kaṛāh Prasād* is thus the sacrament which is distributed among the *saṅgat* after *ardās* at all Sikh religious services and ceremonies. The word *kaṛāh* is derived from Sanskrit *kaṭāh* which means a large boiling pan, and what is cooked therein by the specific formula has, by transference of meaning, come to be called *kaṛāh*. In Sikh parlance, this communion food is also known by several other names such as *deg*, *tihāval* or *tribhāvalī* (lit. made of three ingredients of equal quantity, viz. ghee or clarified butter, wheat-

flour and sugar) and *pañchāmrit* (most blessed sacrament). *Kaṛāh* is common to some other religious traditions as well. Muslims, who call it *halvā*, prepare it in large quantities on the occasion of *Eid*. *Kaṛāh* was also offered among the ancient Aryans to the deities and idols as *lāpasī*.

For *kaṛāh prasād* meant for offering at a Sikh assembly, its main ingredients, ghee, wheat-flour and sugar, must be weighed out in equal measures. The cooking-place or kitchen must be cleaned to ensure sanctity as well as hygienic standards, and a person cleanly dressed should be ready to take charge of the proceedings in the prescribed manner. Reciting the holy hymns, water, four times the weight of one of the ingredients, will be heated and sugar poured into it to dissolve and the mixture brought to boiling point in an open pan, called *kaṛāhī* or *kaṛāhā*, more ceremonially, *deg*; then ghee is heated and the wheat flour is fried and roasted brown in it. The syrup of sugar is then poured down into the pan and stirred. The preparation, properly made, will show ghee floating around the sweet substance. It is then transferred to some other pan, generally a large salver, and is covered with a clean white piece of linen, and taken to the presence of the Gurū Granth Sāhib in *gurdwārā* or site of the assembly, before the service is concluded with *ardās*. The *kaṛāh prasād* is touched with the tip of a *kirpān* or sword before it is distributed. Then, the *granthī*, or any other pious Sikh, puts in a saucer, the symbolic 'shares' of Pañj Piāre, i.e. the Five Beloved and distributes it among five *amritdhārī* Sikhs of approved standing from among the assembly. After this, some volunteers, generally led by the *granthī*, distribute the holy sacrament among the *saṅgat*, without any distinction of status or caste. Every one, whatever his worldly position or station, must receive *prasād* while sitting on the floor, with both hands piously cupped. It is partaken of as a mark of

receiving divine grace. This tradition of offering *kaṛāh prasād* in a *gurdwārā* is traced back to Gurū Arjan, who himself went to the Harimandar to offer *prasād* on certain occasions.

Ordinarily, *kaṛāh prasād* is prepared in the *gurdwārā* itself, but people are free to prepare it, in the prescribed manner and with due care, at home and bring it to be offered at the *gurdwārā*. In the larger *gurdwārās* which are under the control of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, there are set counters from which readymade *kaṛāh prasād* is available on cash payment, generally in multiples of one and a quarter of a rupee. The devotees then carry it reverentially into the sanctuary.

The *deg* or *kaṛāh prasād* is compulsory offering at all Sikh ceremonies and observances. However, on less important occasions or if the devotee at whose instance the *divān* takes place cannot afford it, other and less expensive types of *prasād* can be offered. These substitutes are limited to four commodities, viz., *patāsās* (sugar crystals), *gur* (unclarified sugar), *phal* (fruit) and *makhānās* or *lāchūdānā* (sugar plums). Other sweets are not ordinarily offered as *prasād*, but are not forbidden.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Sikh Rahit Maryādā*. Amritsar, 1975
2. Kāhn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurmat Sudhākar*. Amritsar, 1922
3. Prakash Singh, *The Sikh Gurus and the Temple of Bread*. Amritsar, 1964
4. Teja Singh, *Sikhism: Its Ideals and Institutions*. Bombay, 1937
5. Cole, W. Owen, and Piara Singh Sambhi, *The Sikhs: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*. Delhi, 1978

T.S.

KARAM CHAND (d. 1621), the son of Chandū Shāh and a revenue official under 'Abdullā Khān, *faujdar* of Jalandhar, bore enmity towards Gurū Hargobind because of

his father's death at the hands of the Sikhs. He along with Ratan Chand, the son of Bhagvān Dās Gheraṛ, Chaudharī of Ruhelā, instigated 'Abdullā Khān to march troops against Gurū Hargobind. A clash occurred at the village of Ruhelā in 1621. Karam Chand lost his life in this action.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Chhevin Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

B.S.

KARAM CHAND, DĪWĀN (d. 1836), son of Javālā Nāth who served as a *munshī* (accountant) under the Sukkarchakkīā *sardārs*, Chaṛhat Singh and Mahān Singh. Karam Chand was first employed by Bishan Singh Kalāl, a confidential agent of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, who retired in the year 1813 to Banāras where he died. Karam Chand was in course of time promoted to offices of trust under the Mahārājā. In 1806, he was employed as an agent in the arrangements concluded between the Lahore State and the Sikh chiefs south of the Sutlej. He also assisted in drawing up the treaty of 25 April 1809 with the British Government. In 1809 he joined the accounts department under Dīwān Bhavānī Dās and continued in this position until his death in 1836.

His sons, Tārā Chand, Maṅgal Sen and Ratan Chand, served the Sikh State in military and civil departments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twarikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

KARAM NARAIN (b. 1817), the third son of Dīwān Sāvan Mall, a Khatri of Chopṛā caste, served the Lahore Darbār in different

capacities. His grandfather, Hoshnāk Rāi, was in the service of Sardār Dal Singh of Akālgaṛh and his father was governor of Multān. Karam Naraiṅ acted as the lieutenant of his father in the Leiah district carrying on civil duties as well as holding military command in the fort of Mankerā. He endeared himself to the people by his impartiality and liberal nature. After the death of his father, Karam Naraiṅ did not remain on good terms with his brother, Mūl Rāj, who even confined him in the house in 1847 for two months and, after his release, let him leave Multān with his share of paternal property. He settled at Akālgaṛh. He did not play any part in the rebellion of Mūl Rāj. He received a pension of Rs 400 from the British Government.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

KARAM SINGH (d. 1784), a leading figure in the Shahīd clan of Sandhū Jaiṭṭs of the village of Marāhkā in Sheikhūpurā district, now in Pakistan. According to Sir Lepel Griffin, he was a grandson of Bābā Dīp Singh, the martyr. In January 1764, at the conquest of the Sirhind province by the Sikhs, he seized a number of villages in the *parganahs* of Kesarī and Shāhzādpur in Ambālā district yielding about a lakh of rupees annually. Karam Singh made Shāhzādpur his headquarters, but he lived for most of the time at Talvaṇḍī Sābo (Damdamā Sāhib), in Baṭhiṇḍā district. In 1773, Karam Singh overran a large tract of land belonging to Zābitā Khān Ruhīlā in the upper Gangetic Doāb. He captured a number of villages in Sahāranpur district.

Karam Singh died in 1784.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. IV. Delhi, 1982

3. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Sardār Jassā Singh Āhlūvālā*. Patiala, 1969

S.S.B.

KARAM SINGH (d. 1923), Babar revolutionary, was born Naraiṅ Singh at the village of Daulatpur, in Jalandhar district. Naraiṅ Singh attended the village school and in 1912 left home to seek his fortune in Canada. In Canada he came under the influence of Āsā Singh alias Mahtāb Singh, who had been active in the Ghadr revolution. Fired with patriotic zeal, Naraiṅ Singh returned to India in 1914, and received at Nankānā Sāhib the rites of the Khālsā, and his new name Karam Singh. As an Akālī *jathedār*, he addressed meetings in the countryside inciting people to rise against the British. He formed a terrorist group, Chakravartī Jathā, which counted among its members Āsā Singh Bhakrudī, Karam Singh Jhiṅgar, Dalīp Singh Gosal and Dhannā Singh of Bahibalpur.

A political conference convened by Karam Singh at Mahitpur in February 1921 initiated a campaign for indoctrination in armed revolution. Major *divāns* took place at Māhalpur (March 1921), at Kukkaṛ Muzārā (October 1921), at Koṭ Fatūhī (February 1922) and at Kaulgaṛh (May 1922). Karam Singh also sponsored the publication of a radical paper in Punjabi, the *Babar Akālī Doābā*. He brought out the first three issues, dated 20, 21 and 24 August 1922, after which Kishan Singh Gargajj took over the editorship. Meanwhile, the police cordon tightened. As a result of the treachery of Anūp Singh Mānko, who pretended to be a helper of the Babar Akālīs, Karam Singh, Bishan Singh of Māngaṭ, Ude Singh of Rāmgarh Jhugīān and Mohindar Singh of Paṇḍorī Gaṅgā Singh were surrounded by a police party at the village of Bambelī on 1 September 1923, and killed

to a man in what was clearly an unequal fight.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Nijjar, Bakhshish Singh, *History of the Babar Akalis*. Jalandhar, 1987
2. Sundar Singh, *Babbar Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1970
3. Nijjar, Milkha Singh, *Babar Akālī Lahir dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1986

K.M.

KARAM SINGH (1884-1930), pioneer of modern research in Sikh history, was born, on 18 March 1884, the son of Jhaṇḍā Singh, a Dhilloṅ Jatt, and Māi Bishan Kaur at Jhabāl village, 15 km west of Tarn Tāran in Amritsar district of the Punjab. The family which claimed descent from Bhāi Laṅgāh, a prominent Sikh contemporary of Gurū Arjan and Gurū Hargobind, later shifted to Chakk No. 29 Janūbi in Shāhpur (Sargodhā) district where Jhaṇḍā Singh, on his retirement as *dafādār* (sergeant) from Risālā Awwal (1st Cavalry), was granted 50 acres of land in the newly opened Lower Jehlum canal colony. Having received his primary education at Jhabāl, Karam Singh attended the village school and went on to matriculate from the Khālsā Collegiate School, Amritsar, and joined the Khālsā College, but left before taking a degree, devoting himself to his life's passion — research in the history of the Punjab. The beginning of the 20th century in the Punjab was marked by frequent visitations of the plague epidemic which were taking a heavy toll of life. Karam Singh, who considered oral history an important tool of research, left off studies in December 1905, only four months before the final examination for graduation, immediately to meet some of the old men still living who had been witness to the happenings in the Punjab under Sikh rule, and record their testimony. In 1907, he made out plans to go to Meccā and Baghdād in order to gather information about Gurū Nānak's visit to those

places four centuries earlier and joined a *hajj* party disguised as a Muslim (for no non-Muslim could make that pilgrimage), but had to return from Baghdād.

Karam Singh now started publishing the results of his researches. The traditionalist school opposed his critical and scientific approach with the result that the young historian enjoyed no patronage and found himself in financial straits. In his effort to be economically independent, he put to use his knowledge of the *āyurvedic* (indigenous Indian) system of medicine and opened an apothecary's shop, Saṅyāsī Āshram, at Sārgodhā. In 1910 one of his friends, Paṇḍit Javālā Singh, took him to Paṭiālā where with the help of Sardār (later Sir) Jogendra Singh, then home minister of that state, Karam Singh was appointed State Historian. Here he wrote a biography of Bābā Ālā Singh (1691-1765), the founder of Paṭiālā state, and also prepared Punjabi readers for school children. In 1921-22, he took on lease a fairly wide tract of land in Nayā Gāoṅ village in Nainītāl district of Uttar Pradesh where he experimented farming with the help of modern mechanical implements, but not at the cost of his research. He continued to visit public libraries at distant places such as Paṭiālā, Budāūn, Darbhāṅgā, Alīgarh and Calcuttā, and took extensive notes from books and manuscripts bearing on Sikh history. A large number of these notes were published in *Phulvāṛī*, a Punjabi monthly journal, during 1928-30. He himself edited the *Sikh Itihās Number*, January 1930, of the magazine. Earlier, on 22 December 1929, at a meeting held at the Akāl Takht, Amritsar, was established the Sikh Historical Society of which Karam Singh Historian (epithet popularly suffixed to his name) had been appointed secretary. At the same time the management of Khālsā College, Amritsar, planned to set up a department of historical research under Karam Singh. But he was taken ill with tuberculosis. In August 1930 he had a severe

attack of malaria. He was removed from Nayā Gāon to Tarn Tāran for treatment, but an attack of pneumonia soon after reaching there hastened the end which came on 10 September 1930.

A work which marked a turning point in Sikh historiography and which is typically illustrative of Karam Singh's method of analysis was his *Kattak ki Visākh* (n.d., republished, Patiala, 1912) in which he subjects the Janam Sākhī materials to critical scrutiny and arrives at the conclusion that Gurū Nānak was born in the month of Baisākh (April) and not, as traditionally believed, in Kattak (October-November). Among his other published works besides numerous articles in the *Phulvārī*, are *Jīvan Britānt Bandā Bahādur* (1907), *Jīvan Srimatī Bibī Sadā Kaur Jī* (1907), *Bibī Harnām Kaur Jī* (1907), *Jīvan Birtānt Mahārājā Ālā Singh* (n.d., republished, Tarn Tāran, 1918); *Kes ate Sikkhī* (n.d.); *Gurpurb Nirṇaya* (n.d.); *Chitṭhīān te Prastāv* (1923); *Bandā Kaun Sī* (n.d.) and *Amar Khālsā* (1932). The Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee has brought out a collection of his works under the title *Karam Singh Historian dī Itihāsik Khoj*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Grover, Bhūpinder Singh, *Karam Singh Historian: Jīvan te Rachnā*. Patiala, 1986
2. *Phulvārī*, Sikh Itihās Number, January 1930
3. *Gurmatī Mishnarī*. New Delhi, October 1979

M.G.S.

KARAM SINGH, BHĀĪ (1885-1922), who died a martyr in the Pañjā Sāhib episode, was the son of Bhāī Bhagvān Singh, a priest of Takht Kesgarh, at Anandpur Sāhib. He was born on 14 November 1885 and given the name of Sant Singh. He received instruction in the Sikh sacred lore and in devotional music from his father and grew up to be an accomplished singer of the holy hymns. At the time of the Gurū kā Bāgh agitation in 1922, Karam Singh and his wife,

Kishan Kaur, went on a pilgrimage to Gurdwārā Pañjā Sāhib where he so impressed the *saṅgat* with his *kīrtan* that the Gurdwārā committee employed him permanently as one of the choir. Here he also took the *pāhul* of the *Khālsā* and was renamed Karam Singh.

The agitation at Gurū kā Bāgh, a shrine near Amritsar taken over by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee after a negotiated settlement with the erstwhile *mahant* or priest, had started on 8 August 1922 over the question of the right of felling trees from the Gurdwārā land for the Gurū kā Langar. The *mahant*, going back on his word, sought help from police against the alleged trespass, and Sikhs had recourse to a non-violent resistance campaign. At first Sikh volunteers were arrested and tried for trespass, but from 25 August police began beating them with canes and *lāḥīs*. The volunteers would go to the disputed site unarmed, in groups of four at a time, with the declared intention of felling trees and the police would beat them mercilessly. They would take the beating with a stoic calm and would not budge until rendered unconscious, removed and replaced by the next batch. As the news of police atrocity spread, the number of volunteers who came forward to take the beating increased. The reverend C.F. Andrews visited Gurū kā Bāgh on 12 September and reported what he had seen to the Punjab Governor, who visited Amritsar on 13 September. The beating stopped from the next day, but arrests recommenced. The prisoners were kept in the Gobindgarh Fort at Amritsar for a few days, and when they made a trainful of load, they were despatched to distant jails such as Multān and Miānvālī. On 29 October 1922, one such special train left Amritsar for the Attock Fort. It was to touch Hasan Abdāl (Pañjā Sāhib) railway station the following forenoon. The Pañjā Sāhib Sikhs prepared

a meal to be served to the detainees. But when they reached the railway station, they were informed that the special train was not scheduled to halt at Hasan Abdāl. The Sikhs pleaded that on earlier occasions such trains had been stopped at places like Jehlum and Gujjar Khān for prisoners to be fed, but the station master expressed his helplessness in face of the instructions he had received.

The signals were lowered and the sound of the train could be heard from a distance. There was no time for further pleading or argument. Bhāī Karam Singh and his colleague, Bhāī Pratāp Singh, treasurer of the local Gurdwārā committee, sat cross-legged in the middle of the railway track determined to stop the train. They were followed by several others, men and women, who sat next to them. The locomotive driver slowed down and whistled without knowing who the squatters were. The train steamed on, but the Sikhs did not move. As it came to a screeching halt, it had run over eleven of the squatters. The rest of the *sangat* rushed forward and pulled out the injured. Badly mangled but still retaining consciousness, Bhāī Karam Singh and Bhāī Pratāp Singh told them not to waste time on them, but first serve food to the prisoners.

The train whistled and moved on. The injured were brought to the Gurdwārā Pañjā Sāhib and given medical aid. Bhāī Karam Singh and Bhāī Pratāp Singh were, however, beyond recovery and they died on 31 October 1922. Their dead bodies were taken to Rāwalpīṇḍī on 1 November and cremated there on the bank of the Lai stream. Until the partition of 1947, an annual fair used to be held at Gurdwārā Pañjā Sāhib on 14, 15 and 16 Kārtik in memory of the martyrs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975

2. Josh, Sohan Singh, *Akālī Morchiān dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1972

3. Mohinder Singh, *The Akālī Movement*. Delhi, 1978
P.S.G.

KARAM SINGH, BHĀĪ (1891-1921), one of the Nankāṇā Sāhib martyrs, was born on 5 Assū 1948 Bk/19 September 1891, the son of Bhāī Hākam Singh and Māī Kisso of Lahuke village in Amritsar district. The family had migrated to the Lower Chenāb Canal Colony and settled in Chakk 75 Lahuke in 1895. Karam Singh learnt to read Gurmukhī in the village *gurdwārā*. He took the *pāhul* of the Khālsā at the age of 15 and engaged himself in agriculture. In 1913 he enlisted in the 47th Sikh Battalion. After some time his elder brother Sādhū Singh died, and as he came on leave to attend the obsequies, he, under pressure from his family and other relatives, married his brother's widow, Bībī Harnām Kaur, by the custom of *chādar andāzī*, i.e. by tying the conjugal knot. In 1915 he resigned from the army and returned to his village. As the Gurdwārā Reform movement got under way, he registered his name as a volunteer with the *jathā* of Bhāī Lachhman Singh. And when the final call came on 19 February 1921, he along with some others from his village marched to Nankāṇā Sāhib, and fell a martyr outside the walled compound of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, the following morning.

Bhāī Karam Singh was survived by his mother, wife and four minor children. The Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee settled upon the family a pension of Rs 240 per annum and discharged the small debt it had incurred.

See NANKĀNĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jwan*. Nankana Sāhib, 1938

G.S.G.

KARAM SINGH CHĀHAL (d. 1823) was, like his father Katthā Singh, in the service of the Bhaᅅgī *sardārs* Lahiᅅā Singh and Gujjar Singh before he joined Ranjīt Singh's army after he had seized Lahore in 1799 from Lahiᅅā Singh Bhaᅅgī's son, Chet Singh. Karam Singh rapidly rose in the Mahārājā's favour and became a powerful *sardār*. He took part in most of the Mahārājā's campaigns, including those of Piᅅᅅī Bhaᅅᅅiāᅅ, Poᅅhoᅅār, Jhaᅅg, Kasūr and Multān. The Mahārājā gave him several villages in *jāgīr* at Aᅅnālā, in Amritsar district, and at Khānevāl, in Multān district. His estates eventually reached the value of Rs 1,50,000 subject to the service of 250 horse. Karam Singh fell wounded by a musket ball in the battle of ᅅerī in March 1823 in which the celebrated Phūlā Singh Akālī had been killed. He was carried to his tent, but died the following morning. He was survived by his only son, Gurmukh Singh, who had also fought in this battle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Sūri, Sohan Lāl. *Umdāt-ut-Twāriᅅh*. Lahore, 1885-89

S.S.B.

KARAM SINGH DULLŪ, an eighteenth-century Bhaᅅgī *sardār*, was the chief of Jhaᅅg district, along the River Chenāb. He commanded about 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantry as a permanent force, and could on occasions muster 6,000 horse and 3,000 foot. He had eight strong forts in his territory. Karam Singh had seized this territory from Siāls, a warlike Muslim tribe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. IV. Delhi, 1982

S.S.B.

KARAM SINGH, MAHĀRĀJĀ (1798-1845), who ascended the throne of Paᅅiālā on 30 June 1813, was born on 16 October 1798 at

Paᅅiālā, the son of Rājā Sāhib Singh and Rāᅅī Ās Kaur. He was married to Rūp Kaur, daughter of Bhaᅅgā Singh of Thānesar. Mahārājā Karam Singh helped the British in 1814 in checking Gurkhā incursions into the Punjab hills and secured in return a large tract in the Himalayan foothills. He was an able ruler and a devout Sikh. He had shrines built in honour of the Gurūs at many historical sites within his state and outside, making endowments for their maintenance.

Mahārājā Karam Singh died at Paᅅiālā on 23 December 1845.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, *The Rajas of the Punjab*. Delhi, 1977
2. Ganda Singh, *The Patiala and the East Punjab States Union*. Patiala, 1951

S.S.B.

KARAM SINGH MĀN, an associate of the Bhaᅅgī *misl*, belonged to the village of Mānānvālā in Amritsar district, and was a collateral of the Mān *sardārs* of Mughal Chakk in Gujraᅅwālā district. Karam Singh's father Tārā Singh with a group of horsemen, most of whom belonged to his own caste, captured a number of villages in Amritsar district about the middle of the eighteenth century. Karam Singh joined the Bhaᅅgī chiefship, and obtained *jāgīrs* in Lahore, Siālkoᅅ and Amritsar districts. He reconstructed his ancestral village, Mānānvālā. Karam Singh's two sons, Rām Singh and Shām Singh, succeeded him but they severed their connections with the Bhaᅅgī *misl* about the year 1780 and joined Mahāᅅ Singh Sukkarchakkīā. His granddaughter Sadā Kaur, however, married a prominent Bhaᅅgī chief, Sobhā Singh, the founder of Qilā Sobhā Singh in Siālkoᅅ district.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

KARAM SINGH NIRMĀLĀ, nephew of Himmat Singh of the Nishānānvālī chiefship, who had captured Shāhābād Mārkaṇḍā and Ismā'ilābād in January 1764 after the sack of Sirhind. On Himmat Singh's death without issue in 1771, Karam Singh succeeded him in the leadership of the Nishānānvālī *misl*. Karam Singh commanded a force of 750 horse and 250 foot. In 1779, he joined 'Abd ul- Ahd, minister of Delhi, in his expedition against Paṭiālā. In January 1786, Karam Singh and others plundered the Gaṅgā Doāb. Again in April 1790, a body of 12,000 Sikhs led by Karam Singh ravaged the Doāb including Hāpuṛ, 57 km from Delhi, and 'Alīgarh. Karam Singh sent his *vakīl* to Mahādji Scindia, regent of the Mughal empire, demanding more grants of lands in the Doāb. After some time Scindia granted to Karam Singh, Shikārpur in *jāgīr* and the title of Sardār under the royal seal.

Karam Singh's son, Khaṛak Singh, was married to Prem Kaur, daughter of Rājā Sāhib Singh of Paṭiālā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Panjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Panjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. IV. Delhi, 1982

S.S.B.

KARAM SINGH RAṄGHAR NAṄGALĪĀ was the son of Natthā Singh, who was the first in the family to have become a Sikh and who had joined the Kanhaiyā *misl* under Jai Singh and ravaged the country around Raṅghar Naṅgal, near the town of Baṭālā in Gurdāspur district. At Raṅghar Naṅgal, he built a strong fort. Karam Singh succeeded to his father's estates, and increased both the power and possessions of the family. He rebuilt and strengthened the fort of Raṅghar Naṅgal, and took up his residence at Amritsar where

he built a bazaar, Kaṭṛā Karam Singh, also known as Kaṭṛā Raṅghar Naṅgalīān. When Raṅjīt Singh seized Amritsar, Karam Singh swore fealty to him, and remained ever after his faithful servant. Karam Singh was captain of Raṅjīt Singh's irregulars and he accompanied him on several of his expeditions. He possessed at one time territory to the amount of several lakhs of rupees, principally situated in the Gurdāspur district. He was succeeded by his son, Jamīāt Singh, who had been for long in the army and was known for his bravery. Jamiāt Singh, with his cousin Rām Singh, was killed at Hazārā in 1820.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Panjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Panjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.

S.S.B.

KARAM SINGH, SANT (1826-1903), Sikh saint of much renown and influence, was born in 1826 at village of Qāzīān in Gujarkhān *tahsīl* of Rāwalpīṇḍī district, now in Pakistan. His father, Kirpā Singh, and mother, Sūbī, were devoted Sikhs, and Karam Singh inherited their religious disposition. He learnt to read and write Punjabi from the village *granthī* or scripture-reader and enlisted in the Sikh army of Lahore in 1844. He received the rites of the *Khālsā* at the hands of Rām Singh, a follower of Bhāī Mahārāj Singh, and spent most of his time in meditation. Upon the dissolution of the Sikh army after the annexation of the Punjab to British India in 1849, Karam Singh joined the Corps of Guides which had been raised by the British in the cis-Sutlej territory in 1846, and which was later reorganized as 5th (Guides) Battalion of the 12th Frontier Force Regiment, with Mardān near Peshāwar being its normal duty station. For him the change made little difference

and he continued his routine of spending off-duty hours in prayer in the regimental *gurduwārā* or in solitary meditation on the bank of a nearby stream *Kālāpānī*, besides voluntary service in the common kitchen.

In 1857, the Guides formed part of the force that went from the Punjab to the aid of the British locked in a critical combat with Indian soldiers. Delhi fell to the British on 20 September 1857 after a siege lasting five months. The victorious soldiers fell upon the city and freely indulged in loot and massacre. According to an eye-witness account quoted from Martin, R. Montgomery, *The Indian Empire*: "Enormous treasures were looted, and each individual soldier amassed a rich booty. Almost every house and shop had been ransacked and plundered after its inmates were killed, irrespective of the fact whether they were actual rebels or even friends of the British. The General had issued an order to spare women and children, but it was honoured more in breach than in observance."

During this unrestrained pillage, officially permitted, Karam Singh, who had come to Delhi with his regiment, protected several families by standing guard outside their doors, refusing to accept any reward for his help. He was one soldier who stood aloof from this wholesale plunder.

Karam Singh returned to Mardān with his regiment. To be able to devote himself fully to his spiritual pursuit, he resigned from the army. The legend persists till today that once as he remained absorbed in meditation for long hours, he was reported absent from duty, but the officer who went to check up found him present. When Karam Singh, it is said, heard of this strange occurrence, he quit the army. His fame as a *sant* spread and visitors began to pour in to see him. For their sake, a few thatched huts were constructed near Hotī, a town close to Mardān, a well was sunk, and Gurū kā Langar started — all by voluntary service in which

soldiers from the Guides also participated. Sant Karam Singh who still loved his solitude, himself did not relish all this hubbub and often retired to a *guphā*, that is underground cell or dugout, 3 km away. He did not deliver lengthy discourses or sermons, but people felt inspired by his pious manner. Many became his disciples. He had his admirers among Hindus and Muslims and among the turbulent Paṭhān tribals. He did not go out of Hotī Mardān during the rest of his life, except once when he undertook a pilgrimage to Pañjā Sāhib, Amritsar and Haridvār. In the beginning of 1903, he appointed Āyā Singh, an orphan who had been at the *ḍerā* since his childhood, his successor, and himself retired to the village of Saidū, 25 km away. Here he stayed in the house of a poor old lady, Māi Devakī. But he did not have long to live and passed away peacefully on 21 January 1903. According to his own wish, his body was not cremated but carried in a procession of hymn-singing mourners to the River Indus to which it was consigned. A memorial was raised in his honour at Saidū.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Pañj Suche Motī*. Delhi, 1973
2. Mohan Singh, Giānī, *Pachhmī Parkāsh arthāt Hotī Mardān dā Nūr*. Amritsar, 1970

Bh.K.S.

KARAM SINGH SIDDHŪ, son of Diāl Singh, of village Oṭhīān in Gurdāspur district, popularly known as Karam Singh Oṭhīānvalā, rendered service in several campaigns undertaken by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, including those of Peshāwar and Hazārā. Under the Sikh court he received rupees 1,800 annually subject to the service of three horsemen. He along with other members of his family joined the revolt against the British in 1848, and his *jāgīrs* and allowances were resumed after the annexation of the Punjab.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lal, *'Umdāt ut-Tawārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Girffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

KĀR BHET̄, from Persian *kār* (lit. work, labour, occupation) and Hindi *bhen̄ṭ* (lit. meeting, offering), denotes voluntary offering made by a devotee to the Gurū. It has been a common practice especially in India, for one going to make obeisance to a saint, teacher, the deity, or king to carry with him some *bhen̄ṭ* or offering. The *bhen̄ṭ*, as distinguished from legal or customary taxes or tithes, could be in the form of cash, jewellery, a quantity of grain or some other farm produce. If one had nothing better to offer, one could take out a flower, a petal or a green leaf. The term *kār bhet̄* which gained currency in early Sikhism signified offerings made by Sikhs to the Gurū. A typical connotation was that *kār bhet̄* must come from earnings made by honest labour or work (*kār*). Gurū Nānak had extolled *kirat*, synonymous with *kār* or *ghāl* (hard physical labour or industry). Further, unlike *bhen̄ṭ* which once offered became the property of the personage to whom it was offered, *kār bhet̄* was meant to be spent on works of service, such as Gurū kā Laṅgar, the free community kitchen, the digging of wells and tanks and construction of *dharamsālās* or places of worship. Sikhs brought offerings to the Gurū directly or made these over to *masands* or leaders appointed by the Gurū in different parts. The *masands* carried the collections to the Gurū when they led *saṅgats* to his presence or otherwise visited him. The system remained in vogue until the time of Gurū Gobind Singh who, receiving complaints of malpractice, discontinued it and instructed the *saṅgats* or local fellowships or devotees to organize collection of *kār bhet̄* and its remittance to the Gurū through *hundās*, equivalent of modern bank drafts.

Now offerings, mostly in cash, are laid in front of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, by the devotees as they go to the *gurdwārās* to pay homage and to perform religious devotions. The word in common use today is *dasvandh* or one-tenth of the income which every Sikh is expected to contribute in the name of the Gurū to the common funds of the community.

It is relevant to compare *kār bhet̄* to *kār sevā*, another peculiarly Sikh practice of offering free voluntary labour for works such as the desilting of *sarovars*, or sacred tanks, and building or rebuilding of *gurdwārās*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kāhn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurmat Mārtaṇḍ*. Amritsar, 1962
2. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Rahitnāme*. Patiala, 1974

T.S.

KARHALE is the title under which two compositions, each of ten verses, by Gurū Rām Dās appear in the Gurū Granth Sāhib in Rāga Gauṛī Pūrabī. The title has been picked from the text of the hymns wherein the term *karhale* (plural form) or *karhalā* (singular form) has been used in each verse. *Karhal/karhalā* is a Sindhī word meaning a camel. In these hymns, the term applies to the human *man* (mind) which keeps wandering restlessly like the camel roaming from one place to another. The similitude can be further expanded: the mind is stubborn like a camel and wanders away from home to alien realms. Turning away from the Reality, it engrosses itself in ego and *māyā*. Thus reads the first verse:

O camel-like mind of mine,
Wandering into realms alien,
How shalt thou ever meet thy God!

What has made the mind morbid is *haumai* or ego. This can be overcome by listening to the Gurū's word. The camel-like self is adjured to seek the company of holy

persons, to heed the counsel of the Gurū and to be always mindful of God. Thus will one receive the Divine favour and attain liberation.

The two short compositions expound, in a simple metaphor, the Sikh way of spiritual realization. The ultimate aim is to obtain proximity to God and the way to achieve this is to bring round the wandering *man* (mind) and to wash away the "dirt" of *haumaī*. This is possible through the guidance of the Gurū; mere observance of forms of piety is of no avail.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sṛī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1964
2. Sāhib Singh, *Sṛī Gurū Granth Sāhib Darpan*. Jalandhar, n.d.

T.S.

KARHĀLĪ, a village 20 km south of Paṭiālā, has a historical shrine called Gurdwārā Karhāli Sāhib, commemorating the stay here of Gurū Tegh Bahādur during one of his travels through the Mālvā region. According to local tradition, Gurū Hargobind had also visited the site while on his way to Kurukshetra. The present building, a 6-metre square sanctum with a 6-metre wide verandah around it, within a high-walled compound was constructed by Mahārājā Karam Singh (1798-1845) of Paṭiālā. It has now a mosaic floor. Gurū kā Laṅgar and a row of residential rooms are also within the compound. The small *sarovar* outside the compound has been added during recent decades. The Gurdwārā owns 35 acres of land. It is managed by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Largely attended gatherings take place on the fifth of the light half of every lunar month.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twāriḱh Gurdwārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.

2. Tārā Singh, *Sṛī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
M.G.S.

KARHĀ SĀHIB, a village 11 km west of Pehovā (29°-59'N, 76°-35'E) in Kurukshetra district of Haryāṇā, was visited by four of the Sikh Gurūs. Gurū Nānak came here during his travels to the eastern parts. Chaudharī Kālū of this village became a follower and is said to have constructed a *bāolī* in his honour. The second of the Sikh Gurūs to visit this village was Gurū Hargobind. The local tradition places Gurū Tegh Bahādur's visit during his last journey to Delhi, but it is more likely that he passed through this village in the course of one of his earlier travels across the area. Gurū Gobind Singh was here in 1702 when he visited the shrines established here in memory of the earlier Gurūs. Bhāi Udai Singh, the ruler of Kaithal (d. 1843), got three *gurdwārās* constructed in the same compound and made land grants for their maintenance. These simple structures were replaced by more elegant buildings during the early 1970's by Sant Jīvan Singh of Pehovā. The three shrines are sometimes jointly called Trivenī Sāhib. Two identical shrines in the northern and southern parts of the walled compound are dedicated to Gurū Nānak and Gurū Tegh Bahādur, respectively. Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Chhevīn is in the centre to the east, thus forming the apex of the triangle. The entire compound has a marble floor. The Gurdwārās are affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, but are for the present managed by the successors of Sant Bābā Jīvan Singh Sevāvāle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twāriḱh Gurdwārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Sṛī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.
M.G.S.

KAR̄KHE PĀTSHĀH DASVEŅ KE. The term

“kaṛkhe” is the plural from of “kaṛkhā” which is the name of a poetic form, mostly used in war poetry in old Hindi. The *Kaṛkhe Pātshāh Dasveñ Ke* consists of two such poems, describing the battles of Gurū Gobind Singh. The poet goes by the name of Sain, who is identified by some as Saināpati, a contemporary of the Gurū and the celebrated author of *Srī Gur Sobhā*. The battle of Bhaṅgāñī is the subject of the first Kaṛkhā; the second deals with the battle of the Fort of Fatehgarh at Anandpur. The second Kaṛkhā is followed by a *śloka* and two verses in praise of the lance of Gurū Gobind Singh. The poems are very short and contain few details. The sole purpose of the poet was to extol the heroic action of the Gurū and his Sikhs. His language is Braj, with some borrowings from other dialects of Hindi.

P.S.P.

KARMA, THE DOCTRINE OF, closely connected with the theory of rebirth and transmigration, is basic to the religious traditions of Indian origin such as Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism and Sikhism. The term *karam*, as it is spelt in Punjabi and as it occurs in Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, has three connotations. As an inflection of Sanskrit *karman* from root *kri* (to do, perform, accomplish, make, cause or effect) it means an act, action, deed. It also stands for fate, destiny, predestination inasmuch as these result from one's actions or deeds. Also, *karam* as a word of Arabic origin is synonymous with *nadar* or Divine grace or clemency. It is with the first two connotations that the doctrine of *karma* is mainly concerned, although *karam* as God's grace is also relevant to the ultimate eradication of *karma* bringing *mokṣa* or liberation from the cycle of birth, death and rebirth.

According to the law of *karma*, every action, physical or mental, has its own consequence which must be faced either in this life or in the lives to come. In the Indian

religious traditions, the doctrine of *karma*, for this reason, is linked with the doctrines and processes of reincarnation and transmigration. Some western philosophers of yore also believed in transmigration, but for them it was associated with the concept of immortality of the soul. In Indian religious thought, on the other hand, transmigration is an essential concomitant of *karma*. It is to reap the consequence of his previous *karma* that an individual self (*jīva*) takes his next birth, but, in the very process of acting out this consequence, the *jīva* creates further chains of actions thus setting in motion an endless cycle of birth-action-death-rebirth. This has been described as the “karmic wheel” of alternating birth and death with fresh *karma* keeping the wheel in endless motion until the chain is broken through the annihilation of *karma*, and the *jīva* attains *mokṣa* (liberation or release from transmigration). Different traditions within the Indian religious system recommend different means to break the *karmic* cycle ranging from austerities, renunciation and non-action to ritualism, philosophic knowledge, devotion and fruitful action.

The Gurūs accepted the doctrine of *karma* not as an immutable law but as a system of Nature subject to *hukam* (Divine Order) and *nadar* (Divine grace) — two concepts which might be described as Gurū Nānak's characteristic contribution to Indian religious thought. *Hukam*, a Persian term meaning command or decree, control or direction, sanction or permission, occurs in Gurū Nānak's hymns in several different but related connotations such as Divine law, Divine will or Divine pleasure (*bhāñā, razā*); Divine fiat (*amar, farmāñ*); Divine power or Divine creation (*qudarat*). *Nadar*, though justifiably translated as grace, is somewhat different from its usage in Christian theology where the stress is upon its universal nature and absolute sufficiency for salvation. In Sikhism, *nadar* is related to Divine pleasure (*razā*) and

somewhat close to "election" of neo-Calvinist theology except that it leaves no scope for individual's free will.

The doctrine of *karma*, according to Sikh belief, is a part of the Divine law (*hukam*). "The whole universe," says Gurū Arjan, Nānak V, "is bound by action, good or bad" (GG, 51). Gurū Nānak declares in the *Japu* that "all forms, beings, greatness and lowliness, pain and pleasure, bounties and wanderings are subject to the indescribable *hukam* and there is nothing outside the realm of *hukam*," (GG,1) and then adds that "*karma* determines the *kaprā*, i.e. body or birth we receive and that it is through *nadar* (God's grace) that one secures the threshold of *mokṣa*" (GG,2). Sikhism, moreover, distinguishes between *karma* and *kīrat*. The latter term applies to the cumulative effect of actions performed during successive births and is somewhat akin to *sañchit karma* and *prārabdh karma* of Hindu theoreticians. But the operation of *karma* in Sikhism is not irresistible; its adverse effects can be obliterated by a proper understanding of *hukam* and proper conduct in accordance with that understanding as well as by God's grace.

While the actions of other species are mostly regulated by instinctive response to environmental stimuli, man, endowed with a superior brain, is capable of having a proper understanding of *hukam* and choosing a course of actions (*karma*) favourable to progressive spiritual growth deserving His *nadar*. Human birth, therefore, is a precious gift and a rare chance for the individual soul (*jīvātmā*). Gurū Nānak says: "Listen, listen to my advice, O my mind! Only good deeds shall endure, and there may not be a second chance." Certain points in the Sikh view of *karma* are noticeable. Sikhism does not stipulate heaven or hell wherein good and bad actions of men are rewarded or punished. Moreover, according to Sikhism, human birth is the result of God's will as

well as of past actions. Further, past actions do not determine the caste or status of the *jīva* taking birth. All human beings are born equal.

What are "good" deeds (*sukrit*) that help man's quest for *mokṣa*, his ultimate aim? The Gurūs deprecated self-mortification and non-action and pronounced ritualism as useless. They recommended a householder's life of activity and responsibility lived with humility, devotion and service guided by proper knowledge of *hukam* and submission to God's will (*razā*). Here Sikhism synthesizes the three paths to union with the Supreme soul, viz. *jñānā mārga*, *bhakti mārga* and *karma mārga*. A Sikh is called upon to seek *giān* (*jñāna*), knowledge spiritual as well as secular, mundane and moral, practise *bhakti*, loving devotion, while leading a normal life of a *gurmukh* or one whose face is turned towards the Gurū. His actions (*karma*) guided by discernment that comes from *giān* and with the dedication and complete self-surrender of a *bhakta*, should be performed earnestly and honestly, doing full justice to his worldly duties. Yet he should not let himself be so much attached and entangled in the bonds of present life as to ignore the hereafter and to forget his ultimate goal which is reunion of his individual soul with its original source, the Supreme Spirit. Such disinterested actions help annihilate man's *haumai* (I-ness, ego) and, when blessed by God's *nadar* or *mihar*, he can overcome the effect of past *karma* and become *jīvan-mukta*, i.e. one liberated while still living.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1964
2. Jodh Singh, Bhāi, *Gurmat Nirmaya*. Lahore, 1932
3. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944
4. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990
5. Shiv Kumar, Muni, *The Doctrine of Liberation in Indian Religions*. Panchkula, 1981

KARMO, wife of Prithī Chand (1558-1618), the eldest son of Gurū Rām Dās, was, like her husband, jealous of Gurū Arjan, her husband's younger brother whom Gurū Rām Dās had nominated as his spiritual successor. As Gurū Arjan did not have an offspring till he was well past thirty, Karmo rejoiced in the thought that at least after his death her son, Miharbān, would inherit the Gurū's seat. But with the birth of Gurū Hargobind in 1595 she grew malevolent and conspired with her husband to have the child killed. All her machinations, however, proved abortive and she continued to be tormented by her jealousy till the end.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

B.S.

KARNĀL (29°-42'N, 76°-59'E), a district town of Haryānā, situated along the historic Grand Trunk road, 123 km north of Delhi, is sacred to Gurū Nānak. Gurdwārā Mañjī Sāhib commemorates his visit to Karnāl in 1515 when he held a religious discourse with one Shaikh Tāhir (referred to as Ṭaṭīhar in the *Valāyatvālī Janam Sākhī*, which, however, places him in Pānīpat). The Gurū pointed out that the practice of worshipping graves and tombs of holy men amounted to a breach of the injunctions of Islam. Gurū Tegh Bahādur is also believed to have visited the shrine in 1670 during his journey from Delhi to Lakhnaur. Rājā Gajpat Singh of Jīnd (1738-1789) had a *gurdwārā* raised on the site of the Mañjī Sāhib. An assembly hall on the first floor and the *laṅgar* and a two-storeyed concrete pavilion were added later.

The Gurdwārā is affiliated to Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, which administers it through a local committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Ṭhākar Singh, *Giānī, Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. Nānak Singh, *Gur Tīrath Darshan*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

KARNĪ NĀMAH, address on the importance of good conduct, is an apocryphal composition in verse attributed to Gurū Nānak. In this work Gurū Nānak is said to have predicted to one Qāzī Rukan Dīn the advent of the rule of the Khālsā which will usher in the millennium.

T.S.

KAROṚĀ SINGH (d. 1761), founder of the Karoṛsinghīā principality of the Sikhs, was a Virk Jaṭṭ belonging to the village of Barkī in the district of Lahore. He had been forcibly converted to Islam during the time of Nawāb Zakariyā Khān. He, however, re-joined the Sikh faith receiving the rites of initiation at the hands of Dīwān Darbārā Singh. KaroṚā Singh generally confined his activities to the tract lying south of the Kāngra hills in Hoshiārpur district. In 1759, after the death of Ādīnā Beg Khān, KaroṚā Singh killed Ādīnā's *dīwān* Bishambhar Mall, and seized considerable territory, including places such as Hoshiārpur, Hariānā and Shām Chaurāsī. KaroṚā Singh was killed at Tarāoṛī, near Karnāl, fighting against the Nawāb of Kuñjpurā in 1761.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Seetal, Sohan Singh, *The Sikh Misals and the Panjab*. Ludhiana, n.d.
3. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. IV. Delhi 1982

S.S.B.

KĀR-SEVĀ, voluntary contribution of physical labour towards cleaning and construction

operations at sacred tanks and temples, holds a special significance in the Sikh tradition. *Sevā*, altruistic service, was preached by the Gurūs as a means to God-realization. "One who renders selfless service attains to the Lord's presence," says the Scripture (GG, 286-87). *Kār* may be interpreted in two ways. In Sanskrit as well as in Persian the word means simply act, action, work, operation, labour, service, etc., so that *kār-sevā* may mean any physical act, labour or service altruistically performed. However, in Sikh usage the term is applied to free voluntary labour contributed to building, repairing or renovating projects, undertaken by the community. In another and more popular sense till recently, the word *kār* was taken as derived from the Arabic *q'ar* meaning "to go to the bottom, to make deep, bottom, depth (of well, etc.)." *Kār-sevā* is thus applied specifically to the work of dredging or removing by manual labour sedimentary mud and garbage, collected at the bottom of a *sarovar*, sacred pool or tank, over the years. Sikhs, male and female, old and young, high and low, consider it a privilege to participate in *kār-sevā*. Therefore, in order to give a chance to the maximum number, it is a customary not to use mechanical contrivances but use simple digging implements and baskets during the operation. The inauguration of the work is marked by a solemn ceremony. Pañj Piāre or the Five Elect are chosen for their eminence in piety. They, after *ardās*, supplicatory prayer to God for assistance in successful completion of the task, offered in the presence of gathered volunteers, dig the first clods and carry them in baskets on their heads up to the banks of the *sarovar* amidst singing of the sacred hymns. The volunteers then take over and the whole tank hums with activity combined with hymn-singing or simple, sonorous repetition of "Sati Nām Vāhigurū"—"God whose very name is the Truth." As the operations conclude, the *sarovar* is refilled

with fresh water and a thanksgiving *ardās* is offered.

Sikh chronicles describe the *kār-sevā* operations at the Pool of Nectar, the sacred tank, Amritsar, which lent its name to the city, on several occasions. This *sarovar* was dug initially by Gurū Rām Dās (1534-81). Being unlined and rain-fed, it soon started getting shallow. Gurū Arjan (1563-1606) took up the first *kār-sevā* which involved not only deepening but also brick-lining of its banks with steps leading down. He had the Harimandar constructed in the middle of it as also the causeway connecting the shrine to the bank. The project extending over several years was executed primarily with voluntary, free labour. With the shifting of the Gurū's seat to Kīratpur and Chakk Nānakī in the Śivālik foothills, no *kār-sevā* at Amritsar is recorded to have taken place for a century and more. In 1746, Lakhpat Rāi, *dīvān*, revenue minister to Yāhiyā Khān, governor of Lahore, started a severe campaign of persecution against the Sikhs in retaliation of the death of his brother, Jaspat Rāi, at their hands in an encounter. Besides inflicting heavy casualties upon the Sikhs in what is known as Chhoṭā Ghallūghārā, the minor holocaust, he destroyed their shrines and had the Pool of Nectar partly filled up. But the following year, Sikhs regained control of Amritsar and had the *sarovar* cleaned through *kār-sevā*. The *sarovar* was got filled up again in May 1757 by Jahān Khān, an army commander and deputy viceroy of the Punjab under Taimūr Shāh, the son of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī. Taimūr and Jahān Khān were, however, driven out of the Punjab in April 1758 by a combined force of Sikhs and Marāṭhās, and the Sikhs got the *sarovar* cleaned by two hundred odd Afghān prisoners of war. Sikh volunteers also assisted in the *kār-sevā*. Five years later, on the eve of Baisākhī of 1762, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, not content with the crushing blow he had inflicted upon the

Sikhs two months earlier during what is known in Sikh history as Vaddā Ghallūgharā, the greater holocaust, suddenly fell upon Amritsar, where he blew up the Harimandar with gun powder and filled up the Pool of Nectar with debris and rubbish. Dal Khālsā, the fighting force of the Sikhs, under Jassā Singh Ahlūvālīā retaliated with an attack on Sirhind in May 1762. Zain Khān, the *faujdar*, was defeated and purchased peace with Rs 50,000 as indemnity to the Sikhs. Following their advantage the Sikhs reoccupied Amritsar in October 1762. Durrānī's one attempt to eject them on Divālī day, 17 October, was frustrated and the Sikhs were left free to perform the *kār-sevā* at the sacred tank in peace. In January 1764, the Sikhs conquered Sirhind. The accursed town was put to systematic destruction and pillage, and it was decided to set apart a major part of the plunder for the reconstruction of the Harimandar and the embankment and circumambulatory terrace around the *sarovar*. The execution of the project was entrusted to Bhāi Des Rāj and was completed in 1776.

The next *kār-sevā* was carried out in 1842 under the supervision of Bhāi Gurmukh Singh Giānī. Eighty-one years later, in 1923, the newly established Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee planned a *kār-sevā*. As a preparatory measure, an earthen embankment temporarily divided the *sarovar* into two parts. Water of one was transferred into the other so that the emptied half could be ready for digging and deepening. The actual operations were inaugurated with great fanfare on 17 June 1923. Pañj Piāre — Sant Shām Singh of Amritsar, Sant Gulāb Singh of Gholiā, Jathedār Tejā Singh of Chūhaṛkāṇā, Sodhī Prītam Singh of Anandpur Sāhib and Sardār Mahitāb Singh — came to the Harimandar at the head of a large procession. Five gold shovels and five large silver bowls were placed at Har kī Pauṛī. After offering *ardās*, the Pañj Piāre each lifted

a shovel and bowl, and digging some sedimentary clods from the emptied half of the *sarovar* carried them in the bowls up the embankment stairs to throw it beyond the terrace. Volunteers, assembled district-wise, took turns at *sevā*. Even Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh, ruler of Paṭiālā (1891-1938), and other Sikh chiefs participated in the sacred labour. The latest *kār-sevā* at Amritsar was in 1973. This time the Pañj Piāre included five eminent saints known for their dedication especially to the renovation of the holy Sikh shrines at different places. They were Sant Gurmukh Singh, Sant Kharak Singh, Sant Jivan Singh, Sant Sevā Singh and Sant Mohindar Singh. Dredging through *kār-sevā* of the sacred tank at Tarn Tāran, the largest of the Sikh *sarovars*, was carried out from 10 January 1931 to 31 May 1932. Building activities through *kār-sevā* go on continuously at different places throughout the country keeping the Sikh tradition of *sevā* alive and inculcating among the followers of the faith values such as equality, humility and dignity of manual labour.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akhāi Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975
2. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Sri Amritsar*. Amritsar, 1977
3. Madanjit Kaur, *The Golden Temple: Past and Present*. Amritsar, 1983
4. Fauja Singh, *The City of Amritsar*. Delhi, 1978

Bh.K.S.

KARTĀRPUR, village on the right bank of the River Rāvī in the present Siālkoṭ district of Pakistan and usually called Kartārpur Rāvī to distinguish it from another town of the same name in Jalandhar district of Indian Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) to whom it owed its origin and who settled here at the end of his long peregrinations in India and abroad to preach the word of God. Gurū Nānak spent the last two decades of his

life with his wife and children at Kartārpur which became the principal seat of the Sikh faith. It was here that Bhāi Lahiṇā, later Gurū Aṅgad, came to receive instruction and it was here that, after nominating (Gurū) Aṅgad his spiritual successor, he passed away on Assū *vadī* 10, 1596 Bk/7 September 1539. Most of the habitation was washed away by the ever-encroaching Rāvī whereupon the Gurū's descendants and followers moved to Ḍerā Bābā Nānak, a new town they had raised on the other side of the river. The three-storeyed tall building of Gurdwārā Kartārpur Sāhib Rāvī Pātshāhī I erected later at Kartārpur can still be seen from the high embankment marking the Indo-Pakistan boundary north of Ḍerā Bābā Nānak, but it has been inaccessible to visitors and pilgrims from India since the partition of 1947.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
2. Vir Singh, Bhāi, ed., *Purātan Janam Sākhī*. Amritsar, 1982
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
4. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
5. Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak and Origins of the Sikh Faith*. Bombay, 1969

M.G.S.

KARTĀRPUR (31°-26'N, 75°-30'E), municipal town famous for its furniture industry, 15 km northwest of Jalandhar along Sher Shāh Suṛī Mārg in the Punjab, was founded by Gurū Arjan (1563-1606) in 1594 on land granted during the reign of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605). Gurū Arjan's successor, Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), resided here too for some time. Two of his sons, Sūraj Mall and Tegh Bahādur, were married at Kartārpur. In April 1635, the *faujdar* or garrison commander of Jalandhar, at the instigation of Paidā Khān, a former protege of Gurū Hargobind turned hostile, attacked

Kartārpur. After a three-day battle in which the Gurū's youngest son, Tegh Bahādur, displayed feats of valour, Gurū Hargobind left the town and retired with his family and attendants to the hill resort of Kīratpur. His young grandson, Dhīr Mall (1627-77), however, would neither leave Kartārpur nor part with the Holy Book, the original recension of Gurū Granth Sāhib. He stayed behind and declared himself Gurū forming a sect of his own appropriating to himself income from land as well as from offerings made by devotees to the Holy Granth. It is his line called Soḍhīs of Kartārpur that became the owners of the place and high priests of the sacred shrines located there. The Dhīrmallīā sect was rejected by Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708), who forbade the Sikhs to have any dealings with them. The Soḍhīs of Kartārpur later returned to the Sikh fold accepting vows of the Khālsā. In 1757, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī sacked Kartārpur, burnt down the sacred Thamm Sāhib shrine and forced Soḍhī Vaḍbhāg Singh (d. 1762) to flee and find refuge in the hills of Ūnā. The Sikhs soon avenged the desecration and re-established the shrines when they came to power in the Punjab. There are now the following sacred places in Kartārpur.

GURDWĀRĀ THAMMĪ SĀHIB (popularly called Thamm Sāhib) is named after a massive wooden log (*thamm*, in Punjabi) used as central support for the first house that Gurū Arjan got built for use as an assembly hall for the *saṅgal* at the new habitation. The *thamm* was later treated by the Sikhs as a sacred relic. Some time after the building was destroyed in 1757 by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, a simple structure was raised on the site, replaced by the present seven-storeyed edifice constructed through the munificence of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh (1780-1839). Standing on a high plinth in the middle of a walled compound, it comprises a 15-metre

square double-storeyed marble-floored hall encompassing the square sanctum at the ground floor. The six storeys rising above the sanctum are topped by a dome with a gilded pinnacle. The Gurdwārā owns 100 acres of land and is administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee which also controls Gurdwārās Gaṅgsar, Chubachchā Sāhib, Viāh Asthān, and Ṭāhli Sāhib.

GURDWĀRĀ GAṅGSAR PĀTSHĀHĪ PAṆJVĪN TE CHHEVĪN, 200 metres east of the town is named after the well got sunk in 1599 by Gurū Arjan who pronounced it to be as sacred as the River Gaṅgā. The old Mañjī Sāhib near the well was replaced by the present five-storeyed building raised by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee in 1975. The sanctum is at one end of a square hall on the ground floor. The other four storeys with the dome on top rise above the sanctum. Within the hall to the right side as one faces the sanctum is a platform dedicated to Gurū Hargobind who, according to local tradition, sat here sometimes to address visiting *saṅgats*.

GURDWĀRĀ VIĀH ASTHĀN GURŪ TEḢ BAHĀDUR TE MĀTĀ GUJARĪ JĪ at the end of Rabābīānvālī Lane marks the house where Bhāi Lāl Chand Subhikkhī, father of Mātā Gujarī, stayed and where Mātā Gujarī's marriage with Gurū TeḢ Bahādur was solemnized on 4 February 1633. The five-storeyed Gurdwārā was built during the 1980's under the supervision of Bābā Uttam Singh of Khaḍūr Sāhib. The sanctum is at the far end of a rectangular hall on the ground floor. A separate building to the north of the hall houses a library.

GURDWĀRĀ CHUBACHCHĀ SĀHIB PĀTSHĀHĪ CHHEVĪN is located in a walled compound about 100 metres northwest of Gurdwārā Thamm Sāhib. The sanctum is at the far end of a flat-roofed rectangular hall, built in 1940.

GURDWĀRĀ ṬĀHLĪ SĀHIB PĀTSHĀHĪ VII, about 2 km south of the main town, marks the site where Gurū Har Rāi (1630-61), accompanied by his horse guard halted while on his way from Kīratpur to Goindvāl in 1658. The Gurdwārā is named after a *shīsham* tree (*Dalbergia sissoo*, *ṭāhli* in Punjabi), still extant, to which, according to local tradition, the Gurū's own horse was tied. The present buildings were constructed in 1949 under the supervision of Sant Īshar Singh of Rārā. The central building is a flat-roofed rectangular hall in which is located the sanctum.

GURDWĀRĀ BĀBE DĪ BER or simply Ber Sāhib, about 1.5 km east of town is dedicated to Bābā Gurdittā (1613-38), eldest son of Gurū Hargobind. It is here that Bābā Srī Chand (1494-1629), son of Gurū Nānak, held discourse with Bābā Gurdittā under a *ber* tree (*Ziziphus marutiana*) before he chose him his successor as head of the Udāsī sect. The *ber* tree still stands as also the old well known as Khūh Malliāñ. According to tradition, Bhāi Gurdās (d. 1636), poet and expounder of the holy writ, used to compose verses here attracted by the seclusion of the place. The present Gurdwārā comprising a square room with a verandah in the front was constructed in 1961 by the local *saṅgat*.

SHĪSH MAHAL (lit. palace of mirrors), originally the residence of Gurū Arjan, and Gurū Hargobind during their occasional visits to Kartārpur, is within a fortress-like house, the property of the Soḍhī descendants of Bābā Dhīr Mall. A number of sacred relics are preserved in the Shīsh Mahal. They include the original copy of the Holy Book prepared by Gurū Arjan; a breviary of hymns used by Gurū Arjan for his daily prayers; a heavy *khaṇḍā* or double-edged sword believed to have been used by Gurū Hargobind; another *khaṇḍā* associated with Gurū Har Rāi; the ceremonial cord and cap given by Bābā Srī

Chand to Bābā Gurdittā as emblems of headship of the Udāsī sect; and a few garments belonging to Bābā Gurdittā.

Other historical monuments at Kartārpur are the *samādhī* of Bibī Kaulān; Nānakīānā Sāhib, a shrine commemorating Mātā Nānakī, the mother of Gurū Tegh Bahādur; Dandamā Sāhib, a platform dedicated to Gurū Hargobind; and Derā Bhāi Bhagatū Jī marking the site where Bhāi Bhagatū, a prominent Sikh contemporary of the Fifth, Sixth and the Seventh Gurūs, was cremated in 1652 by Gurū Har Rāi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Thākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923
3. *Gurbilās Chheviñ Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
4. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
5. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurū Panth Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1970
6. *Jullundur District Gazetteer*

B.S.N.

KARTĀR SINGH, BĀWĀ (1886-1960), a direct descendant of Gurū Amar Dās and a scientist of repute, was born at Vairovāl in Amritsar district on 17 April 1886, the son of Bāwā Jivan Singh, who was a member of the Indian Medical Service and was posted to Burma. Kartār Singh had his early education at D.A.V. School, Lahore, and Collegiate School, Rangoon. He passed the Entrance Examination of Calcutta University in 1903, standing seventh in order of merit. He proceeded to England in 1904 and studied at the Downing College of the Cambridge University, where he distinguished himself as a Prizeman of the College in 1905 and obtained a Tripos in Natural Sciences in 1906. He continued his postgraduate studies at the universities of Cambridge, London and Dublin. He was awarded Sc.D. degree by the Dublin University in 1921 for his researches

in Stereochemistry. Cambridge University also awarded him Sc.D. degree in 1941 for his outstanding research work.

On his return to India, Bāwā Kartār Singh joined as Professor of Chemistry at Government College, Dacca. There he came in contact with Dr E.R. Watson, the reputed dye chemist of India. He left Dacca College in 1918 to join Government College, Lahore, as the Head of the Department of Chemistry. In 1921, he was selected for appointment to Indian Education Service (I.E.S.) and was posted at the Paṭnā Government College (now Paṭnā University). Soon he was transferred to the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, where he worked as Head of the Department of Chemistry till 1936. There he carried on with his research and published many papers in scientific journals of repute in India and abroad.

During 1925-26 Bāwā Kartār Singh went to England and France on study leave and worked at the universities of Cambridge, St. Andrews, and Paris. In 1936, he returned to Paṭnā and joined as Head of the Chemistry Department in Science College under Paṭnā University and as Chemical Adviser to Government of Bihār. After his retirement from Government service in 1940, he joined as Professor and Head of the Department of Chemistry at Allāhābād University. After retirement from there in 1946, he was appointed Professor Emeritus by the University.

He decided to settle at Lahore where he was appointed Honorary Professor of Chemistry and Associate Director of Punjab Institute of Chemistry, but after the partition of the country in 1947, he joined the Hindu University, Vārāṇasī, which offered him research facilities. He worked there in an honorary capacity till March 1960. He shifted to Chandigarh in 1960 and intended to continue his research at the Pañjāb University but a sudden attack of paralysis cut short his long research career of nearly half a century

and he died on 16 June 1960 at Chaṇḍigarh.

Bāwā Kartār Singh's devotion to science earned him widespread reputation in India and abroad. In 1920, he was elected President of the Chemistry Section of the Indian Science Congress. He was Founder Fellow of the Indian Chemical Society and a member of its Council for a number of years. He served the Society as its Vice-President and President and as honorary editor of its journal. He was the vice-president of the Indian Academy of Sciences from 1934 to 1938 and vice-president of the National Institute of Sciences of India for two terms. He was Foreign Secretary of the National Academy of Sciences during 1944-46. He was awarded fellowship of the Institute of Chemistry of Great Britain and Ireland in 1921. His research was mostly in the field of Stereochemistry. He prepared several compounds containing an asymmetric nitrogen atom and brought out the relation between optical activity and chemical constitution of compounds. The nature of racemic modification also attracted his attention and he developed a biochemical method to distinguish between a racemic mixture and a racemic compound. He was deeply interested in the nature of optically active compounds and accumulated a vast mass of data which would help those who work in elucidating the laws governing Optical Rotation. He is known as father of Stereochemistry in India.

Bāwā Kartār Singh came of a deeply religious family and was himself a devout Sikh of the Gurū. At Paṭnā, he as President of the Takht Harimandar Paṭnā Sāhib supervised the construction of the main gateway, the Deoḍhī Sāhib, and during his stay at Cuttock he had got the building of Gurdwārā Dātan Sāhib, an old shrine in memory of Gurū Nānak's visit, reconstructed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Virk, H.S. *Sāde Vigānī*. Amritsar, 1990

H.S.V.

KARTĀR SINGH DĀKHĀ, PAṆḌIT (1888-1958), scholar, grammarian and theologian, was born the son of Rām Singh on 13 September 1888 at Dākhā, a village 16 km southwest of Ludhiāṇā along the Ludhiāṇā-Fīrozpur highway. After receiving elementary education in his village, he was admitted to Khālsā Collegiate School, Amritsar, but owing to his father's death in 1907, he left off without taking the matriculation examination and joined the Nirmalā Ḍerā at Ṭhikrivālā, in the former princely state of Paṭiālā, to learn Sanskrit from PaṇḌit Basant Singh. Besides Sanskrit, he was nurtured at the Ḍerā in Sikh scriptures and he passed out as a learned scholar and practised debater. He worked for a time as a teacher in Khālsā Prachārak Vidyālā, Tarn Tāran. Later, when Sikh Missionary College was opened at Amritsar in 1923, PaṇḌit Kartār Singh joined the faculty as a lecturer. Returning to his native village, Dākhā, he took to preaching, travelling extensively in the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. In 1933-38 he taught at Gurmat Updeshak College, Damdamā Sāhib, Talvaṇḍī Sābo in Baṭhiṇḍā district, also known as Gurū Kāshī. There he brought out a missionary journal, *Gurū Kāshī Pattar*, which was later shifted to Ludhiāṇā and ultimately to Dākhā itself. During 1938-39, PaṇḌit Kartār Singh, accompanied by Giānī Gurcharan Singh of Muktsar, took out a tour to Singapore and Malaya at the invitation of the Sikhs living in those countries. On return from there, he served for some time as a lecturer in divinity at Gurū Hargobind Khālsā College, Gurūsar Sadhār, 10 km south of Dākhā. He also served in the Punjab Languages Department at Paṭiālā from 1951-53. He died of heart attack on 25 November 1958 at Qilā Rāipur, a village 18 km south of Ludhiāṇā.

PaṇḌit Kartār Singh Dākhā was a prolific writer. His published works included books

on linguistics, philosophy, prosody, grammar, commentaries on sacred texts, some of the titles being *Hindī ate Gurmukhī Līpī te Vichār* (1931), *Gurmukhī ate Hindī dā Tākrā* (1949), *Nyāi Paribhāshā* (1929), *Gurū Kāvya Darshan Arthāt Piṅgal* (1913), *Alaṅkāra Nirṇaya* (n.d.), *Navīn Punjabi Piṅgal* (n.d.), *Srī Gurū Vyakaraṇ Pañchāṁ* (1945), *Mālve dā Political Itihās* (n.d.) *Srī Japu Nisān* (1951), *Das Dohare te Vih Savaiyye Saṭīk* (n.d.), *Gurū Pad Nirṇaya* (n.d.), *Bhagautī Maṇḍan* (1963), and two pamphlets on Rāgmālā controversy (1946). Besides, his articles and serialized Punjabi translation of the *Ṛg Veda* appeared in *Gurū Kāshī Pattar*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Aslī Qaumī Dard*. 2 April 1930
2. *The Khalsa Advocate*. 9 February 1969
3. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Kalam de Dhanī*. Patiala, 1966
4. Vasākhā Singh, Sant, *Mālvā Itihās*. Kishanpura, 1954 S.S.S.

KARTĀR SINGH, GIĀNĪ (1902-1974), Akālī leader who was known for his political astuteness and for his single-mindedness of purpose and who dominated Sikh politics during the 40's and 50's of the 20th century, was born the son of Bhagat Singh and Māi Jio on 22 February 1902 at Chakk No. 40 Jhaṅg Branch in Lyallpur district (now in Pakistan). The family, Jaṭṭs of Khaihrā clan, originally belonged to Nāgoke village in Amritsar district and had migrated to Lyallpur district when that area, formerly a wasteland known as Sāṅdal Bār, was opened up as a canal colony towards the close of the nineteenth century. Kartār Singh received his early education in the village *gurdwārā* and later joined *Khālsā* School in the neighbouring Chakk No. 41 from where he matriculated in 1921. He had a religious bent of mind and during his school days led a *kīrtanī jathā* or group of hymn-singers which earned him the epithet *giānī* (learned in religious texts). He joined *Khālsā* College, Amritsar, but owing to an attack of smallpox

two years later he had to leave without taking a degree. The only son of his parents, Kartār Singh was married at an early age to Harnām Kaur, daughter of Jagat Singh of Ghiālā Kalān, in Amritsar district.

Giānī Kartār Singh was attracted to politics in his early youth. He was in Amritsar in April 1919 staying with his uncle, Risāldār Jagat Singh, a Viceroy's commissioned officer in the army, when the Jalliānvalā massacre took place. This event and the martial law conditions in the Punjab under which he travelled from Amritsar to his village left a deep impact on his mind. While yet a student of the tenth class, he along with some fellow students had participated in the campaign on behalf of the Tilak Svarāj Fund launched by the Indian National Congress. Leading a party of about 20 students, he also attended a Sikh conference at Dhārovālī village in early October 1920, which paved the way for the formation of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal. In 1924, he was appointed general secretary of the Lyallpur district branch of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal. Later during the same year, he was arrested for leading a procession to welcome the 13th Shahīdī Jathā which was touring the central districts before it headed for Jaito. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment which he underwent in the central jail at Campbellpore. In 1926, he was elected a member of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee which had been reconstituted under the Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925, and became a member of its executive committee in October 1927. He took part in the agitation against the visit of Simon Commission to India in 1928 and attended the protest rally that greeted the Commission with black flags at Lahore railway station, on 30 October 1928, with shouts of "Simon, Go Back." During the Civil disobedience movement in 1930-31, he was again arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for delivering anti-government speeches. In 1933 Giānī Kartār

Singh was elected member of the executive committees both of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal. In 1937, he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly from Samundarī-Jarhānvālā constituency of Lyallpur district.

Reacting to Muslim League's demand for a separate Muslim State, Giānī Kartār Singh put forward in 1943 some concrete formulations of which his Āzād Punjab scheme was vigorously pursued for some time. The scheme envisaged carving out of the then-existing Punjab a new unit, Āzād Punjab, which would have included the maximum Sikh population, with no single religious community being in absolute majority. This formed the basis of the Akālī standpoint at the subsequent political negotiations during which Giānī Kartār Singh ranked next only to Master Tārā Singh as representative of the Sikh opinion. Later, in January 1947, he was elected president of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal. In 1942 he had played a crucial role in bringing about rapprochement between the Akālīs and the Muslim-dominated Unionist Party in consequence of which Baldev Singh, the Akālī nominee, joined the Unionist Government as a minister in the Punjab led by Sir Sikandar Hayāt Khān. Taking advantage of the arrangement labelled as Sikandar-Baldev Pact, Giānī Kartār Singh moved a bill in the Punjab Legislative Assembly to amend the Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925, with a view to making the central authority for the management of Sikh shrines, the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, more effective. Already, at a meeting of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee on 22 February 1941, he had drawn the attention of the Sikh people to the need for such a revision. The amending bill, which became the Sikh Gurdwārās (Amendment) Act XI of 1944, was passed on 12 December 1944. The

amendments provided for representation on the Committee to the so-called backward classes among the Sikhs, greater administrative control over the local *gurdwārās* and more freedom for the Committee to spend money from its funds for missionary, educational and charitable purposes. The Act was again amended consequent upon the merger of PEPSU territory with the Punjab in 1956. That amendment too was sponsored by Giānī Kartār Singh.

After the Viceroy's proclamation of 3 June 1947 announcing the decision of the British government to divide the country conceding the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, Giānī Kartār Singh called a joint meeting of the working committee of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal and the Panthic Pratinidhī Board which passed a resolution on 14 June 1947 advocating transfer of population and property as an essential concomitant of the proposed partition. After 15 August 1947, Giānī Kartār Singh at grave personal risk helped the migration of non-Muslims, especially of Lyallpur and Sheikhūpurā districts to India. On 17 March 1948, the working committee of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal under his leadership passed a resolution, permitting all Panthic (Akālī) members of the East Punjab Assembly to join the Congress. Giānī Kartār Singh became a minister in the East Punjab government under Chief Minister Gopī Chand Bhārgava and was assigned to the portfolios of revenue and development. He continued in the ministry headed by Lālā Bhīm Sain Sachar which in fact he, with his group of 22 MLAs, had helped to form in March 1949. He was the architect of what came to be known as the Giānī-Sachar formula, according to which East Punjab was demarcated into Punjabi-speaking and Hindi-speaking areas — a demarcation which laid the foundation of a Punjabi-speaking state. Demand for Punjabi Sūbā, i.e. Punjabi-

speaking state, became the focus of Sikh politics and Giānī Kartār Sīng̃h became one of its principal advocates on re-joining the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal. In 1955, he courted arrest in the Akālī campaign for Punjabī Sūbā.

Earlier, as a member of the Constituent Assembly Giānī Kartār Sīng̃h had advocated some statutory guarantees for the Sikhs as a minority. He lost his assembly seat in the first general election held under the new Constitution in 1952, but was elected to the Punjab Legislative Council soon after. In 1956, a compromise was reached between the Akālī Dal and the Congress in the form of what is known as Regional Formula and the Akālīs again joined the Congress party *en bloc*. Giānī Kartār Sīng̃h was elected to Legislative Assembly from Dasūyā-Ṭāṇḍā constituency and became Revenue and Agriculture minister in 1957 in the Cabinet headed by Partāp Sīng̃h Kairōn. In 1962, he was re-elected to the state assembly. In February 1967, Giānī Kartār Sīng̃h sought election from his former constituency as a Congress candidate but was defeated. He resigned from the Congress party on 16 April 1967. His bid to be elected a member of the Lok Sabhā from Hoshiārpur in 1972 met with a similar fate. He was now in failing health and his political career had come to a virtual end. He died in Rājindra Hospital, Paṭiālā, on 10 June 1974.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Dalip Singh, *Dynamics of Punjab Politics*. Delhi, 1981
2. Gulati, K.C., *The Akalis : Past and Present*. Delhi, 1974
3. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
4. Sarhadī, Ajit Singh, *Punjabī Suba*. Delhi, 1970
5. Wallace, Paul, and Surendra Chopra, eds., *Political Dynamics of Punjab*. Amritsar, 1981
6. Brass, Paul R., *Language, Religion and Politics in Northern India*. Delhi, 1975

K.S.V.

KARTĀR SĪNGH JHABBAR (1874-1962),

famous for his spirited role in the Gurdwārā Reform movement, was born the son of Tejā Sīng̃h in 1874 at the village of Jhabbar, in Sheikhūpurā district, now in Pakistan. His grandfather, Maṅgal Sīng̃h, had served as a commandant in Mahārājā Raṅjīt Sīng̃h's army. Kartār Sīng̃h had no formal education, but somewhat late in life he went through a course of Sikh religious learning and trained as a missionary at Khālsā Updeshak Mahāvīdyālā, Gharjākh, which he attended from 1906 to 1909. Upon completing the course, he took up preaching. In 1912, he set up Khālsā Dīwān Kharā Saudā Bār at Gurdwārā Sachchā Saudā, Chūharkāṇā. He also opened in the town in 1917 a middle school. In 1919, Kartār Sīng̃h took active part in anti-government demonstrations and addressed meetings protesting against the Jalliānvālā Bāgh massacre. For this he was arrested and was, on trial, sentenced to death on 22 May 1919. The punishment was reduced on 30 May 1919 to transportation for life. He was, however, released from Andamans jail in March 1920 in the wake of royal clemency.

In early October 1920, Kartār Sīng̃h led a *jathā* of Sikh volunteers to Siālkoṭ to liberate Gurdwārā Bābe dī Ber from the control of a corrupt *mahant* or custodian. The shrine was taken possession of and a committee of lay Sikhs was formed to manage it, with Bābā Khaṛak Sīng̃h as president. This was the beginning of the Gurdwārā Reform movement. Kartār Sīng̃h Jhabbar, along with Tejā Sīng̃h Bhuchchar, got the Akāl Takht released on 12 October 1920. Tejā Sīng̃h was appointed *jathedār* or provost of the Takht. Jhabbar was included in the 9-member committee set up for the management of the Golden Temple. He continued to be in the vanguard of reformist Sikhs' campaign for liberating historical shrines. The more important ones he helped to take possession of were Gurdwārā Pañjā Sāhib (November 1920), Gurdwārā Sachchā Saudā (December

1920), Gurdwārā Tarn Tāran (26 January 1921), and Gurdwārā Gurū kā Bāgh (31 January 1921). Following the possession of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān at Nankānā Sāhib, the birthplace of Gurū Nānak, where about 150 reformist Sikhs had been murdered by the *mahant* and his men on 20 February 1921, Kartār Singh was arrested on 11 March 1921 and remained in jail for about six months. He was rearrested in June 1924 and sent to Campbellpore jail. In September 1925 he was transferred to Multān jail and in April 1926 to Rāwalpīṇḍī. He remained in custody for more than four years and was released in December 1928.

After the control of the *gurdwārās* was, by government legislation of 1925, made over to a representative board of the Sikhs, Kartār Singh retired to a comparatively quiet life at his village. In January 1933 he faced a charge of murder following a clash which took place at Nankānā Sāhib over the possession of a portion of the Gurdwārā land, but was acquitted by the court. In 1937, he led a *jathā* to Koṭ Bhāi Thān Singh and convened, in defiance of the orders of the local Muslim chieftain, a Sikh *divān*. After the partition of Punjab in August 1947, Kartār Singh came over to what was then designated as East Punjab, and settled down at the village of Hābṛī, in Karnāl district, where he died on 20 November 1962.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Narain Singh, ed., *Akālī Morche te Jhabbar*. Delhi, 1967.
 2. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahīr*. Amritsar, 1975.
 3. Josh, Sohan Singh, *Akālī Morchiān dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1972.
 4. Piār Singh, *Tejā Singh Samundrī*. Amritsar, 1975.
 5. Mohinder Singh, *The Akālī Movement*. Delhi, 1978.
- K.S.V.
KARTĀR SINGH KALĀSVĀLĪĀ, GIĀNĪ
(1882-1952), theologian, poet and historian

who started a new line in modern Punjabi verse making a departure from the traditional love romance or lays of heroic poetry in *Braj* or Hindi-ized Punjabi, was born in 1882 in Kalāsvālā, a village in Pasrūr *tahsīl* of Siālkoṭ district, now in Pakistan. Hence the epithet Kalāsvālīā. Kartār Singh mastered scripture-reading in the village *gurdwārā* and joined the 47th Sikh Battalion, later 4th Battalion of the 11th Sikh Regiment, as a *granthī* or Sikh religious teacher. After leaving the army, he became a *granthī* at the Darbār Sāhib at Amritsar, rising subsequently to the position of head *granthī*. An avid reader of Sikh historical texts and blessed with a natural flare for poetry, he assigned himself to the task of composing a comprehensive history of the Sikhs in verse. This had been done earlier by Bhāi Santokh Singh, Ratan Singh Bhaṅgū and Giānī Giān Singh but their language was dominated by extensive admixture of Braj idiom; hence not easily intelligible to Punjabi readers. Kartār Singh used current Punjabi in his poetry. His favourite prosodic metre was *baīṭ*, popularized by Punjabi romances such as *Hīr* by Wāris Shāh. Not that he did not try his hand at other metres. His voluminous biography of Gurū Gobind Singh, *Srī Kalgīdhar Darshan*, is in the *dohā-chaupāī* style of Tulasi's *Rāmāyaṇa*, and he successfully uses the indigenous Punjabi *vār*, or *paurī* style, in two of his minor works, *Sardārñī Jhālā Kaur* and *Bhāi Kalyāṇā*. *Paurīs* and *Kabitts* are used in *Vārān Dharam Shahīdān*. His total work spread over more than 40 books covers the entire gamut of Sikh history, but the various volumes were not written in chronological order. The exact sequence of his compositions is not easy to determine. A complete list of his works is given below:

- (A) In verse
1. *Nirankārī Jot* (Biography of Gurū Nānak)
 2. *Hitkārī Jot* (*Srī Gurū Aṅgad Prakāshh*)
 3. *Dātārī Jot* (*Srī Gurū Amar Prakāshh*)

4. *Ujārī Jot (Srī Gurū Rām Dās Prakāsh)*
5. *Jāgadī Jot (Srī Gurū Arjan Prakāsh)*
6. *Dalbhañjanī Jot (Srī Kharagesh Prakāsh)* (on Guru Hargobind)
7. *Upkārī Jot (Srī Gurū Hari Rāi Prakāsh)*
8. *Didārī Jot (Srī Gurū Hari Krishan Prakāsh)*
9. *Narañjanī Jot (Prasaṅg Srī Gurū Tegh Bahādur Jī)*
10. *Akālī Jot (Srī Gurū Dasmesh Prakāsh* later revised as *Srī Dushṭ Daman Prakāsh)*
11. *Nirbhai Yodhā* (Exploits of Bandā (Singh) Bahādur)
12. *Ajīt Khālsā* (Covering the period after Bandā (Singh) Bahādur)
13. *Jauhar Khālsā* (Sikhs and Mīr Mannū)
14. *Prakāsh Khālsā* (The Sikh Misls)
15. *Sarkār Khālsa* (Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh)
16. *Darbār Khālsā* (Decline and end of Sikh rule)
17. *Betāj Khālsā* (Exile and end of Mahārājā Duleep Singh and Mahārāṇī Jindān)
18. *Daler Khālsā* (Sardār Hari Singh Nalvā)
19. *Sudhār Khālsā* (Gurdwārā Reform movement)
20. *Bīr Khālsā* (Gurū kā Bagh morchā)
21. *Srī Kalgīdhar Darshan* (Life of Gurū Gobind Singh in epic style (*doharā-chaupāi*))
22. *Pratāp Khālsā* (Nawāb Kapūr Singh)
23. *Dasames Dūlāre* (Martyrdom of the four sons of Gurū Gobind Singh)
24. *Vārān Dharam Shahīdān*
25. *Singhanīān dā Sidak* (Torture and martyrdom of Sikh women under Mīr Mannū)
26. *Khūn-i-Shahīdān* (The Nankāṇā Sāhib tragedy)
27. *Bābē dī Ber* (The Gurdwārā Reform movement at Siālkoṭ)
28. *Khūnī Sāl dīān Khūnī Holīān* (The 1947 holocaust)
29. *Gyān Prakāsh arthāt Zindagī Sudhār* (On spiritual knowledge, moral teachings and political policy)
30. *Rūp Basant* (A popular folk-tale)
31. *Prahlād Bhagat* (A traditional story)
32. *Sardārī Jhālā Kaur* (Stories from Sikh tradition composed in verse for singing by *ḡhāḡhīs*)
33. *Bhāi Kalyānā*
34. *Naḡḡhe dī Nār* (Didactic fiction in verse against unmatched child-marriage) (B) In prose
35. *Mahārāṇī Shakuntalā*
36. *Jamraud*
37. *Gagan Damāmā*
38. *Yārāre dā Satthar*
39. *Bābā Buddhā Jī*
40. *Dukh Bhañjanī*
41. *Sāhib Kau:*
42. *Mahārāṇī Jindān*
43. *Bābā Phūlā Singh Akālī*
44. *Kāle Pānī*
45. *Goī Chaldī Gāī*

Giānī Kartār Singh Kalāsvālīā died at his residence in Kūchā Bāghvālā, Amritsar, on 22 February 1952.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Pañjābī Prakāshnān dī Sūchī*, vol. I. Patiala, 1953
2. Barrier, N.G., *The Sikhs and Their Literature*. Delhi, 1970

S.S.S.

KARTĀR SINGH SARĀBHĀ (1896-1915), Ghadr revolutionary, was born in 1896 in the village of Sarābhā, in Ludhiāṇā district of the Punjab, the only son of Maṅgal Singh, a well-to-do farmer. After receiving his primary education in his own village, Kartār Singh entered the Mālvā Khālsā High School at Ludhiāṇā for his matriculation. He was in his tenth class when he went to live with his uncle in Orīssā where, after finishing high school, he joined college. In 1912, when he was barely 16 years old he sailed for San Fransisco, California (U.S.A.), and joined the University of California at Berkeley, enrolling for a degree in chemistry. His association with the Nālandā Club of Indian Students at Berkeley aroused his patriotic sentiment and he felt agitated about the treatment

immigrants from India, especially manual workers, received in the United States. When the *Chadr* Party was founded in mid-1913 with Sohan Singh, a Sikh peasant from Bhaknā in Amritsar district, as president and Har Dayāl as secretary, Kartār Singh stopped his university work, moved in with Har Dayāl and became his helpmate in running the revolutionary newspaper *Chadr* (Revolt). He undertook the responsibility for the printing of the Gurmukhī edition of the paper. He composed patriotic poetry for it and wrote articles. He also went out among the Sikh farmers and arranged meetings at which he and other *Chadr* leaders made speeches urging them to united action against the British. At a meeting at Sacramento, California, on 31 October 1913, he jumped to the stage and began to sing: "*Chalo chālīye desh nū yuddha karan, eho ākhīrī vachan te farmān ho gaye*" (Come! let us go and join the battle of freedom; the final call has come, let us go!) Kartār Singh was one of the first to follow his own call.

As World War I broke out, members of the *Chadr* Party were openly exhorted to return to India to make armed revolt against the British. Kartār Singh left the United States on 15 September 1914, nearly a month ahead of the main body of Sikhs who were to follow. He returned to India, via Colombo, resolved to set up in his village a centre on the model of the *Chadr* Party's Yugāntar Āshram in San Francisco. When Bhāī Parmanand arrived in India in December 1914 to lead the movement, Kartār Singh was charged with spreading the network in Ludhiānā district. In this connection he went to Bengal to secure firearms, and made contacts with revolutionaries such as Viṣṇu Ganesh Piṅgley, Sachindra Nāth Sānyāl and Rāsh Behārī Bose. With Piṅgley, Kartār Singh visited the cantonments at Meerut, Āgrā, Banāras, Allāhābād, Ambālā, Lahore and Rāwalpiṅḍī with a view to inciting the soldiers to revolt.

As for armaments, Kartār Singh and his associates succeeded in manufacturing bombs on a small scale at Jhābevāl and later at Lohaṭbaḍḍī, both in Ludhiānā district. Kartār Singh organized and participated in raids on the villages of Sāhnevāl and Mansūrān in January 1915, in order to procure funds for the party.

In February 1915, just before the planned revolt was to erupt, there was a massive roundup of the *Chadr* leaders, following the disclosures made by a police informer, Kirpāl Singh, who had surreptitiously gained admittance into the Party. Kartār Singh, Jagat Singh of Sursingh and Harnām Singh Ṭuṅḍilāṭ escaped to Kābul. All three however came back to continue their campaign in the Punjab and were seized on 2 March 1915 at Wilsonpur, in Shāhpur district, where they had gone to seduce the troops of the 22nd Cavalry.

The trial of arrested leaders in the Lahore conspiracy cases of 1915-16 highlighted the central role of Kartār Singh Sarābhā in the movement. His defence was just one more eloquent statement of his revolutionary creed. He was sentenced to death on 13 September 1915 and he received the hangman's noose on 16 November 1915 singing his favourite patriotic song. A statue of Kartār Singh, erected in the city of Ludhiānā commemorates his legendary heroism. He has also been immortalized in a fictional account *Ikk Miān Do Talvārān* by the famous Punjabi novelist, Nānak Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jagjit Singh, *Chadar Pārī Lahir*. Delhi, 1979
2. Mān Singh, *Azādī dī Shamhā de Sikh Parvāne*. Delhi, 1973
3. Nāhar Singh, Giānī, *Azādī dīān Lahirān*. Ludhiana, 1960
4. Sainsarā, G.S., *Chadar Pārī dā Itihās*. Jalandhar, n.d.
5. Fauja Singh, ed., *Who's Who; Punjab Freedom Fighters*, vol. I. Patiala: 1972

6. Mathur, J.P., *Indian Revolutionary Movement in the United States of America*. Delhi, 1970
7. Grewal, J.S., "Kartar Singh Sarabhā" in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. IV. Calcutta, 1974

M.J.

KASHMĪRĀ SĪNGH, KAṆVAR (1819-1844), son of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, was born in 1819 to Rāṇī Dayā Kaur. He received his name from the province of Kashmīr falling to the Mahārājā's arms at his birth. Kashmīrā Singh held charge of several *jāgīrs* including that of Siālkoṭ. He emerged from obscurity after the assassination of Mahārājā Sher Singh in 1843, but fell victim to the Ḍogrā intrigue and was killed, along with Bābā Bīr Singh of Naurāṅgābād, in the latter's *ḍerā* on 7 May 1844, in a seige laid by the army sent by Rājā Hīrā Singh. Kashmīrā Singh left one son named Fateh Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lal, *'Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1957

S.S.B.

KĀSHĪ RĀM (b. 1658), a Kāyasth poet in attendance upon Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708), who composed, in 1690, *Pāṇḍava Gītā*, a versified dialogue between Nārad and Bhīṣma based on "Śānti Parva" of the *Mahābhārata*. Kāshī Rām's name does not figure in the usual roster of Gurū Gobind Singh's poets, but the poem itself contains evidence to show that he belonged to the group. The invocatory as well as the concluding stanza of the text pays homage to Gurū Gobind Singh, his patron. *Pāṇḍava Gītā* is composed in alternating poetic forms, *radḍs* and *paṛīs*. While the language of the *radḍs* is Hindi, the *paṛīs* are in the poetic Punjabi of the time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Srī Gurū Gobind Singh Jī de Darbārī Ratan*. Patiala, 1976

2. Vidiarthī, Devinder, *Srī Gurū Gobind Singh Abhinandan*. Amritsar, 1983

P.S.P.

KAṬĀṆĪ KALĀṆ, a village about 25 km from Ludhiāṇā (30°-54'N, 75°-52'E), is famous for the historical shrine Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Chheviṅ Ate Dasviṅ, commonly known as Kaṭāṇā Sāhib. Kaṭāṇī is believed to have been visited by Gurū Hargobind during his journey through the Mālvā country in 1631-34. Gurū Gobind Singh passed through this village on his way from Māchhivārā to Dīnā-Kaṅgar in December 1705. A *gurdwārā* was established to commemorate the Gurū's visit. The name of the Sixth Gurū was associated with it only during the twentieth century, the Maṅjī Sāhib dedicated to Gurū Hargobind having been constructed in 1933.

The present building complex covers about two acres of land including some plots under cultivation. The central hall contains two domed sanctums. The one towards the canal end is dedicated to Gurū Gobind Singh and it is this one which is now particularly referred to as Degsar, in the belief that Gurū Gobind Singh had his first meal after Māchhivārā here (*degsignifying* sacred food). It is an open pavilion with a marble floor. The other sanctum, dedicated to Gurū Hargobind, is a square room.

The Gurdwārā is administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twoārīkh Gurdwārān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tarā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975

M.G.S.

KAṬĀRĀ, BHĀĪ, a dealer in bullion, became a Sikh in the time of Gurū Arjan. He received instruction at the hands of the Gurū who taught him always to repeat the name Vāhigurū.

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārāṇ*, XI. 24

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KAṬĀRŪ, MALAK, a prominent Sikh of Burhānpur who, according to Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārāṇ*, XI.30, received instruction at the hands of Gurū Hargobind.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
2. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.

KATHĀ is the noun form of the Sanskrit word *kath*, meaning to speak, describe, narrate or interpret. In religious terminology, *kathā* stands for exposition, analysis and discussion of a passage from a scripture. It involves a full-length discourse on a given text, with a proper enunciation of it and elucidation with anecdotes, parables and quotations, of the underlying spiritual and theological doctrines and ideas. Since scriptural utterances and verses were generally pithy and aphoristic, they needed to be expounded for the laity and there emerged in the Indian tradition forms such as *ṭīkā* (paraphrase), *śabdārtha* (gloss) and *bhāṣya* (commentary), with *pramāṇas* or suitable authoritative quotations from religious and didactic works to support the thesis or interpretation. These three modes of elucidation converge in the Sikh *kathā* which is verbal in form. *Kathā* of the Upaniṣads, the *Bhāgavadgītā* and Purāṇas and of the epics, the *Ramāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, has continued to be delivered

from the rostrum. But in Sikhism it has become institutionalized as part of service at major religious assemblies.

The tradition of *kathā* in Sikhism has its formal beginning in the time of Gurū Arjan (1563-1606), who compiled the Sikh Scripture, Gurū Granth Sāhib, and who is said to have ordained Bhāi Gurdās, who had transcribed the Holy Volume, to expound briefly and precisely, daily a hymn which had been read from the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The *masands*, i.e. *saṅgat* leaders, appointed by the Gurūs, started delivering *kathā* in a like manner at local gatherings. Since *śabda* forms the essential base of Sikh spirituality and religion, correct interpretation of the sacred texts is of the utmost importance. Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) is said to have himself instructed Bhāi Mani Singh in the explication of the Holy Writ. From Bhāi Mani Singh originates what is known as the Giānī school of interpretation of *gurbāṇī*. The performance of *kathā* has continued in the Sikh system over the centuries. There are numerous institutions, classical as well as modern, training scholars in the art. *Kathā* is generally delivered in the presence of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The *kathākār*, the performer, will in fact recite reverentially the hymn he proposes to expound from the Holy Book itself. The choice may have been premeditated or utterly impromptu. To describe the format, which certainly allows for variations, after a well-punctuated, clean, melodious and rhythmic recitation of the hymn, its central theme is brought into focus and explained. Then, the difficult words are explicated and verse-wise paraphrase of the entire *śabda* is given. Care is taken to sustain the context and point out the relevance of each verse to the main argument. This is followed by a thematic analysis of the hymn, bringing out its spiritual and doctrinal significance. Notice may also be taken of its literary graces. To support his interpretation, the *kathākār* quotes, all from memory,

passages from the religious texts, and anecdotes from the lives of the Gurūs. Before concluding the discourse, the argument is summed up and the original text recited again. At *kathā* session in *gurdwārās* are also expounded major Sikh historical works such as *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth* and *Panth Prakāsh*. But this happens generally in the afternoons, outside the morning and evening services.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kāhn Singh, Bhāi, *Gurmat Mārtaṇḍ*. Amritsar, 1962
2. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955

T.S.

KAṬṬŪ, village 12 km southeast of Barnālā (30°-22'N, 75°-32'E), in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Sāhib Gurū Sar Pātshāhī IX, commemorating the visit of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. The Gurdwārā, marking the site of the Gurū's camp in what used to be a thicket by the side of a pool of water, is about 1 km northeast of the village. Hence the name Gurū Sar, or the Gurū's Pool, although what is left of it now is but a slight depression in the adjoining fields. According to local tradition, Gurū Tegh Bahādur came here in 1665. He held a discourse with a recluse, Dhiān Dās, who lived in a thatched hut near by. The villagers also assembled to listen to the Gurū expound the teachings of Gurū Nānak. Gurū Tegh Bahādur summed up by saying what is vividly expressed in his hymns in measure Dhanāsari: "Why dost thou run to the woods in search of Him; He, the all-pervasive yet ever-detached, abides within thee..." (GG, 684). A Gurdwārā was established here in course of time. The old building, constructed in the early years of the present century, comprises rows of rooms on three sides of a brick-paved courtyard. The foundation of a more spacious building was laid on 31 March 1977.

This new complex has a *dīvān* hall with a sanctum topped by a lotus dome. The Gurdwārā owns over 50 acres of land and is managed by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. An important annual event is the martyrdom anniversary of Gurū Tegh Bahādur.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twoārikkh Gurdwārān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d. M.G.S.

KAṬṬŪ SHĀH, a Muslim resident of Kashmīr who converted a Sikh, was known for his piety and devotion. Journeying through Kashmīr once, Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644) put up with him in his house for a night. Later, as says Sarūp Dās Bhallā, *Mahimā Prakāsh*, a group of Sikhs, on their way to Srīnagar to visit Gurū Hargobind and carrying a jar of honey as their offering, also stayed with Kaṭṭū Shāh who requested them to let him have some honey to taste. They refused saying that they could not do so before the Gurū had partaken of it. When Gurū Hargobind heard the story at Srīnagar, he told the visiting Sikhs that there was no difference between a Sikh and the Gurū. "Whatever is fed to my Sikhs with love," said Gurū Hargobind, "reaches me. Refusal to give to a needy Sikh reflects lack of faith in the Gurū." He asked them to go back to Kaṭṭū Shāh and give him the jar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
2. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.

KAUḌĀ was, according to Janam Sākhī accounts, the head of a clan of cannibals

somewhere in Central India. The cannibals belonged to a sect of the *yogīs* called Kāpālikas who went about naked, smeared their bodies with the ashes of a corpse and ate and drank from human skulls. Once as Gurū Nānak was passing through that country, his faithful companion Mardānā separating from him fell into the hands of Kauḍā the cannibal. He would have met the fate of many of his luckless victims in his ever-boiling oil-cauldron, but for Gurū Nānak's timely appearance. The cauldron, says the *Bālā Janam Sākhī*, cooled as Gurū Nānak arrived and the fire underneath it died out. Kauḍā fell at the Gurū's feet and begged to be shriven for his sinful ways.

The legend of Kauḍā appears in all the four major Janam Sākhīs, though the accounts differ in detail as well as in locale. The name Kauḍā occurs only in the Bālā version. In the folklore of the Goṇḍ tribe of Central India, Koḍā or Koḍī is the name of a demon who made the ancestor of the Goṇḍ, Liṅgo, his prisoner. Liṅgo escaped with the help of the demon's daughters whom he later married. The Goṇḍ are his descendants by them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
3. Vir Singh, Bhāi, ed., *Purātān Janam Sākhī*. Amritsar, 1982

Gn.S.

KAUL, SOḌHĪ, or Soḍhī Kaṅval Nain (1638-1706), son of Bābā Harijī and a great-grandson of Bābā Prithī Chand, the elder brother of Gurū Arjan (1563-1606), was born at Muhammadīpur village in Lahore district of the Punjab (now in Pakistan). He was educated under eminent men of letters at Amritsar where his father had been in control of the Harimandar and other Sikh shrines

since 1639 as head of the Mīṇā sect. About 1664 Soḍhī Kaul also spent some time at Lahore learning history, mythology and Persian. He became head of the sect after the death of his father in 1696. In 1699 control of the Amritsar shrines was taken over by Bhāi Manī Singh and five other Singhs who had been sent for this purpose by Gurū Gobind Singh from Anandpur. Soḍhī Kaul then moved to Ḍhilvān Kalān, a village gifted to him by Chaudharī Kapūrā of Koṭ Kapūrā in present-day Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab. Gurū Gobind Singh visited that village in December 1705 when Soḍhī Kaul and his four sons received him with honour. Here, at Kaul's suggestion, the Gurū discarded the blue attire he had put on at Māchhivārā. One of Soḍhī Kaul's grandsons, Abhai Rām, undertook the vows of the Kḥālsā at the hands of Gurū Gobind Singh and was renamed Abhai Singh. Bābā Kaul's last days were spent at Koṭhā Gurū, a village founded by Prithī Chand, where he died in 1706. A shrine and a *samādh* in the village honour his memory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Balwant Singh Giāni, *Bābā Kaul Sāhib*.
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Panth Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1970
4. Macauliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

G.B.S.

KAUR, from Sanskrit *kumārī* or *kuṅvārī* meaning a princess, young girl, or virgin, is a suffix which, by tradition and under stipulated code of conduct, is added to the names of all Sikh females, so that like their male counterpart, Singhs, they all have a common surname.

N.S.S.

KAURĀ MALL, DĪWĀN, MAHĀRĀJĀ BAHĀDUR (d. 1752), a Sahajdhārī Sikh and trusted officer under the Mughals in the

eighteenth-century Punjab, was the son of Vallū Rām, an Aroṛā of the Chughh clan, originally from a village near Shorkoṭ in Jhaṅg district, now in Pakistan. Little is known about the early life of Kaurā Mall. Muftī 'Alī ud-Dīn, *'Ibrat Nāmāh*, refers to him as “Kaurā Mall Aroṛā Qanūngo Multāni.” It appears that he, like his father and grandfather, was at first a revenue official, *qanūngo*, in the Multān province. Later, he came to Lahore and rose to be a senior military general and courtier. The earliest reference to Kaurā Mall is by a contemporary, Shāh Nawāz Khān (1699-1757), in his *Ma'āsir ul-Umrā*, according to which Kaurā Mall, under orders of Zakariyā Khān, then governor of both Lahore and Multān, led an expedition in 1738 against Panāh Bhaṭṭī, a powerful marauder chief who had the entire western Punjab, from the banks of Rāvī up to Hasan Abdāl in the northwest, at his mercy. Panāh Bhaṭṭī was defeated, captured and executed. Zakariyā Khān appointed Kaurā Mall *dīwān* of Multān. Early in 1746, during the governorship of Yāhiyā Khān, when Lakhpat Rāi, the *dīwān* of Lahore, in order to avenge the death of his brother Jaspat Rāi, killed in an encounter with the Sikhs, swore to exterminate the entire sect of Sikhs, and as a first step in this direction, ordered the arrest and execution of the Sikhs of Lahore, mostly domestic servants and small shopkeepers, Kaurā Mall, along with the Hindu gentry of the town, pleaded with him to spare their lives, but in vain. The captured Sikhs were put to the sword on 10 March 1746. Lakhpat Rāi followed this with full-scale military operations against Sikhs who had sought shelter in hills and forests, ending with what is known as Chhoṭā Chaulūghārā, or lesser or minor holocaust, on 1 May 1746 in which about 7,000 Sikhs were killed and 3,000 captured. The latter, too, were executed in Lahore. Kaurā Mall left Lahore in disgust and went to Multān,

where Shāh Nawāz Khān, younger brother of Yāhiyā Khān, was the governor. A civil war broke out between the two brothers in November 1746, in which Yāhiyā Khān was worsted. Shāh Nawāz Khān who, on 21 March 1747 became governor of Lahore as well, appointed Kaurā Mall *dīwān* of Lahore. But Shāh Nawāz Khān was forced to flee to Delhi when on 11 January 1748 Lahore was occupied by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, who appointed Jumlā Khān, an Afghān noble of Kasūr, as his governor, and Lakhpat Rāi as his *dīwān*. The Durrānī was, however, defeated in the battle of Mānūpur near Sirhind on 11 March 1748, and forced to retire to his own country. Mu'in ul-Mulk, nicknamed Mīr Mannū by the Sikhs, who now became governor of the Punjab on behalf of the Mughal government at Delhi, not only reinstated Kaurā Mall as *dīwān* but also appointed him deputy governor of the *sūbah* or province of Multān. Lakhpat Rāi was arrested and fined, 30,00,000 rupees of which he could pay only a part. Kaurā Mall secured his person by paying the rest of the fine and handed him over to the Sikhs who consigned him to a dungeon where he died a miserable death after six months of indignities and torture.

Kaurā Mall went to Multān and took charge of the province, but Mīr Mannū soon summoned him to Lahore and sent him on an expedition against the Ḍogrā chiefs of Jammū region. For his Multān expedition (September-October 1749) against Shāh Nawāz Khān who had again taken independent charge of the province, Kaurā Mall, enlisted the help of about 10,000 Sikhs under Sardār Jassā Singh Ahlūvālīā. Shāh Nawāz Khān was killed in battle and Kaurā Mall reoccupied Multān. Mīr Mannū conferred the title of Mahārājā Bahādur on him and appointed him governor of Multān, Ṭhaṭṭā and Ḍerājāt. Kaurā Mall, in fulfilment of the promise given to the Sikhs, constructed Gurdwārā Bāl Līlā and a *sarovar* at Nankāṇā

hib and got desilted the Amritsar pool which had been filled up by Lakhpat Rāi during the governorship of Yāhiyā Khān. He so built a fortress named Garh Mahārājā at an ancestral village, near Shorkoṭ. The Sikhs now began to call him Miṭṭhā Mall, *miṭṭhā* in Punjabi meaning 'sweet' over against *kaurā* meaning 'bitter'.

During his governorship of Multān, Kaurā had established friendly relations with the āudpotrā chiefs of the neighbouring state of Bahāwalpur, quelled rebellions in Sāhivāl and Derā Ghāzī Khān and realized huge revenues of revenue due from the districts of Ferozshāh, Shorkoṭ, Koṭ Kamālīā, and Chiniot. In October 1751, in view of the impending British invasion of India by Ahmad Shāh Abdullāh, Mir Mannū again summoned Kaurā to Lahore. Kaurā Mall tried to buy peace with the invader, by-passing Mir Mannū's advanced positions across the Rāwī, laid siege to Lahore, he prepared to fight, soliciting help from the Sikhs again. The final battle took place at Mahmūd Būṭī, some distance from Lahore, on 6 March 1752. Kaurā Mall fought valiantly, but was shot at and killed by the Bāzīd Khān of Kasūr at the instance of his treacherous and jealous ally, Ādīnā Beg, *vajdār* of Jalandhar Doāb.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Balbīr Singh, *Srī Charanharī Visthār*. Amritsar, 1942
 Gaṇḍā Singh, *Kaurā Mal Bahādur*. Amritsar, 1942
 Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914
 Harbans Singh, *Bhai Vir Singh*. Delhi, 1972

B.S.

KAUR SINGH, a prominent associate of Bhai Mahārāj Singh (d. 1856), was an influential resident of Sūjovāl, near Baṭālā, in Gurdāspur district of the Punjab. At Sūjovāl Bhai Mahārāj Singh and his revolutionary group had established their headquarters after the second Anglo-Sikh war. Kaurā Singh put them up in his house where he also stored up the

grain and other grain they had collected for use during the proposed operations against the British. Kaurā Singh also worked among the people of his area to prepare them for the uprising.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahluwalia, M.L., *Bhai Maharaj Singh*. Patiala, 1972

M.L.A.

KAUR SINGH NIHAṄG, AKĀLĪ (1886-1953), scholar and religious preacher, was the eldest son of Bhai Mahān Singh and Māi Karam Kaur of Paddhar, a small village near Chakār in that part of Jammū and Kashmīr which is now under Pakistan's occupation. The family traced its descent from one Trilokī Nāth, who was among the group of Kashmīrī Brāhmaṇs who had travelled to Chakk Nānakī (Anandpur) in 1675 to tell Gurū Tegh Bahādur how they suffered persecution at the hands of the Mughal satrap. Trilokī Nāth's son, Amolak Nāth, who was Akālī Kaur Singh's great-grandfather, received the rites of Khālsā baptism and became Amolak Singh. Kaur Singh, whose original name was Pūran Singh, was born on 28 June 1886. He studied Sikh scriptural texts, Sanskrit, Braj and Indian system of medicine under Bāvā Mahān Singh Bedī of Dupatṭā village in his native state. In 1904, he came in contact with Giānī Bāgh Singh, a well-known scholar of Peshāwar, whom he accepted as his teacher. Pūran Singh became a skilled speaker and took part in debates espousing the Sikh faith in the *odium theologium* launched by Ārya Samāj spokesmen. In 1906 he went on a pilgrimage to Takht Srī Hazūr Sāhib Abchalnagar, Nāndēd, where he took the rites of the double-edged sword and became a Nihaṅg renamed Kaur Singh. He started signing himself as Akālī Kaur Singh Nihaṅg. Then followed a long period of travels throughout the length and breadth of India and Afghanistan preaching the message of the Gurūs. In 1907, he started work on a line-

wise alphabetical index of the entire text of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Completed in 1920, it was published in March 1923 under the title *Guru Shabad Ratan Prakāsh* popularly known as *Tuk-tatkarā*.

Some time after 1920, Akālī Kaur Singh returned to his native Kashmir where he became very popular as a deeply religious man and social reformer. In June 1928, he established at Chakār an institution named Gurū Nānak Āshram, with a residential school for imparting general as well as religious education. He also set up a library and published a school bulletin called *Āshram Samāchār*, later redesignated *Kashmīr Sikh Samāchār*. He also opened a chain of schools in small villages around Chakār. After the attack of tribal invaders from Pakistan in 1947, Akālī Kaur Singh devoted himself to the task of resettling the Kashmīrī refugees.

Besides the *Guru Shabad Ratan Prakāsh* (1923), Akālī Kaur Singh published in 1929 an index of Bhāī Gurdās's works. Among his other publications were Kavī Saināpati's *Srī Gur Sobhā* (1925) and a standard breviary or missal of daily Sikh prayers, *Gurkā Pramāṇik Nitnem* (1927). His *Buddhībāridh Hitopadesh Ratnākar* was a Gurmukhī transcript of *Pañchtantra*, a Sanskrit classic. His original works include *Sukh Sāgar arthāt Ghar dā Vaid*, a treatise on Āyurvedic system of medicine and *Istrī Saṅkaṭ Mochan*, a forceful plea for the social uplift of women (1925).

At Paṭiālā in 1952 (28 November), Akālī Kaur Singh suffered a stroke as he was travelling from Delhi to Saṅgrūr, the site of a Kashmīrī refugee camp, and was admitted to the Rājindra Hospital. He died there on the evening of 23 January 1953.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Atar Singh, *Jivan Britānt Akālī Kaur Singh Nihaṅg*. Chandigarh, 1971
2. Himmat Singh, *Akālī Kaur Singh*. Patiala, 1979

Gr.S.

KEDĀRĪ, BHĀĪ, or Bhāī Kidārī, a Lūmī Khatrī of Baṭālā, received the rites of initiation at the hands of Gurū Aṅga. According to Giānī Giān Singh, *Twārīh Gurū Khālsā*, Bhāī Kedārī was one of the Sikhs chosen by Gurū Amar Dās to accompany Bhāī Jeṭhā (later Gurū Rām Dās) to the Mughal court at Lahore to answer a complaint lodged by some jealous Brāhmaṇs and Khatrīs against the teaching of Gurū Nānak. Bhāī Kedārī also held charge of *mañjī* or preaching district. Bhāī Gurdās has praised him as *vaddā bhagat*, i.e. a devotee *par excellence*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1953
2. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā*. Patiala, 1971

B.S.I

KEHAR SINGH, a Ghadr leader, was the son of Nihāl Singh of the village of Marhānā in Amritsar district. Like many other farmers from his district, he left home to seek his fortune in the United States of America. Responding to the call of the Ghadr Party to make a revolution in India, he set out on his return journey and arrived at Delhi in January 1915. By now he was 62 years old. He was arrested and tried in the first Lahore conspiracy case. The charges against him were that he had in his possession three revolvers, ammunition, and three bombs; that he had contributed Rs 1,000 to the common fund at one time and Rs 100 at another, and that a spy, Kirpāl Singh, had met him and other conspirators on 18 February 1915 at the village of Dadeha and had exchanged certain articles for three inkpot bombs, some phials and a bottle of acid.

Kehar Singh was sentenced to transportation for life and forfeiture of property. He died in the Andamans where he continued fighting till the end against the

human treatment meted out to the prisoners.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Sainīsarā, G.S., *Ghadar Pārṭī dā Itihās*. Jalandhar, n.d.
 Jagjit Singh, *Ghadar Pārṭī Lahir*. Delhi, 1979
 Nāhar Singh, Giāni, *Azādī diān Lahirān*. Ludhiana, 1960
 Mathur, J.P., *Indian Revolutionary Movement in the United States of America*. Delhi, 1970

S.S.J.

KEHAR SINGH, BHĀĪ (1869-1921), one of the Nankāṇā Sāhib martyrs, was the eldest of the three sons of Bhāī Jīvan Singh and Bhāī Harnām Kaur of the village of Jarg, in the Nankāṇā Sāhib state. Kehar Singh grew up into a strongly-built, fair-complexioned, young man much interested in wrestling and weightlifting. In 1887, he joined army service during which he rendered distinguished service in several anti-tribesmen operations in the North-West Frontier Province winning seven medals. He was a known marksman in his attalion.

Bhāī Kehar Singh remained a bachelor until towards the end of his service when he married the childless widow of a comrade who had died while still in service. He retired from the army in 1908 after 21 years of meritorious service on a pension of Rs 7 per month.

As the Gurdwārā Reform movement got under way, Bhāī Kehar Singh registered himself as a volunteer with Bhāī Lachhman Singh's *jaiḥā*. As he prepared to set out in obedience to the Panth's call on 19 February 1921, his young son, Darbārā Singh, defying the wishes of his father and entreaties of his grandmother, accompanied him. Both father and son met their end at the hands of the hired assassins of Mahant Naraiṇ Dās inside the sanctum sanctorum of Gurdwārā Janam Sthān, Nankāṇā Sāhib, on the morning of 20 February 1921. The boy, it is said, was burnt alive.

The Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak

Committee settled upon his grandmother a pension of Rs 135 per annum.

See NANKĀṆĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahidī Jīvan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

KEHAR SINGH SANDHĀŅVĀLĪĀ (d. 1864), son of Atar Singh Sandhāñvālīā, a collateral of Mahārājā Rañjīt Singh, was imprisoned, along with his uncle Lahiṇā Singh Sandhāñvālīā, by Mahārājā Sher Singh in January 1842 for conspiring against the State. As long as he remained in Lahore, he endeavoured, at the instigation of Ajīt Singh and Atar Singh Sandhāñvālīā, then in British territory, to foment trouble and subvert the authority of Mahārājā Sher Singh. At the time of the murders in Lahore of Mahārājā Sher Singh and his son Partāp Singh on 15 September 1843, he was with his father at Thānesar. When in May 1844, Atar Singh, with a small force, crossed the Sutlej to join Kañvar Pashaurā Singh, Kehar Singh accompanied his father. He escaped unharmed in the contest that occurred. He continued to live at Thānesar in British territory where he died in 1864.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Chopra, Barkat Rai, *Kingdom of the Punjab*. Hoshiarpur, 1969

B.J.H.

KESĀDHĀRĪ, a term defining a Sikh as one who carries on his head the full growth of his *kes* (hair) which he never trims or cuts for any reason. Anyone, Sikh or non-Sikh, may keep the hair unshorn, but for a Sikh *kes*, unshorn hair, is an article of faith and an inviolable vow. The *Sikh Rahit Maryādā* published by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā

Parbandhak Committee, statutory body for the control and management of Sikh shrines and by extension for laying down rules about Sikh belief and practice, issued in 1945, after long and minute deliberations among Sikh scholars and theologians, defines a Sikh thus:

Every Sikh who has been admitted to the rites of *amrit*, i.e. who has been initiated as a Sikh, must allow his hair to grow to its full length. This also applies to those born of Sikh families but [who] have not yet received the rites of *amrit* of the tenth master, Gurū Gobind Singh.

All codes and manuals defining Sikh conduct are unanimous in saying that uncut hair is obligatory for every Sikh. One of them, Bhāi Chaupā Singh's, records, "The Gurū's Sikh must protect the hair, comb it morning and evening and wash it with the curd. And he must not touch it with unclean hands."

Bhāi Nand Lāl quotes Gurū Gobind Singh:

My Sikh shall not use the razor. For him the use of razor or shaving the chin shall be as sinful as incest... For the *Khālsā* such a symbol is prescribed so that a Sikh cannot remain undistinguishable from among a hundred thousand Hindus or Muslims; because how can he hide himself with hair and turban on his head and with a flowing beard?

Bhāi Desā Singh, in his *Rahitnāmā* imparts a theological edge to his statement:

God created the whole universe and then he fashioned the human body. He gave men beard, moustaches and hair on the head. He who submits to His Will steadfastly adheres to them. They who deny His Will how will they find God in this world?

Trimming or shaving is forbidden to Sikhs and constitutes for them the dire apostasy. The truest wish of a true Sikh is to be able "to preserve the hair on his head to his last breath." This was the earnest prayer arising out of Sikh hearts in the days of cruel persecution in the eighteenth century when to be a Sikh meant to be under the penalty of death. The example is cited from those dark days of Bhāi Tārū Singh, the martyr who disdainfully spurned all tempting offers of the Mughal persecutor if only he would convert to Islam:

"How do I fear for my life? Why must I become a Musalmān? Don't Musalmāns die? Why should I abandon my faith? May my faith endure until my last hair — until my last breath," said Tārū Singh.

The Nawāb tried to tempt him with offers of lands and wealth. When he found Tārū Singh inflexible, he decided to have his scalp scraped from his head. The barbers came with sharp lancets and slowly ripped Bhāi Tārū Singh's skull. He rejoiced that the hair of his head was still intact.

The importance of *kes* (Sikhs' unshorn hair) has been repeatedly demonstrated to them during their history. The hair has been their guarantee for self-preservation. Even more importantly, the prescription has meaning for them far transcending the mundane frame of history.

A term which has had parallel usage in the Sikh system is *Sahajdhārī*. A *sahajdhārī* is not a full Sikh, but one on his way to becoming one. He is in the Gurū's path, but has not yet adopted the full regalia of the faith. He fully subscribes to the philosophy of the Gurūs; he does not own and believe in any other Gurū or deity. His worship is the Sikh worship; only he has not yet adopted the full style of a Singh. Since he subscribes to no other form of worship or belief than the one prescribed for Sikhs, a concession was extended to him to call himself a Sikh — a *sahajdhārī* Sikh, a gradualist who would

gradually tread the path and eventually become a full-grown *Khālsā*. One venerable instance from among the contemporaries of Gurū Gobind Singh, who introduced the order of the *Khālsā*, was Bhāi Nand Lāl, who composed beautiful poetry in honour of Gurū Gobind Singh and who had the privilege even of laying down a code for the Sikhs.

The more recent Gurdwārā enactment, passed by Indian Parliament in 1977, at the instance of Sikhs providing for the control and management of the Sikh places of worship in the territory of Delhi, apart from the Punjab, further tightened the definition of a Sikh and made it more explicit laying down "untrimmed hair" as an essential condition for him to be treated as a Sikh under the Act.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jogendra Singh, *Sikh Ceremonies*. Chandigarh, 1968
2. *Sikh Rahit Maryādā*. Amritsar, 1964
3. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Rahitnāme*. Amritsar, 1989

P.S.S.

KESARĪ CHAND, Rājā of Jasvān, a tiny hill state situated in the foothills of the Śivāliks. Besides being a close relation, he was a confidant and ally of Rājā Bhīm Chand of Kahlūr, who once deputed him to Anandpur to seek from Gurū Gobind Singh the loan of an expensive tent and a rare elephant. Rājā Bhīm Chand was playing a ruse on Gurū Gobind Singh who, seeing through the design, told his emissary that he could not part with what were the offerings and presents of his Sikhs. Kesarī Chand joined the hill chiefs who fought Gurū Gobind Singh in the battle of Bhaṅgāni in 1688. He also took part in the battle of Anandpur (AD 1700), and was killed in action.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*.
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*.

Amritsar, 1927-33

3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
4. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1966

K.S.T.

KESAR SINGH (1875-?), one of the leading organizers and first vice-president of the Hindustāni Association of the Pacific Coast (of the United States), more commonly known as the *Ghadr Party*. Born in 1875, he was the son of Bhūp Singh and came from the village of *Ṭhaṭgarh*, in Amritsar district. He served for two years in a cavalry regiment in India before going to Shanghai in 1902 where he worked as a watchman. In 1909, he emigrated to the United States and settled in Astoria (Oregon), where he was employed in a lumber-mill.

Early in 1912, an organization known as the Hindustāni Association was formed in Portland (Oregon) to look after the interests of Indians in the United States. Kesar Singh was elected president of the branch established in Astoria and deputed to invite Har Dayāl, a noted revolutionary, to come from Berkeley, California, to meet the various branches of the Association. Har Dayāl accepted the invitation and was the principal speaker at meetings held in several parts of Oregon state. During this time the Hindustāni Association of the Pacific Coast was founded. In addition to being elected vice-president, Kesar Singh was named a member of the fund raising committee of the central organization. He also served as president of the Astoria branch. He later went to San Francisco and assisted in the setting up of a press at the Yugāntar Āshram where the Association's newspaper, *Ghadr*, was published.

Kesar Singh was one of the participants in the meeting of the *Ghadr Party* held at the Yugāntar Āshram in August of 1914 when it was decided to exhort all Indians to return to India to make an armed rebellion against

the British. He left for his native land at the end of that month, having been designated, according to later testimony at the first Lahore conspiracy trial, as “one of those whose instructions were to be followed.” On the voyage he addressed the passengers on several occasions to sustain their ardour. Reaching Hong Kong, Kesar Singh lectured to gatherings at the Gurdwārā and took part in meetings with other groups of Chadrites who had arrived by different ships. He was elected a member of the central committee which was to plan action in India. En route from Hong Kong, Kesar Singh attempted to win over the troops at Penang, and when his ship was held over because of the activities of its passengers, he was one of the delegation which called upon the Governor of the State to have the ship released. When he arrived in India, he was declared to be a “dangerous” person under the Ingress Ordinance of 1914 and was interned in jail. Tried in the first Lahore conspiracy case (1915), he was convicted and sentenced to death, with forfeiture of property. Although he refused to petition for mercy, his sentence was commuted to transportation for life by the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge.

Kesar Singh is said to have been taken ill after Independence and was admitted to a hospital in Amritsar from where, according to some reports, he “disappeared and never returned.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jas, Jaswant Singh, *Desh Bhagat Bābe*. Jalandhar, 1975
2. Deol, G.S., *Chadar Pārī ate Bhavāt dā Qaumī Andolan*. Amritsar, 1970
3. Sainsarā, G.S., *Chadr Pārī dā Itihās*. Jalandhar, n.d.
4. Nāhar Singh, Giānī, *Azādī diān Lahirān*. Ludhiana, 1960
5. Mathur, J.P., *Indian Revolutionary Movement in the United States of America*. Delhi, 1970

G.S.D.

KESAR SINGH (d. 1935), a Sikh virtuoso of

the Qur’ān. How Arabic sat upon Sikh lips will be a fascinating question to ask. Arabic when she came to India made good friends with the languages of India. They took note of its sonorous periods and resonant style of recitation. There were Indians at that time who had gained remarkable proficiency in cross-cultural expression. Rājā Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) was one of them. He had mastered both Sanskrit and Arabic. A Sikh scholar who had established unquestioned authority in Arabic letters was Sardār Sir Attar Singh of Bhadaur (1833-1896). He carried the dual distinction of formal certification in both areas — in Arabic as well as in Sanskrit. In the former he was honoured with a Shamas ul-'Ulemā and in the latter with a Mahāmahopādhyāya. He commuted between these two worlds of learning with sovereign ease and distinction. There had likewise been scholars before and after them claiming mastery of both. At least two of them were venerable Sanskrit and Arabic scholars. They were Sardār Thākur Singh Sandhānvālīā (1837-1887) and Kaṅvar Bikramā Singh of Kapūrthālā (1835-1887).

To return to Kesar Singh, the life of the Sikh who knew the Qurān by heart was as unusual as was his original name, Akbar Singh. He was the youngest of three sons of Thaman Singh, who owned 20 acres of land, partly irrigated by canal, in Dāngri village, in Paṭiālā state. He had three sisters. In those days every additional hand, boy or girl, was needed for cultivation and farmers as a rule did not send their children to school.

Akbar Singh tended his father’s cattle until he was 12. He wanted to go to school. Being sick of a cowherd’s life, he ran away from home and reached his maternal uncle, who welcomed his nephew and had him admitted to Government Middle School, Deherū, five miles away.

Akbar Singh went to school on foot, like boys of other neighbouring villages. In those days the middle school examination was also

conducted by the university.

Mr Trump, the chief inspector of schools, who came to hold the examination was surprised at the queer name, Akbar Singh.

The inspector ordered his name to be changed to Kesar Singh. His certificate of University of the Pañjāb, Lahore, dated 11 June 1885, certified Kesar Singh as having passed the Vernacular Middle School examination held in April 1885. At the left hand top of the certificate, his original name, Akbar Singh Deherū, is written in Persian.

Kesar Singh joined class 9 in Government Model School, Pañjālā, which was located in one wing of Mohindrā College. After Matriculation he joined Mohindrā College.

Kesar Singh topped the university in BA and won the Viceroy's (Northbrook) Gold Medal and university scholarship for postgraduate studies. As Mohindrā College had no M.A. classes, his M.A. was from Lahore Oriental College run by Pañjāb University. Of all the subjects, he chose Arabic, which normally Muslims opted for. He stood first, in the first class, in the final examination.

Those who believe in rebirth would perhaps interpret the phenomenon in these terms. Kesar Singh must have been a Muslim in his previous birth, and an Arabic scholar to boot.

There being only one college in the state of Pañjālā in which the post of Arabic teacher had already been filled up, Kesar Singh joined service as science master in Government Middle School, Bhavānigarh.

Some years later, he was transferred to Mohindrā College as Lecturer-cum-Librarian.

After 15 years as Lecturer-cum-Librarian, he was transferred to Foreign Office or Munshī Khānā as it was commonly called. He wrote English, Persian/Urdu and Sanskrit in a beautiful hand.

Kesar Singh's last assignment was that of a *vakīl* at Toorāvati in Jaipur state. Pañjālā

state appointed *vakīls* in the states and in *āngrezī ilāqā* (British Indian territory) which had a common border with the state. The *vakīls* acted as the state's representatives and watched its interests.

Kesar Singh quoted from the holy Qurān, Hadīth, renowned Persian poets like Shaikh Sā'dī and Hāfiz and from Sanskrit classics as fluently as he quoted Gurbānī in his letters to his only son, Partāp Singh, to educate him and advise him.

Eventually, Partāp Singh became a doctor and joined state service. In one of his letters, quoting from the Holy Qurān, Kesar Singh wrote to his son thus: "Dear Partāp Singh, always keep in mind what moral comes from the sacred verse — it says that when the near and dear ones of a dying man lose all hope, they lay him on the floor. That scene you must always keep before your eyes while serving ailing humanity and preparing medico-legal reports at your place of posting. Never give a false report. This is very important."

In another letter Kesar Singh quoted the Prophet as having said that the ink of a scholar is more precious than the blood of a martyr.

Kesar Singh had a close relationship with Sardār Dyāl Singh Majīthiā, the founder of *The Tribune*, Dyāl Singh College and Dyāl Singh Library at Lahore. Kesar Singh's first cousin, Bhagvān Kaur, was married to Sardār Dyāl Singh Majīthiā. She could read and write Punjabi (Gurmukhī) and was well-versed in Sikh scriptures and was matchless in beauty. She had great influence upon her husband.

While the exact date of birth of Kesar Singh was not known, he was said to have been born 12 years after the Mutiny, i.e. in 1869. He died in 1935, of pneumonia, after a short illness. He was 65.

His son, Dr Partāp Singh, has made his home in Pañjālā. On a stipend given by Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh, he entered King

Edwards Medical College, Lahore, where he received his M.B.B.S. in 1924-25. Today, at 96, he sounds as truly as a bell. He regularly goes out for his morning walk. He travels, attends his professional meetings and scarcely ever misses a conference or symposium of his interest at the Punjabi University.

R.S.D.

KESAR SINGH, BHĀĪ (1875-1921), one of the Nankāṇā Sāhib martyrs, was the son of Bhāi Mīhān Singh and Māi Bhāgaṇ, farmers of moderate means of Bharokī village in Gujraṇwālā district, who later migrated to Sheikhūpurā district. He was a simple peasant with a large family of three sons and six daughters to support. Bhāi Kesar Singh had Nāmdhāri leanings until, under the influence of the Gurdwārā Reform movement, he turned an Akālī. He accompanied Bhāi Lachhman Singh Dhārovālī's *Jathā* which perished at the hands of the hired assassins of Mahant Narain Dās, the custodian of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān.

The Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee settled upon the family an annual pension of Rs 180.

See NANKĀṆĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jivan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

KESAR SINGH, BHĀĪ (1893-1921), one of the martyrs of Nankāṇā Sāhib, was born on 3 Bhādoṅ 1950 BK/17 August 1893, the son of Bhāi Pāl Singh and Māi Lachchī of Chakk No 38 Nizāmpur Devā Singhvālā, in Sheikhūpurā district. He made his living by cattle-grazing. Blessed with a sweet singing voice, he used to recite Sikh hymns in the village *gurdwārā* and snatches from Giānī Kartār Singh Kalāsvālī's versified accounts of Sikh martyrs at lay gatherings. When the call came from Nankāṇā, Bhāi Kesar Singh,

ignoring the protestations of his family, joined Bhāi Lachhman Singh Dhārovālī's *jathā* which was massacred to a man on 20 February 1921.

See NANKĀṆĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jivan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

KESHO DĀS, a *tāntrika* (practitioner of magical techniques) of Vārāṇasī, once came to Gurū Gobind Singh at Anandpur and claimed that, if necessary facilities and provisions were made available to him, he could make the goddess Durgā manifest — the goddess who would eliminate oppression from the world. Though Gurū Gobind Singh was not impressed by Kesho Dās's claim, some in the audience were. The Gurū, in order to demonstrate the futility of *tantra* and other such cults, permitted Kesho Dās to carry out his experiment. For months the Brāhman continued with his incantations living meanwhile on the Gurū's bounty, but no goddess appeared. At last the Brāhman for fear of exposure absconded. Gurū Gobind Singh declared to the *saṅgat* that the real goddess Durgā was the sword (as symbol of armed strength) which alone could overcome oppression and injustice.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

P.S.P.

KESHO GOPĀL, PAṆḌIT, a learned Brāhman, became a devotee of Gurū Amar Dās. According to Sarūp Dās Bhallā, *Mahimā Prakāsh*, he used to give discourses at the afternoon gatherings called by the

Gurū at Goindvāl. The words *keso gopāl paṇḍit*, appearing in the Gurū Granth Sāhib in the composition entitled *Sadd* and taken by traditional commentators as alluding to an historical person, have been proved by modern scholars, on the basis of linguistic analysis and textual interpretation, as referring generally to holy men of God. However, according to an old manuscript, Mahimā Prakāsh Srī Gurū Amar Dev, one Kesho Paṇḍit was head of a *mañjī*, appointed by Gurū Amar Dās. This Kesho Paṇḍit is most likely the same as Paṇḍit Kesho Gopāl.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*, Patiala, 1971
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
B.S.D.

KESRĀ SINGH, Gurū Gobind Singh's warrior Sikh, according to Sarūp Singh Kaushish, *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*, fell a martyr during a rearguard action while Gurū Gobind Singh and his Sikhs, disengaging themselves from the battle of Nirmohgarh, crossed the Sutlej and went towards Basālī on 14 October 1700.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Padam, Piārā Singh, ed., *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986
M.G.S.

KEVAL, village, now in Sirsā district of Haryāṇā and 17 km south of Talvaṇḍī Sābo (29°-59'N, 75°-5'E), is where, according to *Sākhī Pothī*, Gurū Gobind Singh, leaving Talvaṇḍī Sābo for the South on 30 October 1706, made his first overnight halt. Gurdwārā Pātshāhī X, a square hall with the domed sanctum in the middle, commemorates the

visit. The Gurdwārā is maintained by the village *saṅgat*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tirath Saṅgrahi*. Kankhal, 1975
M.G.S.

KHAḌŪR SĀHIB, an old village 19 km east of Tarn Tāran (31°-27'N, 74°-56'E) in Amritsar district of the Punjab, is sacred to the first three Gurūs. Gurū Nānak is said to have visited KhaḌŪr once to meet his disciple, Bhāi Jodhā, a Khaihrā Jatt. It was through Bhāi Jodhā's example that Bhāi Lahiṇā (later, Gurū Aṅgad) was led to seek Gurū Nānak's precept. Gurū Aṅgad's father, Bābā Pherū, having left his ancestral place, Matte-dī-Sarāi, and the temporary abode at Harike, had made KhaḌŪr his home. Bābā Pherū's sister Māi Bharāi was already married in KhaḌŪr; his son, Bhāi Lahiṇā, was now married here in 1519. After the anointment of Bhāi Lahiṇā as Gurū Aṅgad in 1539, he, following Gurū Nānak's instructions, returned to KhaḌŪr, which became the centre of the Sikh faith. He stayed here till his death in 1552. It was at KhaḌŪr that Amar Dās served him as a disciple and was in turn himself anointed Gurū. KhaḌŪr Sāhib has several *gurdwārās* commemorating the holy Gurūs.

GURDWĀRĀ TAPIĀNĀ SĀHIB, 200 metres north of the village, marks the site where Gurū Nānak, accompanied, according to local tradition, by Bhāi Bālā and Bhāi Mardānā, preached to a gathering of devotees. It was here again that the events of Gurū Nānak's life are said to have been recorded, in the form of a Janam Sākhī, as narrated by Bhāi Bālā. A small platform near the Gurdwārā marks the spot where Bhāi Bālā's mortal remains were cremated. The Gurdwārā comprises a square hall on a high plinth. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated on a

canopied throne of white marble. A lotus dome with an ornamental gold-plated pinnacle and an umbrella-shaped finial tops the hall, which also has a square-shaped domed kiosk above each of its corners. In front of the hall, in the middle of a one-acre brick-paved compound, is the *sarovar*.

GURDŪRĀ TAP ASTHĀN SRĪ GURŪ AṄGAD DEV JĪ, opposite Gurdwārā Tapiānā Sāhib, marks the site where Gurū Aṅgad used to sit in meditation. It is a square domed hall with domed cubicles at top corners. The central dome has a gold-plated pinnacle, an umbrella-shaped finial and a *khaṇḍā* at the apex.

GURDŪRĀ DARBĀR SĀHIB AṄGĪTHĀ SĀHIB, within a high-walled compound entered through an old two-storeyed gateway, comprises a square domed sanctum with a circumambulatory passage and a hall in the front. The sanctum marks the site where Gurū Aṅgad's body was cremated. Close by is a square domed marble pavilion called Killā Sāhib or Khaddī Sāhib. This was a weaver's pit, *khaddī* in Punjabi, where Bābā (later Gurū) Amar Das, carrying a pitcher of water for Gurū Aṅgad during a pitch dark night, stumbled against a *killā* or peg. An old well near the gateway, is called Bībī Amaro Jī dā Khūh, or the Well of Bībī Amaro, Gurū Aṅgad's daughter, whose hymn-singing had inspired Bābā Amar Dās to seek spiritual solace at the feet of Gurū Aṅgad.

GURDŪRĀ MĀI BHARĀI, about 100 metres to the west of Gurdwārā Darbār Sāhib, constructed where Māi Bharāi's house once stood, marks another site consecrated by Gurū Aṅgad. According to Sikh chronicles, Gurū Aṅgad, as he arrived at Khaḍūr, from Kartārpur where Gurū Nānak had anointed him his successor, decided to go into undisturbed meditation for some time. He

did not go to his own house, but shut himself up in a small room in Māi Bharāi's house and locked the door from inside. *Saṅgats* that went to Kartārpur to see the new Gurū were led to Khaḍūr by Bhāi Buḍḍhā who, risking the Gurū's displeasure, tore a hole into one of the walls of the room in Māi Bharāi's house. He bowed at the Gurū's feet and announced how the Sikhs waited outside for a sight of him. Gurū Aṅgad came out of his temporary seclusion to meet the disciples. The new building of Gurdwārā Māi Bharāi, constructed during the 1980's, is a high-ceilinged hall with a gallery at mid-height. Its walls are lined with streaked marble slabs. The sanctum at the far end of the hall is topped by three storeys of square pavilions and a dome all covered with white glazed tiles.

GURDŪRĀ MALL AKHĀRĀ, at the northern edge of the village, marks the site where wrestling bouts for the youth were held in the time of Gurū Aṅgad. *Mall akhārā* literally means wrestlers' pit. Here the Gurū also taught children Gurmukhī letters. Even now young scholars are trained here in reciting the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The present building is a square domed hall within a low-walled compound.

GURDŪRĀ THĀRĀ SĀHIB GURŪ AMAR DĀS, a small domed room, is built on a high plinth in the middle of a marble-floored platform. The Thārā, platform in Punjabi, marks the spot where Bābā (Gurū) Amar Dās used to sit in meditation when he was not physically engaged in serving Gurū Aṅgad or his Sikhs.

All these *gurdwārās* are managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gian Singh, Giāni, *Twārikh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.

2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Kankhal, 1975
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

D.S.B.

KHAIHRĀ, village 6 km southwest of Gurūsar Satlānī railway station in Amritsar district of the Punjab, has a historical shrine sacred to Gurū Hargobind, who once passed through here on his way from Lahore to Amritsar. Gurdwārā Bāolī Sāhib Pātshāhī Chheviñ, named after the *bāolī*, a well with steps going down to water level, is outside the village to the north of it. The present building, a hall with the sanctum in the middle, was constructed in 1920. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee but is managed by an old devotee, Bābā Jogindar Singh, who has been serving it since 1925. A major religious event is the annual fair held on 8 Sāvan, usually corresponding to 23 July.

Gn.S.

KHAI RĀBĀD, village 5 km northwest of Amritsar (31°-38'N, 74°-53'E), is sacred to Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644), who came here often following the chase and rested under a *Palāh* tree (*Butia fondosa*). Hence the name of the memorial shrine Gurdwārā Gurpalāh Pātshāhī Chheviñ or Gurdwārā Palāh Sāhib for short. The present buildings constructed during the 1980's include a marble-floored *dīvān* hall, with the sanctum in the middle and a verandah around it. A small *sarovar* is to the north and the residential quarters to the west of the hall. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. Besides the daily services and observance of major Sikh anniversaries, a largely attended fair takes place every year on 6 Assū, corresponding usually to 21 September.

Gn.S.

KHĀLRĀ, village 27 km northwest of the *tahsīl* township of Paṭṭī (31°-17'N, 74°-52'E) in Amritsar district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Nānak (1469-1539), who passed through here during his travels in these parts. The old shrine commemorating the visit was destroyed during the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965. A new building comprising an assembly hall, with the sanctum at its far end and a brick-lined terrace in the front, was raised by the local *saṅgat* in 1980. The Gurdwārā is managed by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurduānīn*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Kankhal, 1975
Gn.S.

KHĀLSĀ, from Arabic *khālis* (lit. pure, unsullied) and Perso-Arabic *khālisah* (lit. pure; office of revenue department; lands directly under government management), is used collectively for the community of baptized Sikhs. The term *khālisah* was used during the Muslim rule in India for crownlands administered directly by the king without the mediation of *jāgīrdārs* or *mansabdārs*. In the Sikh tradition, the term appears for the first time in one of the *hukamnāmās* (lit. written order or epistle) of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644) where a *saṅgat* of the eastern region has been described as *Gurū kā Khālsā* (Gurū's own or Gurū's special charge). It has also been employed in the same sense in one of the letters of Gurū Tegh Bahādūr (1621-75) addressed to the *saṅgat* of Paṭnā. The word occurs in Sikh Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib, once, but there it carries the sense of the term *khālis*, i.e. pure.

The term "Khālsā", however, acquired a specific connotation after Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) introduced, on 30 March

1699, the new form of initiatory rites — *khaṇḍe dī pāḥul* (rites by *khaṇḍā* or double-edged sword). Sikhs so initiated on that Baisākhi day were collectively designated as the *Khālsā* — *Khālsā* who belonged to *Vāhigurū*, the Supreme Lord. The phrase *Vāhigurū jī kā Khālsā* became part of the Sikh salutation: *Vāhigurū jī kā Khālsā, Vāhigurū jī kī Fateh* (Hail the *Khālsā* who belongs to the Lord God! Hail the Lord God to whom belongs the victory!!) It is significant that shortly before the inauguration of the *Khālsā* Gurū Gobind Singh had abolished the institution of *masands*, the Gurū's agents or intermediaries assigned to *saṅgat*, of different regions, and his *hukamnāmās* of the period confirm the de-recognition of *masands*, establishing a direct relation between the *saṅgats* and the Gurū. Saināpati, a poet enjoying the patronage of Gurū Gobind Singh, in his *Srī Gur Sobhā* relates how some Sikhs, when questioned how they had become *Khālsā* because *khālsā* was a term related to the king of Delhi, replied that their Gurū by removing his former *nāibs* or deputies called *masands* had made all Sikhs his *Khālsā*. Gurū Gobind Singh, at the time of his departure from this mortal world, conferred gurūship itself upon the *Khālsā* along with the holy Gurū Granth Sāhib. During the eighteenth century the volunteer force organized by the Sikhs was known as Dal *Khālsā* (lit. the *Khālsā* army). Even the government of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh (1780-1839) was called Sarkār-i-*Khālsā*. In Gurū Gobind Singh's *Dasam Granth*, and in many later religious and historical Sikh texts, such as *Sarbloh Granth*, *Prem Sumārg Granth*, *Gur Bilāses*, *Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth* and *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*, the *Khālsā* is repeatedly extolled as composed of men of excellent moral qualities, spiritual fervour and heroism.

The words "*Khālsā jī*" are also used loosely for addressing an individual Singh

or a group of them. However, it is more appropriate to use the term for the entire community or a representative gathering of it such as "*Khālsā Panth*" or "*Sarbatt Khālsā*." The *Khālsā* in this context implies the collective, spiritually-directed will of the community guided by the Gurū Granth Sāhib.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Ed. Shamsheer Singh Ashok. Patiala, 1968
2. Sukhā Singh, *Gurbilās Dasvīn Pātshāhī*. Lahore, 1912
3. Chhibbar, Kesar Singh, *Bansāvalināmā Dasān Pātshāhīān Kā*. Ed. Rattan Singh Jaggi. Chandigarh, 1972
4. Kapur Singh, *Prāsarpraśna*. Jalandhar, 1959
5. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1994
G.S.

KHĀLSĀ BAHĀDUR, by Chūhar Singh, is a 55-page-long poetic composition in the Malvāi dialect of the Punjabi language, describing the unique chivalry and sacrifice of the twenty-one Sikh soldiers of the 36th Sikh Regiment at Sārāgarhī in AD 1897. Written in the *baint* verse-form, the poem was completed on 13 November 1915 at the village, Balliāl, near Bhavānīgarh in Paṭiālā district. The author based his text on the information he gathered from the Sikh soldiers on leave. The poem begins with a supplication to God Almighty followed by one to the Gurūs, the Gurū Granth Sāhib and the *Dasam Granth*. The narrative opens with the raising of the 36th Sikh Regiment, followed by an account of the Paṭhān tribes of the North-West Frontier Province and of the fierce battle between the Indian army and the Paṭhāns. The strong resistance put up by a handful of twenty-one Sikh soldiers, who died to a man defending the Sārāgarhī post (12 September 1897) against a horde of thousands of Afrīdī Paṭhāns, has since become a legend. It has been rendered in the poem in most glowing terms. The poem

also refers to the memorial monuments raised at Sārāgarhī, Amritsar and Fīrozpur in honour of the martyrs. Although the purpose of the poet was to celebrate the gallantry of the Sikh soldier, historical fact is not disregarded.

Gr.S.

KHĀLSĀ BARĀDARĪ, a social organization of Sikhs belonging to backward classes, founded in 1914. The moving spirit behind it was Bhāi Mahitāb Singh Bīr, whose father, Maulawī Karīm Bakhsh had, along with his children, embraced Sikhism in June 1903 and become famous as Sant Lakhmīr Singh. Bhāi Mahitāb Singh convened a meeting of the Sikhs from backward classes in 1914 in Bhāi Dasaundhā Singh's *dharamsālā* near Srī Darbār Sāhib, Amritsar, at which it was resolved to establish a society called **Khālsā Barādārī** with the object of preaching Sikh tenets among them, bring them into the **Khālsā** fold by administering to them the rites of *amrit* and reforming their social customs such as the giving of dowry and ostentatious display at weddings. Īshar Singh of Sarhālā Qāziān, Jalandhar district, was chosen president and Mahitāb Singh general secretary. Besides the central office in Amritsar, branches of **Khālsā Barādārī** were opened at several places in the districts of Amritsar, Lahore, Siālkoṭ and Sheikhūpurā. Bhāi Mahitāb Singh also launched a weekly journal in Punjabi, the *Bīr*, to promote the interests of the Barādārī and to campaign especially against caste and untouchability.

On 11 and 12 October 1920, the **Khālsā Barādārī** held a big religious gathering in the Jalliānvālā Bāgh at Amritsar which was attended by some professors of the **Khālsā** College. Elixir of the **Khālsā** was administered to a large number of Mazhabī and Rāmdāsīā Sikhs. At the end of the ceremonies on 12 October the congregation proceeded to the Darbār Sāhib where the newly initiated Sikhs

were to make offering of *kaṛāh prasād*, the Sikh sacrament, for distribution among the *saṅgat*. The priests of the Darbār Sāhib refused to accept the *kaṛāh prasād* and recite *ardās* on their behalf. Protest was raised against this discrimination towards Sikhs from certain castes. A compromise was at last reached and it was decided that the Gurū's word be sought. The Gurū Granth Sāhib was, as is the custom, opened and the first verse on the page to be read was: "He receiveth the meritless (lowly) into grace, and puts them in the path of righteous service..." (GG, 638). The Gurū's verdict was clearly in favour of those whom the clergy would not accept as full members of the community. The group thereafter marched to the Akāl Takht to offer prayers, but found that the priests had disappeared, leaving the shrine unattended. The reformist Sikhs, Bhāi Kartār Singh Jhabbar and Bhāi Tejā Singh Bhuchchar, filled the gap and a committee consisting of 25 Sikhs including a few members of the backward classes was formed to take over control of the Akāl Takht. In this way the **Khālsā Barādārī** indirectly heralded the Gurdwārā Reform movement for wresting control of Sikh shrines from the hands of the conservative and effete priestly order, securing at the same time recognition for the so-called low-caste Sikhs as equal members of the community.

During 1939-41, **Khālsā Barādārī** organized a series of conferences urging members of the backward classes to enlist themselves as Sikhs at the ensuing census (1941) and demanding reservation of seats for them in the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, a representative body of the Sikhs for managing Sikh shrines. It also demanded enrolment of Mazhabī and Rāmdāsīā Sikhs in the armed forces. With most of its demands conceded in course of time, the Barādārī became redundant. It virtually ceased to exist after the death in 1960 of its founder, Bhāi Mahitāb Singh Bīr.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975
2. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
P.S.G.

KHĀLSĀ CENTRAL COUNCIL, a society formed in Lahore in 1933 to safeguard the interests of the Sikhs, had a very short career. The occasion for the formation of the Council arose when Giānī Sher Singh and Master Tārā Singh, two prominent Sikh leaders of pre-partition Punjab, openly confronted each other soon after the announcement by the British government of the Communal Award (1932). The Sikhs deplored the Award as it did not meet their political aspirations. A Sikh organization called the **Khālsā Darbār** representing all sections of the Sikhs to launch an agitation against the Communal Award was formed, but it was soon plagued with group rivalries. Leaving the **Khālsā Darbār**, Giānī Sher Singh and his supporters held a meeting in the Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, on 28 September 1933 where they formed the **Khālsā Central Council**, on the lines similar to those of the **Khālsā Darbār**. The new organization comprised three sub-organizations called the **Khālsā Akālī Dal**, the **Khālsā Missionary Society** and the **Khālsā National League**. According to the constitution of the **Khālsā Central Council**, these bodies were to spread Sikh religion, organize the Panth for its political advancement, work for the freedom of the country, and carry on a campaign to have the Communal Award scrapped. The membership of the **Khālsā Central Council**, mostly owing allegiance to Giānī Sher Singh, primarily belonged to upper and middle class Sikhs. Master Tārā Singh's group, however, continued to hold sway over the Sikh masses and the **Khālsā Central Council** ceased to exist without leaving any perceptible mark on Sikh affairs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Caveeshar, Sardul Singh, *The Sikh Studies*. Lahore, 1937
2. Gulati, K.C., *The Akalis: Past and Present*. Delhi, 1974
K.C.G.

KHĀLSĀ DARBĀR, an organization representing different Sikh parties established on 27 September 1932 at Lahore to resist the operation of what had come to be known as the Communal Award announced by the British Government on 16 August 1932. Earlier, anticipating these proposals, an all-party Sikh conference convened on 28 July 1932 under the presidentship of Giānī Sher Singh, vice-president of Central Sikh League, had rejected the Award for having ensured the Muslims a permanent majority in the Punjab Legislature without providing any effective safeguards for the Sikhs. The Conference had nominated a 17-member Council of Action, which included such men as Master Tārā Singh, Giānī Sher Singh, Giānī Kartār Singh, Ujjal Singh, Sir Sundar Singh and Bābā Kharak Singh, to raise a Shahīdī Jathā of one lakh to fight for the interests and honour of the Sikh community. At its meeting on 26-27 September 1932, the Council which was presided over by Amar Singh, editor of the *Sher-i-Punjab*, resolved to establish **Khālsā Darbār**, with a maximum membership of 250 of whom 200 were to be elected by Sikhs within the Punjab and the remaining by those residing in other parts of India. It was in response to the resolution of this Council that Ujjal Singh and Sampūran Singh Lyāllpurī resigned from the consultative committee of the Round Table Conference. The Council also called upon Sikh members of the central and provincial legislatures to send in their resignations to the **Khālsā Darbār** which was authorized to forward them to the government whenever it thought fit.

The **Khālsā Darbār**, representing a variety

of opinion, soon became subject to internal dissensions. Eventually the Central Sikh League, which was one of its main constituents, proposed the merging of the Khālsā Darbār with it because both of them, it claimed, had identical aims. This merger was not liked by other groups which opposed it on the ground that the League was purely a political party in close alignment with Indian National Congress for the attainment of a political objective whereas the Khālsā Darbār was an organization established with the primary object of combating the Communal Award. A joint conference of the various Sikh parties then came out with the claim that the Khālsā Darbār was the premier political organization of the Sikhs and that any decision regarding the political rights of the Sikhs and the future constitution of India would not be acceptable to them unless endorsed by it. This transformed the basic concept of the Darbār. Its membership was thrown open to every Sikhs and its branches were established all over the country. But notwithstanding this support, it could never become a strong and united political party of the Sikhs. After a somewhat effete role in the Punjab politics, it became defunct in 1947.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gulati, K.C., *The Akalis: Past and Present*. Delhi, 1974
2. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
3. Nayar, Baldev Raj, *Minority Politics in the Punjab*. Princeton, 1966
4. Caveeshar, Sardul Singh, *The Sikh Studies*. Lahore, 1937

K.C.G.

KHĀLSĀ DARBĀR RECORDS, official papers in Persian, written in a running *shikastā* hand, pertaining to the civil, military and revenue administration of the Punjab under the Sikhs covering a period of 38 years, Samvat 1868 to Chet 1906 (AD 1811 to March 1849). These documents, which came into the hands of

the British after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, lay in heaps on the shelves of the vernacular office in the Civil Secretariat in Lahore and remained in that state untouched until work on arranging and classifying them started under the orders of the Lt-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer (1912-19). The task was undertaken by Sitā Rām Kohli who, spending four diligent years on putting them into order, published in 1919 the first volume of his 3-part catalogue. The records make up a total of 129 bundles, some of which contain several thousand sheets each. The paper used is of the kind commonly known as Kashmūrī or Siālkoṭī and the sheets, as a rule, measure 5"x7.5". Supplementary to these bundles are 15 manuscript volumes, bound in leather, containing duplicates of the orders issued to various government officials and the voluminous correspondence between the Sikh Darbār and the Ambālā and Ludhiāṇā political agencies of the British.

The documents fall into four different categories: *Daftar-i-Fauj*, *Daftar-i-Māl*, *Daftar-i-Toshākhānā* and *Jāgirāt*. The *Daftar-i-Fauj*, i.e. papers concerning the army, comprises mainly the pay rolls of the cavalry, infantry and artillery from which information can be obtained about the composition and strength of the Sikh army. Till 1813 the Punjabi or Jatt Sikh element in it was, for instance, meagre, the bulk being made up of the Hindustānīs, Gurkhās and Afghāns. After 1818, the Punjabi element, i.e. Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus, became predominant. Service in the Sikh army was, however, not restricted to any particular class or caste. In AD 1811, the strength was 2,852 infantry and 1,209 artillery. By 1845, the figure had risen to 70,721 with 53,962 infantry, 6,235 cavalry and 10,524 artillery. The infantry and cavalry were 60 per cent Sikh, 20 per cent Muslim and 20 per cent Hindu, whereas the artillery regiments were predominantly Muslim, some commanded by European officers. The total expenditure amounted to Rs 1,27,96,482

which was about one-third of the annual revenue of the State. Names of various generals, colonels and commandants also figure in these papers. The pay rolls reveal that a commandant's monthly salary ranged between Rs 60 and Rs 150; an adjutant's between Rs 30 and Rs 60; a major's between Rs 21 and Rs 25; a *sūbadār's* between Rs 20 and Rs 30; a *jamādār's* between Rs 15 and Rs 22; a *havildār's* between Rs 13 and Rs 15; a *nāik's* between Rs 10 and Rs 12; a sergeant's between Rs 8 and Rs 12; and a sepoy's between Rs 7 and Rs 8. Even the pay rolls of *beldārs*, blacksmiths, etc., attached to the army are also preserved. The date of transfer from one regiment to another or of removal whether by death, desertion or dismissal is invariably noted. The pay rolls and the *jamā'-kharch* (income and expenditure) papers show not only the expenditure on the three wings of the army, but also income from rents of shops in regimental bazars, sale proceeds of the property of men dying without heirs, and a return of the *in'āms* or awards bestowed upon infantry officers on the occasions of Dussehrā and Divālī.

The *Daftar-i-Māl*, i.e. papers concerning the revenue department, fall under three heads — receipts and disbursements (*awārjā*), adjustments (*tauzīhāt*) and the day-book of disbursements (*roznāmchā*). There existed in Sikh times a well-organized system of collecting the revenue and maintaining accounts, including those relating to the expenditure on the royal household. These records also provide information regarding the reorganization of *ta'alluqās* or administrative units. A general summary settlement of each *ta'alluqā* was undertaken and the areas of cultivable lands together with the liabilities and rights of the landlords over the paying tenants were recorded. The details of the districts and their subdivisions, the names of their *kārdārs* and governors and the estimated annual income of the State from various sources are also given. Likewise,

there are in the *Records* papers pertaining to *jāgīrs* of different kinds bestowed upon or assigned to civil and military officers, religious personages and shrines.

The *toshākhānā* papers relate to the royal wardrobe and the privy purse and contain inventories of treasures as well of confiscated properties. Ranjīt Singh was quick to take action against corrupt officers who were made to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth.

These records were, after the partition of 1947, shifted from Lahore to Shimlā, in what then became East Punjab. In 1959, they were brought to the Punjab State Archives, Paṭiālā, from where they were taken to the Archives Cell, Rām Bagh, Amritsar, in 1984.

B.J.H.

KHĀLSĀ DEFENCE OF INDIA LEAGUE was formed on 19 January 1941 at Lahore with the object of launching a movement among the Sikh masses for increased military enlistment for the defence of the country during the critical years of World War II and for maintaining and strengthening the special position of the Sikhs in the Indian army. A report prepared by a committee headed by an English General appointed by the British to look into the causes of the slow rate of Sikh recruitment sent to the Punjab Government was suppressed by the Premier, Sir Sikandar Hayāt Khān. The report had suggested that the good offices of Mahārājā Yādavinder Singh of Paṭiālā be utilized to step up the enlistment of Sikhs — a proposal which was not acceptable to Sir Sikandar for personal reasons. As the news leaked out, the Sikhs themselves took the initiative. A representative group of them waited upon the Mahārājā and requested him to lead a campaign among the Sikhs for recruitment so that their position in the army remained intact and the counsel of the British officers, who, in view of a few instances of insubordination, had recommended a total embargo being put on their entry into the

army could be nullified. As a result of these parleys, the Khālsā Defence of India League came into being, with the Mahārājā of Paṭiālā as the President-General. The main body of the League was composed of 150 members, 118 from British Punjab and 32 from the Sikh states. Sardār Raghbir Singh Sandhānvālīā of Rājā Sānsī was elected president and Sardār Baldev Singh, M.L.A. (later Defence Minister of India), Col Raghbir Singh of Paṭiālā and Sardār Bahādur Ranjīt Singh of Delhi vice-presidents. Among other office-bearers and those closely associated with the League were Sardār Beant Singh of Gurdāspur (secretary), Malik Mukhbain Singh, a judge of the Sikh Gurdwārās Tribunal, joint secretary, Sardār Kartār Singh Dīwānā propaganda secretary, Sardār Joginder Singh Mān, Sardār Jaswant Singh Dānevālīā, Malik Hardit Singh, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir Dātār Singh and Bhāi Shubhsheer Singh, Raīs of Arnaulī.

The League set up 22 branches in the districts of Karnāl, Hissār, Ambālā, Ludhiānā, Jalandhar, Hoshiārpur, Firozpur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gurdāspur, Siākoṭ, Sheikhpurā, Gujrañwālā, Sargodhā, Gujrāt, Jehlum, Rāwalpiñḍī, Multān, Muzaffarābād, Montgomery and Lyāllpur in the Punjab, and Peshāwar in the North-West Frontier Province. An extensive campaign was launched across the Punjab to rally Sikh youths to join the defence forces. Representations were made to the government to encourage the Sikh intake. Pre-cadet training classes were started for college students at Khālsā College at Amritsar and Mohindrā College at Paṭiālā, which enabled a large number of young Sikhs to qualify for entry into the army as commissioned officers. With the end of War in 1945 ended the work of the League, and it ceased to function after November 1946.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983

2. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Princeton, 1966

B.S.N.

KHĀLSĀ DHARAM SHĀSTAR, the Sikh manual of conduct enunciating Sikhs' social and religious duties was prepared under the patronage of Sodhī Rām Narain Singh, a scion of the Sodhī family of Srī Anandpur Sāhib and was published at Srī Gurmat Press, Amritsar, in the year Nānakshāhī 445 (AD 1914). The name of the author given in abbreviation may be deciphered as Avtār Singh Vahīrīā. The book contains 430 pages, excluding the introduction, the table of contents, the Anandpur genealogical table and a corrigendum. It is a manual of Sikh ceremonial and tenets; hence the name Pūrab Mīmānsā (after Pūrva Mīmānsā describing the Vedic ritual).

The book, according to the author, was written to preserve Sikhism in its pure form which appeared to him to be becoming garbled. The manuscript had been sent to various Sikh authorities and some amendments made in the light of suggestions received. The author claims to have given a true interpretation of the Sikh way of life as communicated by Sikhs who were contemporary of the Gurūs and as supported by the *Janam Sākhīs*, the *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, and handwritten *pothīs* or books available in various *gurdwārās*. He supports his argument by quotations from the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the *Dasam Granth*, Bhāi Gurdās' *Vārān* and the *Rahitnāmās* or books on the Sikh code of conduct.

The book stresses the independent identity of the Sikh faith. It is argued that Sikhism has its own individual philosophy, code of conduct and symbols and its own scripture. The author states that the Sikhs have respect for the Vedas, Shāstras and other religious books, but they do not accept them as their scripture; that status belongs to the Gurū Granth Sāhib only. At the same time

the author contends that Sikhism is part and parcel of Hinduism; it is a branch of Hinduism purified by removing evils that had crept into this ancient religion.

The contents are divided into nine parts, each with a separate heading. The first part is devoted to establishing the superiority of Sikh faith, the second deals with the rituals connected with the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the third is concerned with initiation ceremony of the Khālsā and the fourth describes the Khālsā code of conduct. The succeeding parts deal with Sikh shrines and institutions, punishments to be awarded for violation of the code, and social ceremonies and rites. The author has set down exhaustively the traditional rituals and ceremonies of Sikhism, classifying and elaborating practices, injunctions and penalties. Yet there are assertions contrary to Sikh belief and norms. For instance, admitting the abolition by Gurū Gobind Singh of the personal gurūship and accepting the apotheosization of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the author suggests that there should be seats set apart in the *gurdwārās* for the descendants of the Gurūs. Also, he favours a different form of initiation for Sikh women and suggests that they need not keep the *kirpān* like men.

At.S.

KHĀLSĀ DĪWĀN, afterwards renamed Central Mālvā Khālsā Pritinidhī Dīwān, Nābhā, was formed on 1 January 1906 at a large conclave of the Sikhs held in the princely town. The inspiration came from Tikkā Ripudaman Singh (1883-1943), heir apparent to the Nābhā throne, who was a staunch advocate of the Singh Sabhā doctrine, and his tutor Bhāi Kāhn Singh. A committee consisting of five members, Hazūrā Singh, Nihāl Singh, Bedī Hukam Singh, Raghbīr Singh and Mīhān Singh, was constituted the same day to administer the Dīwān. To help the committee, Sodhī Hirā Singh was nominated secretary and Gurdīāl

Singh assistant secretary. Among the aims of the Dīwān were the propagation of the Sikh faith and the Sikh way of life and customs, spread of education among the Sikhs, uplift of women so as to bring them on equal footing with men, and better management of Sikh religious places. The Dīwān remained fairly active in its appointed sphere of work till 1911, but after that it gradually lapsed into oblivion owing mainly to the waning interest on the part of Ripudaman Singh who became the Mahārājā of Nābhā after the death on 25 December 1911 of his father, Mahārājā Sir Hirā Singh.

S.S.A.

KHĀLSĀ DĪWĀN AMRITSAR, established at Amritsar on 11 April 1883 to oversee and provide direction to the work of the Singh Sabhā. This reform movement had originated in Amritsar with the formation of the first Singh Sabhā on 1 October 1873. Singh Sabhās began springing up in other places, the one at Lahore being formed on 2 November 1879. Amritsar and Lahore Singh Sabhās joined hands to evolve a common platform under the name of General Sabhā set up at Amritsar on 11 April 1880. The General Sabhā turned itself on 11 April 1883 into the Khālsā Dīwān, the central body to which thirty-six Singh Sabhās were initially affiliated. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and Rājā Bikram Singh of Farīdkoṭ were its patrons with Bābā Khem Singh Bedī as president and Bhāi Gurmukh Singh as chief secretary. The Dīwān addressed itself to the tasks of religious and social reform and the promotion of education. It was the first representative organization of the Sikhs and at the time of the visit to Amritsar of the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, it presented to him on 11 April 1885 an address stressing mainly the educational backwardness of the community and seeking the means to redress it. But the Dīwān suffered a setback as a schism occurred

between the Amritsar and Lahore Singh Sabhās. The Lahore group was especially critical of the way Bābā Khem Singh Bedī, being a direct lineal descendant of Gurū Nānak, was apotheosized by his followers and how he sat in the *sangat* on a special seat, *gadailā* or cushion even in the presence of the Gurū Granth Sāhib for which reason the Amritsar group was pejoratively called the Gadailā Party. Opinion was sharply divided at the annual meeting of the Khālsā Dīwān in April 1884 when the Rāwalpiṇḍī Singh Sabhā under the influence of Bābā Khem Singh proposed that the name of the Singh Sabhā be changed to Sikh Singh Sabhā to enable non-baptized Sikhs to enroll as members. This was strongly opposed by the Lahore spokesman, Bhāi Gurmukh Singh, and the meeting broke up in confusion.

The publication in May 1885 of a book in Urdu entitled *Khurshīd Khālsā*, written by Bāvā Nihāl Singh, caused further antagonism between the two groups. The book contained passages against the government and in favour of Mahārājā Duleep Singh who had by that time turned a rebel. To this the Lahore party objected and asked the author to withdraw the book. Gurmukh Singh as secretary of the Khālsā Dīwān issued a letter in October 1885, clearing the Dīwān of any connection with the publication and throwing the entire blame on the author, who had the backing of the Amritsar faction. As the differences came to a head, the Lahore group split from the parent body and set up on 11 April 1886 a separate organization called the Khālsā Dīwān Lahore. The truncated Amritsar Dīwān was left with fewer than 10 Singh Sabhās affiliated to it — three important ones among them being those of Amritsar, Rāwalpiṇḍī and Farīdkot. A new constitution of the Dīwān adopted in September 1887 failed to stem the decline; it in fact accelerated the process. Under the new scheme the Dīwān split itself into two divisions — the upper house called Mahān

Khaṇḍ representing the aristocracy and the lower house Samān Khaṇḍ representing the common people. Bābā Khem Singh was president of the former and Mān Singh, manager of Srī Darbār Sāhib, Amritsar, of the latter, with Rājā Bikram Singh as patron at the apex. The Dīwān became defunct with the establishment of the Chief Khālsā Dīwān in 1902.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jagjit Singh, *Singh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974
2. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
3. Ganda Singh, ed., *The Singh Sabha and other Socio-Religious Movements in the Panjab*. Patiala, 1984

Jg.S.

KHĀLSĀ DĪWĀN KHARĀ SAUDĀ BĀR was established in 1912 by Jathedār Kartār Singh of Jhabbar, who became famous in the struggle for the liberation of *gurdwārās*. The Dīwān's membership consisted mostly of Jaṭt Sikhs of the Virk clan who were concentrated in several villages (Jhabbar being one of them) around Chūharkāṇā in the Lower Chenāb Canal Colony in Sheikhūpurā district. Initially, this Dīwān was engaged in purely religious and reformist activities and worked especially for the spread of education among Sikhs of this area. During 1919, in the wake of the Jalliānwālā massacre, the Dīwān veered round to politics and redesignated itself Akālī Dal Kharā Saudā Bār, ultimately merging with the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal established in December 1920.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Narain Singh, ed., *Akālī Morche te Jhabbar*. Delhi, 1967
2. Piār Singh, *Tejā Singh Samundrī*. Amritsar, 1975

M.G.S.

KHĀLSĀ DĪWĀN LAHORE, formed on 11 April 1886 by a group of Sikhs who following a schism had severed their connections with the Khālsā Dīwān Amritsar. Bhāi Attar

Singh, chief of Bhadaur, was named president and Bhāi Gurmukh Singh chief secretary. The Dīwān was formally registered with the government on 19 February 1892. The membership comprised representatives of the Singh Sabhās affiliated to it as well as those from states where no Singh Sabhās existed. Among the aims and objects of the Dīwān were the restoration of Sikhism to its pristine purity, propagation of education especially among women, development of Punjabi language and publication of books on Sikh history and religion. The Dīwān gained popularity among the Sikhs owing especially to the unremitting campaign launched by its leaders such as Bhāi Gurmukh Singh, Giānī Ditt Singh and Bhāi Jawāhir Singh. Through platform speeches and through newspapers and tracts they preached the reformist creed of the Singh Sabhā and derided the Amritsar Dīwān and its policies as conservative. Gurmukh Singh had sponsored monthly Punjabi magazine *Sudhārarak* in April 1886, followed by the weekly *Khālsā Akhbār* which started publication from 13 June 1886. In the hands of Giānī Ditt Singh the latter became a powerful spokesman of the Lahore Dīwān and its ideology. The number of the Singh Sabhās affiliated to the Dīwān soon rose to above 125. But the Dīwān lost its verve and vigour with the death of Sir Attar Singh in 1896, of Gurmukh Singh in 1898 and of Ditt Singh in 1901. It was completely eclipsed after the formation of the Chief *Khālsā* Dīwān in 1902.

See SINGH SABHĀ MOVEMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jagjit Singh, *Singh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974
2. Ashok, Shamsher Singh, *Pañjāb dīān Lahirān*. Patiala, 1974
3. Gurmukh Singh, Major, "Singh Sabha Lahir" in *Nānak Prakāsh Patrikā*. Patiala, December 1988
4. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
5. Ganda Singh (ed.) *Singh Sabha and Other Socio-Religious*

Movements in the Panjab. Patiala, 1984

Jg.S.

KHĀLSĀ DĪWĀN MĀJHĀ, an association of reformist Sikhs representing the districts of Lahore, Amritsar and Gurdāspur, was set up in 1904. The Singh Sabhā movement had created among the Sikhs a new consciousness for the need to reform their religious and social practices. Early in 1904, Risāldar Basant Singh of Naushahrā Pannūān, in Tarn Tāran sub-division of Amritsar district, celebrated the marriage of his daughter. Although the actual marriage ceremony was performed in accordance with the Sikh rites of Anand sanctioned and popularized by the Singh Sabhā, it was marked by much extravagance and ostentation. This was disliked by his reformist friend, Zaildār Shām Singh of Kairoñ. Their mutual discussions led to a representative meeting being called in February of 1904 in the precincts of Srī Darbār Sāhib, Tarn Tāran. The meeting decided to establish a society by the name of *Khālsā* Dīwān Mājhā. Basant Singh prepared the draft of a constitution which he circulated to different Singh Sabhās. A specially designated religious sub-committee was charged with scrutinizing it. Risāldār Basant Singh was elected president and Zaildār Shām Singh secretary. Kairoñ served as the headquarters, but monthly meetings were to be held by rotation in neighbouring villages so as to maximize local participation.

In its earlier years, the Dīwān focussed attention primarily on two-fold activity. First, a group of preachers and singers toured villages urging Sikh farmers to simplify marriages, to avoid large dowries, and to give up drugs and alcohol. Secondly, the Dīwān attempted to reform the style of religious fairs at Srī Darbār Sāhib, Tarn Tāran. While supposedly religious in nature, the monthly Amāvas fair at Tarn Tāran had become notorious for immorality and

general misconduct. The Khālsā Dīwān Mājhā made a transformation of the fair a primary goal. Monthly gatherings and day-long preaching sessions, appealed to visitors to worship rather than indulge in frivolity, a campaign that soon led to a marked improvement in the tone of the fair. Similarly, the Dīwān led a campaign to remove idols from Srī Darbār Sāhib, Tarn Tāran, and generally to reform the management. Pressure on the priests almost precipitated armed clashes and bloodshed on several occasions, but because of mediation by prominent Sikhs, notably Bhāi Mohan Singh Vaid, the atmosphere surrounding the shrine improved.

The first annual conference of the Dīwān was held on 17-19 February 1905, at Tarn Tāran. In addition to preaching, the gathering passed resolutions on a wide range of social issues. Twelve of the fifteen resolutions adopted dealt with details of marriage ceremonial. Large dowries were to be shunned, simplified ceremonies adopted and expenses minimized. Another resolution called on the government to introduce Punjabi as a medium of instruction in schools. Yet another resolution contained an appeal for Sikhs to replace the fun and levity surrounding the Holī festival with a day of worship and manly sports as introduced by Gurū Gobind Singh in the form of Holā Mahallā. A final resolution emphasized the need for abstinence from alcohol and drugs in general.

During 1905, the Dīwān held meetings and implemented the resolutions. The second annual conference, in April 1906, focussed primarily on fratricidal cleavage between two clans of Jatts, Dhilloñ and Bal. Through misunderstandings, the two clans had no dealings or relationships since the fifteenth century. Joint deliberations and prayer helped alleviate the tension, with the result that the clans gave up their traditional antipathy and rescinded the ban on mutual

relationships, and resolved to be brothers of the Khālsā fraternity. The conference also decided to set up missionary centres, each covering villages within a radius of 8 km, to provide a sustained and institutionalized form of *prachār* that would reach the largest number of Sikhs. But dearth of suitable preachers was a handicap. A special committee studied the problem and a training institution, the Khālsā Prachārak Vidyālā of Tarn Tāran, was established on 6 November 1906. With this the headquarters of the Dīwān were also shifted from Kairoñ to Tarn Tāran. The secretary, Nihāl Singh of Kairoñ, and Bhāi Mohan Singh Vaid of Tarn Tāran, worked strenuously for the success of the enterprise.

The third annual session of the Dīwān was held on 9-10 April 1907, during a period of political unrest in the Punjab. The conference adopted strong resolutions calling upon the government to reduce enhanced land revenue and water rates and to modify the new colonization measure that adversely affected agriculture mainly in the hands of the Sikhs in central Punjab. The conference also discussed the deteriorating management of Srī Darbār Sāhib, Amritsar, and urged government intervention to improve the administration. Another resolution urged the government to transfer the landed property of Gurdwārā at Nankāñā Sāhib from the name of the *mahant* to the Gurdwārā itself.

At this time, deliberate attempts were being made by vested interests to create a rift and mistrust among the Sikhs of different regions such as Mājhā, Mālvā and Doābā, leading to misunderstandings among the respective Khālsā Dīwāns. The Chief Khālsā Dīwān finally made an effort to resolve such difficulties by suggesting that all organizations associate themselves more completely with the central body. Sardār Harbañs Singh of Aṭārī and Professor Jodh Singh specifically called on the Mājhā Dīwān to merge with the Chief Khālsā Dīwān in order to set a

precedent and heal split within the community. Members of the Khālsā Dīwān Mājhā debated the issue for almost a year and eventually decided in early 1908 to sink mutual differences for the common good of the Panth. On 8 February 1908, the executive committee of the Chief Khālsā Dīwān approved merging of the groups together and redesignating the Khālsā Dīwān Mājhā as the Mājhā Prachār Sub-committee, Chief Khālsā Dīwān. Sardār Sant Singh of Rasūlpur was appointed its chairman. The new body met for the first time at Kairoñ in March 1908 to plan and to prepare for a fourth conference at Rājā Jañg in Lahore district, a site chosen primarily because of the prevalence of sharp divisions among local Sikhs into high and low castes. The following year, a new school was opened at Kairoñ that helped spread women's education, but the transfer of authority for the Khālsā Prachār Vidyālā to the Chief Khālsā Dīwān undermined the unity as well as the importance of the Mājhā Prachār Sub-committee, and by 1910 it became inoperative.

During its short existence, the Khālsā Dīwān Mājhā contributed to reform programmes and prepared the ground for future work by the Chief Khālsā Dīwān in both urban and rural areas. The organization was one of the first to draw the attention of Sikhs to conditions within holy shrines and thereby contributed to an awareness that ultimately led to the *gurdwārā* reforms of the 1920's. Like many of its sister associations, the Dīwān responded to regional problems and then in a spirit of magnanimity ended its own separate activities for the larger good of the community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jagjit Singh, *Singh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974
2. Reports of the Khalsa Diwan Majha, especially "Khālsā Dīwān Mājhā de Niyam Upniyam."

Jg.S.

KHĀLSĀ DĪWĀN MALAYA, a religious organization of Sikhs in Malaysia, was established on 27 December 1903 at Taiping (4°-51'N, 100°-44'E) at a *dīwān* at the *gurdwārā* of the Malaya State Guides celebrating the birth anniversary of Gurū Gobind Singh. The Khālsā Dīwān was assigned to promoting Sikh religion, managing Sikh temples or *gurdwārās* in Malaya, securing the educational advancement of the Sikh youth and to providing facilities for the teaching of Punjabi language. An executive committee consisting of 21 members from different towns from Alor Star (6°-07'N, 100°-22'E) in the north to Kuala Lumpur (3°-09'N, 101°-43'E) in the south was elected. The members of the Khālsā Dīwān were expected to be *amritdhārī* Sikhs maintaining the five symbols of the Khālsā and subscribing to the tenets of the faith. A missionary fund was opened to provide for a cadre of preachers and scripture-readers. Sikh scholars and lecturers were invited from India to address the religious *dīwāns* and a series of tracts and pamphlets on Sikhism was launched. In 1925, the Dīwān obtained legal recognition for Sikh marriages solemnized under the Indian Anand Marriage Act. In 1933 was convened a Sikh women's conference which led to the establishment of the Malaya Istri Satsaᅅg. On 24 September 1950, Gurū Nānak Institution, a regular school with admission open to all communities, was started in Ipoh. The Khālsā Dīwān Malaya was affiliated to the Chief Khālsā Dīwān of Amritsar. It also retained its interest in the religious and political developments in the Punjab, which were often discussed at its periodical conferences. Differences of opinion on the questions of affiliation with the moderate Chief Khālsā Dīwān and the lukewarm attitude of the executive of the Khālsā Dīwān Malaya towards the *Kamagata Maru* sufferers led to the establishment of a separate Khālsā Dīwān at Selangor in January 1918. The rift was complete during the annual Sikh conference

held jointly by the two Dīwāns in 1919 at Penang. The dissident groups strongly disapproved of the Chief Khālsā Dīwān's pro-government views on the Jalliānvwālā Bāgh massacre and opposed the executive's proposal to remit its surplus funds to that Dīwān. Kalgidhar Dīwān Malaya as a parallel central body was established in place of the Khālsā Dīwān Selangor. Annual conferences continued to be held jointly till 1927, but repeated efforts to reunite the two Dīwāns proved abortive.

Mv.S.

KHĀLSĀ DĪWĀN SOCIETY, at Vancouver in Canada, formed on 13 March 1909, with Sevā Singh as president, was incorporated on 23 February 1915 under the Societies Act, with the primary object of promoting Sikh teaching and way of life, establishing and maintaining *gurdwārās* and appointing ministers and missionaries. With fresh influx of Sikh immigrants during the 1960's the scope of the Society's activity widened. One of the major concerns then was to secure the immigrants their rights as full partners in the life of that nation, and the constitution was amended to this end in 1970.

The Society influenced, both directly and indirectly, the individual and collective activities of its members. Besides providing them with a moral anchor, it was their meeting point socially as well. Under its auspices, several new *gurdwārās* such as those at places like New Westminster, Abbotsford, Victoria, Port Alberni, Lake Cowichan and Nanaimo were established. The Society set up a library, published books on Sikh religion and history and sponsored competitions in *gurbānī* recital. The *gurdwārās* affiliated to it also published a bi-weekly newspaper, *Canadian Sikh Samāchār*. The society steadfastly campaigned for the recognition of the legitimate rights not only of the Sikhs but of all Indian immigrants. It helped them acquire,

in 1947, the municipal, provincial and federal franchise and, in 1951, a special agreement which annulled the 1908 legislation, commonly known as 'the continuous voyage legislation' and fixed a quota system for Indian immigrants. This agreement was terminated in 1968 whenceforth, under the new immigration regulations, the immigrants from India were to be treated on the same basis as those from other countries.

K.S.S.

KHĀLSĀ MAHIMĀ, literally praise of the Khālsā, is a short poem by Gurū Gobind Singh inserted at the end of the thirty-three Savaiyye in the *Dasam Granth*. The language is Braj Bhāṣā, i.e. medieval Hindi of the Mathurā-Āgrā region. The setting is provided by an incident which occurred during a Dīvālī feast Gurū Gobind Singh gave at Anandpur. On that occasion the high-caste Paṇḍit Kesho was invited to eat after the Khālsā had feasted. Kesho felt slighted for, as a Brāhmaṇ, he should have taken precedence over all others. Gurū Gobind Singh uttered this hymn exalting the Khālsā:

I have won my battles through the favour of my Sikhs;

Through their favour have I been able to dispense largesse.

Through their favour my troubles have receded,

And through their favour my prosperity expanded.

It is through their favour that I acquired knowledge.

Through their favour I subdued my enemies,

Through their favour am I exalted,

There are, else, millions of such humble persons as me.

Let my body, my mind, my head, my wealth, and all that is mine

Be dedicated to their service.

As in the *hukamnāmās*, in this poem also

we see the deep fellow feeling that existed between Gurū Gobind Singh and his Khālsā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ashta, DharamPal, *The Poetry of the Dasam Granth*. Delhi, 1959

C.H.L.

KHĀLSĀ NĀMAH, by Bakht Mall, a Persian manuscript prepared during 1810-14, is a history of the Sikhs from the time of Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Copies of the manuscript, unpublished so far, are preserved in British Library; Royal Asiatic Society, London; Pañjāb University, Lahore; Khālsā College, Amritsar; and in Dr Gaṇḍā Singh's personal collection at Punjabi University, Paṭiālā. The author came of a Kashmīrī Brāhmaṇ family some of whose members had served at the Mughal court during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān (1628-58). One of Bakht Mall's ancestors, Lachchhī Rām or Lachhmaṇ Dās, came to Lahore during the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shāh (1719-48), shifting soon after to Delhi. Bakht Mall received his education in Persian and Arabic at Delhi and worked for a time as *munshī* or clerk to Dīwān Gaṅgā Rām, a representative of the Sikh government. He also served briefly Bhāi Lāl Singh, ruler of Kaithal. Upon the occupation of Delhi by the British in 1803, Bakht Mall took up service under them. In 1805, when Lord Lake came to the Punjab in pursuit of the Marāṭhā chief, Jasvant Rāo Holkar, Bakht Mall, who was then on the staff of Sir John Malcolm (1769-1833), accompanied his master to Amritsar. It was during his short stay in the Punjab that he collected information later to write his history of the Sikhs which, as he himself records, he prepared at the instance of John Malcolm. He states that he had attempted two books on the history of the Sikhs, a detailed one and an abridged one. The

former, when only half-finished, was stolen, and the latter was taken away by John Malcolm. What he rewrote has come down to us as Khālsā Nāmāh. John Malcolm relied upon this work a great deal in the writing of his own *Sketch of the Sikhs*.

The author's foreword in Khālsā Nāmāh is followed by an account of the Sikh Gurūs; war of succession among the sons of Aurāṅzīb; activities of Wazīr Khān of Sirhind; the passing away of Gurū Gobind Singh; destruction of Sirhind by Sikhs; capture of Bandā Singh; rise of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and his invasions of India; Mu'in ul-Mulk (Mīr Mannū); persecution of the Sikhs; the rise of Sikhs to power in the Punjab; Marāṭhā excursions into Sikh territories; rise and fall of George Thomas; rise of the British power in India; Holkar's flight to the Punjab and his truce with Lord Lake; and the affairs of the cis-Sutlej Sikh chiefs. The lives of the Gurūs are narrated in the traditional style, but the author is on a surer historical ground as he approaches his own time. His account of events in the cis-Sutlej region around the turn of the eighteenth century is especially significant.

Besides Khālsā Nāmāh, Bakht Mall wrote some other books as well, among them *Gulistān-i-Khayāl*, *Bāgh-o-bahār*, *Louis Nāmāh* and *Hāl-Mukhtisar Ibtidāi-i-Firqah-i-Sikhān*. The last-named manuscript, a brief account of the lives of the Gurūs, is available in the personal collection of Dr Gaṇḍā Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kirpal Singh, *A Catalogue of Sanskrit and Persian Works*. Amritsar, 1962

B.S.

KHĀLSĀ NATIONAL PARTY was founded in 1936 by two Sikh aristocrats, Sir Sundar Singh Majiṭhīā and Sir Jogendra Singh, with a view primarily to contesting legislative elections in the Punjab under the new scheme of reforms introduced by the British under

the Government of India Act, 1935. According to the rules that were adopted to govern it, membership of the party was open to every person above 21 years of age who was willing to subscribe to the party's creed, programme and practices. The party's central organization was established at Amritsar. The work at the centre and in each district was guided by an executive committee. The central executive committee consisted of not more than thirty-one members including the party president. In each district the office-bearers were a president and a secretary, and the executive committee consisting of at least five members elected by the district organization.

The five-point creed of the party was (1) to work for the realization of the ideals of Sikhism, i.e. the promotion of tolerance, individual freedom and brotherly feelings; (2) to work for the attainment of *svarāj* or self-rule; (3) to work for the abolition of the Communal Award and its replacement by a just and national solution; (4) to endeavour to unite all sections of the Sikh Panth to save the Punjab from the establishment of communal hegemony; and (5) to work for raising the social and economic standard of the masses.

The programme of the party was set out in fifteen points. It included the following general principles and purposes: to safeguard civil liberties and the freedom of expression of each community, to promote concord among the various communities and to protect the interests of minorities including the depressed classes. In the general economic sphere, the programme proposed to develop the resources of the province by harnessing urban and rural effort, to modernize the railway, to reduce the cost of administration and to relieve the burden of taxation, including land revenue and water rates, and to work for the relief of indebtedness. In the villages, it pledged to work for raising the standard of living by

improving methods of marketing, by increasing agricultural prices, by creating agricultural credit, by developing large-scale and cottage industries, and by opening new avenues for employment of the unemployed. In the field of education and culture, the programme aimed at providing general liberal, vocational and industrial education as well as making a particular effort to protect and promote the Punjabi language and Gurmukhī script. In relation to the British colonial administration, the party called for strengthening the defence forces by increasing the Indian element in the Indian army, for progressive Indianization of higher ranks, and for protecting the interests of the Sikh community more generally in recruitment to the services and in securing a full share of representation at the local, provincial and all-India level.

As for electoral politics, the sixth point of the Party's programme stated: "The Khalsa National Party, without merging itself in any communal party till the Communal Award is abolished, will co-operate with any party that works for similar aims and objects." To put this principle and the overall programme into effect, party rules empowered the central organization to set up a parliamentary board for the purpose of selecting candidates, under the terms of the Government of India Act 1935.

At the polls, out of a total of thirty-three Sikh constituency seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the Khālsā Nationalists gained fourteen — eleven rural, two urban, and one other (women, landowners). The remaining Sikh seats were divided: ten rural went to the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal and four rural and one other to their allies, the Congress Socialists, three rural to Independents, and one rural to Socialists. The newly elected Khālsā Nationalist members of the Legislative Assembly, in conjunction with the group led by Rājā Narendra Nāth of the Hindu Electoral Board,

then co-operated with the Unionist Party, a predominantly rural and Muslim coalition which held ninety-five out of 175 seats in the new Assembly, to form the provincial government.

When the new ministry was formed on 1 April 1937, Sir Sundar Singh Majithīā took the oath of office as Minister of Revenue. In 1938, he introduced one of a series of four major agrarian bills, the Restitution of Mortgaged Lands Bill, and the debate over its probable effects on the balance between rural and urban economic interests divided the party's legislative delegation even though the Bill's terms were generally consistent with the government's and the party's rural emphasis and programme. The agrarian bills were passed, but the outbreak of World War II, Muslim demand for partition, and prolonged litigation greatly limited their effects.

The more significant division in Sikh politics towards the end of the 1930's was the one which set the temporarily combined forces of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal and the Indian National Congress in opposition to the Unionist coalition government which included the Khālsā Nationalists. During the 1936-37 election campaign, the Akālīs characterized the Khālsā National Party as primarily a political instrument of conservative elements such as the Chief Khālsā Dīwān and big landed interests. Yet the two Sikh parties shared certain basic concerns, e.g. opposition to the terms of the Communal Award that maintained the statutory majority for Punjab Muslims first given by the 1919 Montford Act and support for the recruitment of Sikhs to the military services, which became a crucial question with the outbreak of World War II and contributed to the Akālī decision. The death in 1941 of Sir Sundar Singh Majithīā considerably weakened the party even though he was succeeded in the cabinet by another Khālsā Nationalist, Dasaundhā Singh. This

interim situation came to an end in March 1942 when the Akālī leader Baldev Singh forged a new Akālī-Unionist pact and replaced Dasaundhā Singh in the cabinet. Khālsā Nationalist members shifted to the new governing alliance, which eventually broke down owing to a split in the Unionist Party that followed the rise of the Muslim League. By the time the second provincial elections were held in January 1946, the Khālsā National Party was gone from the Punjab.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Rules of the Khalsa National Party*. Amritsar, 1936
 2. Gulati, K.C., *The Akalis : Past and Present*. Delhi, 1974
 3. Misra, B.B., *The Indian Political Parties : An Historical Analysis of Political Behaviour up to 1947*. Delhi, 1976
 4. Mitra, Nripendra Nath, ed., *The Indian Annual Register*. Calcutta, n.d.
 5. Tuteja, K.L., *Sikh Politics (1920-40)*. Kurukshetra, 1984
 6. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
- G.R.T.

KHĀLSĀ PRACHĀRAK VIDYĀLĀ, TARN TĀRAN, an institution established in 1906 by the Khālsā Dīwān Mājhā. From its inception in 1904, the setting up of centres in the rural areas to conduct worship services and reform programmes among villagers had constituted a vital part of the Dīwān's mission. The new organizational structure in turn required preparation of specialists who, well-versed in Sikh theology, history and *kīrtan*, could meet the needs of the masses. Following lengthy discussions and detailed planning, a committee comprising Sardār Sant Singh of Rasūlpur, Risāldār Basant Singh of Naushahrā Pannūān, Bhāi Nihāl Singh of Kairoṇ, Bābā Diāl Singh of Kairoṇ, Bhāi Īshar Singh of Dhoṇiān, and Bhāi Mohan Singh Vaid of Tarn Tāran, was formed to establish a school, the Khālsā Prachārak Vidyālā, at Tarn Tāran, to train Sikh preachers.

The Vidyālā opened on 6 November

1906 and began instruction of young men in Buṅgā Bahoṛū attached to Srī Darbār Sāhib, Tarn Tāran. Although members of the advisory committee gave considerable part of their time to administering the institution and raising funds for it, Bhāi Īshar Siṅgh devoted his lifetime to it and became its headmaster and manager. Bhāi Mohan Siṅgh Vaid was the secretary and honorary lecturer in medicine. The curriculum included a two-year course on Sikh religion, comparative study of religious history of the Punjab and Sikhs, elementary knowledge of medicine (*hikmat*), Braj Bhāshā, *kathā* or exposition of the Sikh texts, and *kīrtan* or recitation with music. Khālsā Dīwān Mājhā also moved its headquarters from Kairoṅ to Tarn Tāran early in 1907 and the school came under its direct supervision. A year later, the Dīwān amalgamated itself with the Chief Khālsā Dīwān, and the Vidyālā became part of the network of educational institutions that was developing in the Punjab under the aegis of the central body.

The expanding role of the Vidyālā in Sikh affairs soon necessitated purchase of separate facilities for training students. Land was secured at the present site, on the outskirts of Tarn Tāran, and then a sustained effort was made to secure funds for the construction of a suitable building. The Chief Khālsā Dīwān generated some funds, as did special appeals at annual sessions of the Sikh Educational Conference. The bulk of the building costs, however, came from local donations and especially those collected by Master Īshar Siṅgh on numerous trips through South-East Asia.

The *rāgīs* and *prachāraks* trained in the Vidyālā soon earned respect for themselves and for their alma mater, as evidenced by the incessant pressure on the school to provide touring groups for virtually every religious occasion.

During the last century or so the Vidyālā has continued to expand and to incorporate

new programmes. Classes for Giānī and Budhīmān examinations have been added to the old curriculum. Free lodging is given to young Sikhs studying to become *rāgīs* and *granthīs*. In 1973, the Srī Gurū Har Krishan Public School became part of the institution, thus combining religious education with preparation of the Sikh youth for many aspects of modern life. A local committee manages the two institutions under the auspices of the Chief Khālsā Dīwān.

Jg.S.

KHĀLSĀ UPDESHAK MAHĀVIDYĀLĀ, GHARJĀKH, a training institution for Sikh preachers, was established in 1901 by Srī Gurū Siṅgh Sabhā, Gujrānwālā, now in Pakistan. The Gujrānwālā Siṅgh Sabhā, formed in 1888 and affiliated to the Khālsā Dīwān Lahore, played an important role in the educational and social awakening of Punjabi Sikhs. Already it had opened a Khālsā High School, one of the first of its kind, in 1889, and a girls school, Istrī Pāṭhshālā, in 1895. Its leaders next decided to provide another institution designed to meet the needs of Sikhs for religious education. Although Siṅgh Sabhās attempted to reach the masses with ideals of reform, the paucity of preachers trained in history and religion proved a handicap. The Gujrānwālā Siṅgh Sabhā, therefore, set up a Khālsā Updeshak School on 5 April 1901. With just five students to start with, Bhāi Lāl Siṅgh was appointed its manager and Sundar Siṅgh its headmaster. The school rapidly grew in popularity. However, as it often happens when two or more schools rely on the same constituency for finances, the High school and the Updeshak school soon became caught up in competition. In an attempt to minimize party bickering, Sādhū Siṅgh, extra assistant commissioner and a prominent Sikh leader, intervened in August 1902 and worked out a compromise whereby the administration of both institutions was

transferred to the committee originally in charge of the Khālsā High School. But the arrangement did not work, and the Khālsā High School committee decided on 15 December 1903 to neglect the interests of the younger institution.

The necessity for training Sikhs in preaching and missionary work nevertheless remained, and fortunately the Singh Sabhā of Gharjākh, a large village located close to Gujrānwālā, came to the rescue of the students and the faculty. Already running a *granthī* class, this Sabhā merged it with the Updeshak school on 15 January 1904 and appointed Bhāi Lāl Singh and Giānī Lahiṇā Singh as joint teachers. The local *dharamsālā* and the garden of Sardār Chaḥat Singh were utilized for other facilities.

The subsequent history of the Gharjākh Updeshak Vidyālā reflects the manner in which Sikhs developed an institution and then broadened it, as necessary, to meet a variety of needs. Outbreaks of famine and plague had left Hindu and Sikh children orphans vulnerable to Muslim and Christian proselytization. Sikhs of Gharjākh responded to an appeal by Sant Sūrāj Singh made on 30 March 1904, and added an orphanage to the School, renamed Khālsā Updeshak School *ate* Yatīmkhānā (orphanage). The Khālsā Dharamsālā thus became a home for the destitute children, managed by Jagat Singh, a retired havildār, and his wife.

Students and staff rapidly became involved in a widening range of religious activity. In addition to performing daily *kīrtan* at the Khālsā Dharamsālā in the morning and Rāmgarhīā Dharamsālā in the evening, on every *pūranmāshī* (full-moon day) they enriched the worship services at Gurdwārā Roṛī Sāhib, Eminābād. The school also helped form an Amrit Prachār Jathā or a group to administer the Sikh rites of initiation. Teams toured far-flung villages in Lyallpur, Siālkoṭ and Gujrānwālā districts impressing upon the Sikh youth the

importance of *amrit*.

The institution grew and prospered. The school became the Updeshak Mahāvidyālā, or college, with classes designed to prepare students for University examinations in Giānī and Vidwān. On 23 February 1907, Sant Atar Singh laid the foundation-stone of a new building of the Khālsā Updeshak Mahāvidyālā. Although the buildings and the reputation of the Mahāvidyālā continued to expand, the institution was handed over to the Chief Khālsā Dīwān, Amritsar, at the first session of the Sikh Educational Conference which took place at Gujrānwālā on 18-19 April 1908. The move was intended to set an example for centralizing all Sikh educational ventures and thereby ensuring Panthic unity. The first president of the sub-committee of the Dīwān in charge of the Mahāvidyālā, Kaṅvar Prithīpāl Singh, served for several years. Other patrons of the school included Maṅgal Singh Mān, Gurmukh Singh, an engineer by profession, Dr Mahān Singh, Tīrath Singh, Dharam Singh and Chhahabar Singh. Sant Atar Singh continued his close association and frequently visited the Mahāvidyālā. After a decade of planning and hard work, a beautiful three-storeyed *gurdwārā* was opened on its premises.

The Mahāvidyālā had three major components. The School held classes up to the fifth standard with Punjabi as the medium of instruction. After the fifth class, students could either pursue further academic studies or enroll in vocational training. There were arrangements for Giānī and Vidwān classes as well as for music training for *rāgīs*. Besides preparing students for University examinations in Punjabi, the academic programme included obligatory courses in *gurbānī*, Sikh theology, and history. The third element, vocational training, included tailoring and weaving.

The Gharjākh Updeshak Mahāvidyālā *ate* Yatīmkhānā, a singular institution providing

service to the Sikh community in particular and to orphans in general, continued until 1947 when partition of the country uprooted it. It was not revived in independent India.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Tejā Singh, Sant, *Jvan Kathā Gurmukh Piāre Sant Atar Singh Ji Mahārāj*. Patiala, 1970
2. Jagjit Singh, *Singh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974
Jg.S.

KHĀN CHHĀPRĪ (locally known as simply Chhāprī), a small village 8 km west of Goindvāl (31°-22'N, 75°-9'E) in Amritsar district of the Punjab, was visited successively by Gurū Aṅgad, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Arjan and Gurū Hargobind. Originally named **Khānpur**, the habitation had once been reduced to a ruined mound. During the time of Gurū Aṅgad's stay at Khaḍūr Sāhib, as records Sarūp Dās Bhallā, *Mahimā Prakāsh*, once a severe drought hit the place. A *yogī* claiming supernatural powers and jealous of the Gurū's popularity, incited the peasants against him saying, "You honour him [Gurū Aṅgad], a Khatri householder, as *gurū* in preference to an ascetic like me. Now go to him for rain, or expel him from the place and I shall get you rain." As the peasants went to the Gurū, he spoke to them, "Rain and drought are by God's Will. It cannot rain simply by my saying so." Gurū Aṅgad thereupon left Khaḍūr accompanied by Bhāi Buḍḍhā and made his temporary abode on the mound of **Khānpur**. Yet there was no rain at **Khānpur** and the people were becoming critical of the *yogī*. Meanwhile, Bābā (later Gurū) Amar Dās, who was at Goindvāl came to Khaḍūr and, learning about what had happened, rebuked the peasants for their ill treatment of the Gurū. It so happened that as the *yogī* was being chastised by the villagers, it began raining. Bābā Amar Dās and the repentant peasants came to **Khānpur** and escorted the Gurū back to Khaḍūr Sāhib.

Once during the winter season, Gurū Arjan (1563-1606), while travelling in these parts with a few attendants, was suddenly caught in rain and storm. Bhāi Hemā, poor inhabitant of **Khānpur**, extended the hospitality of his humble thatched hut, *chhaprī* in Punjabi, to them. The *chhaprī* was consecrated and **Khānpur** became **Khān Chhāprī**. Gurū Hargobind also visited the place on his way to the Mālvā. The present building of Gurdwārā Chhāprī Sāhib, raised during the 1970's, comprises a marble-floored hall, with the sanctum in the middle. The dome above the sanctum is lined with porcelain chips and topped with a gold-plated pinnacle. In front of the hall is a spacious, marbled terrace and a small octagonal *sarovar*. The Gurdwārā is administered by a local committee under the auspices of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gian Singh, Giāni, *Twārikh Gurduārān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Kankhal, 1975
Gn.S.

KHAṆḌŪR, village 23 km southwest of Ludhiānā, has an historical shrine dedicated to Gurū Hargobind who visited the site in the course of his travels in these parts. The Gurdwārā is located inside the village and consists of a Mañjī Sāhib, the sanctum, and a *divān* hall. The sanctum, which is of older construction than the hall, is a domed square room with a narrow covered passage around its three sides and glass-panelled sliding doors on the fourth, opening on the hall. It has a marble floor and its walls are lined with flowered glazed tiles in white, green and pink. The Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, through a local committee. Besides the daily prayers and *kīrtan*, a largely attended gathering takes place on the first

of every Bikramī month.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Kankhal, 1975 M.C.S.

KHĀNŪ, BHĀĪ, one of the prominent Sikhs mentioned by Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 15. He received the rites of initiation at the hands of Gurū Aṅgad and lived up to the time of Gurū Amar Dās. As says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, he, accompanied by his son Māiā and Bhāi Govind, a Bhaṅḍārī Khatrī, once waited upon Gurū Aṅgad. "Enlighten us, O sustainer of the poor," he begged, "about the virtue most precious." "There is no virtue higher than love," said the Gurū. "Love God, remember Him always and sing His praises. Serve holy men and help the needy with food and clothing." Bhāi Khānū, Māiā and Govind took the Gurū's precept and were counted among the leading disciples in the time of Gurū Amar Dās.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.D.

KHĀNŪ, BHĀĪ, a Chhurā Khatrī of the village of Ḍallā, in present-day Kapūrthalā district of the Punjab, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Amar Dās. As the Gurū once visited Ḍallā, Bhāi Khānū led into his presence a group of villagers including Bhāi Tārū, Bhāi Vegā Pāsī, Bhāi Ugarū, Bhāi Nandū Sūdanā, Bhāi Pūro and Bhāi Jhaṅḍā. He and his companions received initiation at his hands. The Gurū, says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, advised them to feed the needy. "To share one's victuals with others,"

said he, "is the true *yajña* in this age of Kali."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

B.S.D.

KHĀRĀ, village 7 km northwest of Tarn Tāran (31°-27'N, 74°-56'E) along the Amritsar-Tarn Tāran road, has two historical *gurdwārās* dedicated to Gurū Arjan (1563-1606), who sojourned here while the *sarovar* at Tarn Tāran was being dug.

GURDWĀRĀ MAṆJĪ SĀHIB located inside the village marks the house where Gurū Arjan used to stay. The shrine, a marble-floored hall with the sanctum at the far end, was constructed in 1925. Above the sanctum where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated on a canopied marble throne are two storeys of square rooms with a pinnacled dome on top. Near the southeastern corner of the building is an old well said to have been dug during the Gurū's stay in the village. A basement room, circular in shape and about 3 metres across with a supporting column in the centre of it, is said to be the spot where the Gurū had sat in meditation.

GURDWĀRĀ DUKHNIVĀRAN SĀHIB, about 200 metres south of the village, is an octagonal room with a brick-paved terrace in front of it. To the east of it is the 15-metre square *sarovar*, originally a pond converted into a bathing tank during the time of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh. There is another small *sarovar*, octagonal in shape, near the entrance gate.

Both these Gurdwārās are affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

Gn.S.

KHARAK BHŪRĀ, a large village in Jīnd district of Haryānā, was visited by Gurū Tegh Bahādur, who stayed here overnight while journeying from Dhamdhān to Jīnd. An old one-roomed shrine called Gurdwārā Mañjī Sāhib Naumī Pātshāhī exists to the east of the village. It is a small domed room, with the Gurū Granth Sāhib seated on a podium in the centre. Near by is the modern adjunct of the Gurdwārā, a flat-roofed building consisting of an assembly hall and a verandah on two-sides. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and is administered by the local managing committee at Jīnd, which appoints a *granthī* or Scripture-reader, who also acts as the custodian of the shrine and of the lands attached to it. There are no Sikh families in the village.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twoārikh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gurū Tirath Saṅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975
M.G.S.

KHARAK SINGH, a close associate of Bhāi Mahārāj Singh (d. 1856), saintly leader of the popular anti-British uprising of 1848-49. Nothing is known about his early life except that he came of a Jaṭt Sikh family. He was arrested near Shām Chaurāsī, Hoshiārpur district, along with Bhāi Mahārāj Singh, on the night of 28-29 December 1849. When government decided to banish Bhāi Mahārāj Singh to Singapore, Kharak Singh offered to go with him. Under a British military guard, the two were put aboard the ship *Muhammad Shāh* which left Calcutta on 15 May 1850. Their fetters were for the first time removed only after the ship had entered the high seas. Kharak Singh devotedly served his leader till his (the latter's) death on 5 July 1856. He himself was released soon after, but was not permitted to return to India.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahluwalia, M.L., *Bhai Maharaj Singh*. Patiala, 1972
M.L.A.

KHARAK SINGH, BĀBĀ (1868-1963), Sikh political leader and virtually the first president of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, was born on 6 June 1868 at Siālkoṭ, now in Pakistan. His father, Rāi Bahādur Sardār Hari Singh, was a wealthy contractor and industrialist. Kharak Singh, having passed his matriculation examination from Mission High School and intermediate from Murray College, both at Siālkoṭ, joined Government College, Lahore, and was among the first batch of students who graduated from the Pañjāb University in 1889. He then joined Law College, Allāhābād, but could not complete his course owing to the death of his father and elder brother in quick succession. He returned to Siālkoṭ to manage the family property. He started his public life in 1912 as chairman of the reception committee of the 5th session of the Sikh Educational Conference held at Siālkoṭ. Three years later, as president of the 8th session of the Conference held at Tarn Tāran, he surprised everyone by walking to the site of the conference breaking the custom of being carried in state on a buggy driven by six horses. He also refused permission for a resolution to be moved at the conference wishing victory to the British in World War I.

It was the Jalliānvālā Bāgh massacre of 1919 which brought Kharak Singh actively into Sikh politics. In 1920, he became president of the Central Sikh League which under his direction led the Sikhs to participate in the non-co-operation movement launched by Mahātmā Gāndhī. In 1921, he was elected president of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and in the year following also president of the

Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. He successfully led in 1921-22 the agitation for the restoration to the Sikhs of the keys of the Golden Temple treasury seized by the British Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, and underwent during this campaign the first of his numerous jail terms. Arrested on 26 November 1921 for making an anti-government speech, he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment on 2 December 1921, but was released on 17 January 1922 when the keys of the *toshākhānā* were also surrendered to him. He was, however, re-arrested soon and, on 4 April 1922, was awarded one year's jail for running a factory for manufacturing *kirpāns*, one of the religious symbols of the Sikhs, and another three years on charges of making seditious speeches. He was sent to jail in distant *Ḍerā Ghāzī Khān* (now in Pakistan), where in protest against the forced removal of the turbans of Sikh and Gāndhī caps of non-Sikh political prisoners, he discarded all his clothes except his *kachhahirā* or drawers. Despite the extreme weather conditions of the place, he remained barebacked until he was released after his full term (twice extended for non-obedience of orders) on 4 June 1927. He had unanimously been elected president *in absentia* of the Gurdwārā Central Board (later redesignated Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee) constituted under the Sikh Gurdwārās Act, 1925, and was re-elected to the high office after fresh elections in 1930. He resigned soon after, although he continued to work both for national independence and for the protection of Sikh interests. Earlier during 1928-29, he had vehemently opposed the Nehrū Committee Report until the Congress Party shelved it and undertook to secure Sikhs' concurrence in the framing of constitutional proposals in the future. He opposed, though without success, the Communal Award, which gave statutory majority to Muslims in the Punjab and was in and

out of jail on several occasions for making what the government held to be seditious speeches. He was a firm protagonist of national unity and opposed both the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan and the Akālī proposal for an Azād Punjab. After 1947, he stayed in Delhi in virtual retirement, and died there on 6 October 1963 at the ripe age of 95.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mohinder Singh, *The Akali Movement*. Delhi, 1978
2. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
3. Ganda Singh, *Some Confidential Papers of the Akali Movement*. Amritsar, 1965
4. Tuteja, K.L., *Sikh Politics*. Kurukshetra, 1984
5. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975
6. Josh, Sohan Singh, *Akālī Morchiān dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1972
7. Piār Singh, *Tejā Singh Samundrī*. Amritsar, 1975
8. Man Singh, *Āzādī dī Shamhā de Sikh Parvāne*. Delhi, 1973

M.G.S.

KHARAK SINGH, MAHĀRĀJĀ (1801-1840), eldest son of Mahārājā Raṅjit Singh, was born on 9 February 1801. He was married to Chand Kaur, daughter of Jaimal Singh Kanhaiyā, in 1812. The Mahārājā brought him up in the family's martial tradition and assigned him to a variety of military expeditions. While barely six years old, he was given the nominal command of the Sheikḥūpurā expedition (1807); was placed in charge of the Kanhaiyā estates in 1811; and deputed in 1812 to punish the recalcitrant chiefs of Bhimbar and Rājaurī. He was invested with the command of Multān expedition (1818) as well as of Kashmīr (1819). He was also sent on similar campaigns undertaken by Raṅjit Singh for the conquest of Peshāwar and against the Mazārīs of Shikārpur.

Frail in constitution, Kharak Singh ascended the throne in June 1839 on the death of his father. From the very first day

he had to encounter the envy of his powerful and ambitious minister, Dhiān Singh Dogrā. Dhiān Singh resented especially the ascendancy of the royal favourite Chet Singh Bājvā, a trusted courtier who had also been Kharak Singh's tutor. The Dogrās started a whispering campaign against the Mahārājā as well as against Chet Singh. It was given out that both the Mahārājā and his favourite were surreptitiously planning to make over the Punjab to the British and surrender to them six *ānnās* in every rupee of the State revenue and that the Sikh army would be disbanded. To lend credence to these rumours, some fake letters were prepared and discreetly intercepted. Gulāb Singh Dogrā, Dhiān Singh's elder brother, was charged to work upon Kharak Singh's son, Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh, then travelling in his company from Peshāwar to Lahore. Misled by these fictitious tales, the young prince became estranged from his father.

Matters came to a climax when, in October 1839, Dhiān Singh made a plot to assassinate Chet Singh. Early on the morning of 9 October the conspirators entered the Mahārājā's residence in the Fort and assassinated Chet Singh in the presence of their royal master, who vainly implored them to spare the life of his favourite.

Kharak Singh was removed from the Fort and he remained virtually a prisoner in the hands of Dhiān Singh. Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh took the reins of the government into his own hands, but he was helpless against the machinations of his minister, who continued to keep father and son separated from each other. Dhiān Singh subjected Kharak Singh to strict restraint upon the pretext that he might not escape to the British territory. Doses of slow poison were administered to the Mahārājā, who was at last delivered by death on 5 November 1840 from a lonely and disgraceful existence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Tawārikh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Waheeduddin, Faqir Syed, *The Real Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1976
3. Osborne, W.G., *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh*. London, 1840
4. Smyth, G. Carmichael, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*. Patiala, 1970
5. Fauja Singh, ed., *Maharaja Kharak Singh*. Patiala, 1977

M.L.A.

KHARAK SINGH, RĀJĀ (1850-1877), son of Rājā Raṅdhīr Singh, ascended the *gaddī* of Kapūrthālā state on 12 May 1870. He suffered from a permanent ailment for which reason the administration was entrusted to a council. Kharak Singh died in 1877 at the early age of 27, and was succeeded by his five-year-old son, Jagatjīt Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, *The Rajas of the Punjab*. Delhi, 1977
2. Ganda Singh, *The Patiala and the East Panjab States Union*. Patiala, 1951

S.S.B.

KHATKAR, a village 8 km to the northwest of Jind (29°-18'N, 76°-19'E) in Haryānā, claims a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Naumī Pātshāhī, in memory of Gurū Tegh Bahādūr, who made a halt here on his way from Dhamdhān to Jind. It is said that a notorious *chaudharī* of the village, Dal by name, set some of his henchmen to steal the Gurū's horses. The thieves entered the camp at night, but as they unfastened the horses they felt that they could see no more. They restored the horses to their posts and regained their eyesight. In utter bafflement they came away without their booty. In the morning the villagers, including Dal, came to apologize to the Gurū. The Gurū forgave them and instructed them in the pious way of living. He also helped them to dig wells in the village.

The Gurdwārā is a small domed room which has the Gurū Granth Sāhib installed in it. It is under the control of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and is attached to the local managing committee at Jīnd which appoints a *grantḥī* who lives on the premises and looks after the shrine and the lands attached to it. There is scarcely any Sikh population in the village.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975
M.G.S.

KHEDĀ, BHĀĪ, a Soiṇī Khatrī, has been mentioned by Bhāī Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 13, among prominent Sikhs of the time of Gurū Nānak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
Gn.S.

KHEDĀ, BHĀĪ, a Brāhmaṇ resident of Khem Karan, in present-day Amritsar district, was a devout Sikh of the time of Gurū Amar Dās. According to Sarūp Dās Bhallā, *Mahimā Prakāsh*, Khedā was initially a staunch worshipper of the goddess Durgā and regularly went on pilgrimage to Javālāmukhī. Once, on his way to the temple, he broke journey at Goindvāl to wait on Gurū Amar Dās. However, as he learnt about the Gurū's injunction that visitors must partake of food in the community kitchen before seeing him, he, proud of his caste, refused to comply and resumed his journey without seeing the Gurū. But soon after, says the chronicler, the goddess appeared to him in a vision and admonished him for turning away from Gurū Amar Dās. Khedā

retraced his steps to Goindvāl, ate in the Gurū kā Laṅgar and proceeded to bow at the Gurū's feet. He became a disciple and earned the Gurū's blessing by his devotion. The Gurū appointed him head of a *maṅjī* or preaching district. His successors built in his memory a shrine at Khem Karan which was destroyed in the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāī, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
4. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

B.S.D.

KHEM KARAN (31°-8'N, 74°-3'E), a small border town in Amritsar district of the Punjab, has two historical shrines dedicated one each to Gurū Amar Dās and Gurū Tegh Bahādur.

GURDWĀRĀ THAMM SĀHIB, near the Kasūr Gate, marks the site of a *maṅjī* or preaching centre established by Gurū Amar Dās (1479-1574) through Bhāī Khedā, a Brāhmaṇ worshipper of goddess Durgā converted to Sikhism. The Gurū had given to Bhāī Khedā a log pillar (*thamm* in Punjabi) which, preserved as a sacred relic, gave the shrine its name. The old shrine and the holy *thamm* were destroyed during the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965. The present building, a small flat-roofed hall, including the sanctum, was raised by the local *saṅgat* in 1966. A new log brought from Goindvāl, once the seat of Gurū Amar Dās, has replaced the old relic. An old well on the premises is believed to date from Bhāī Khedā's days. The Gurdwārā is maintained by the local *saṅgat*. The death anniversary of Gurū Amar Dās falling in August-September is marked by special *divāns*.

GURDWARĀ GURŪSAR SĀHIB marks the spot, 400 metres south of Khem Karan town, where Gurū Tegh Bahādur (1621-75) once stayed during his visit to the town. The old shrine was reconstructed in 1903 by Lālā Kānshī Rām, a rich philanthropist of Firozpur. This building was destroyed during the 1965 war with Pakistan. The present structure raised during 1966-67 comprises a small hall, adjoining a domed sanctum. The Gurdwarā is maintained by the local *saṅgat*. Special gatherings take place on every full-moon day and on all major anniversaries on the Sikh calendar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Faujā Singh, *Gurū Teg Bahādur, Yātrā Asthān, Pram̄prāvān te Yād Chinn*. Patiala, 1976

Gn.S.

KHEM KARAN, BHĀĪ, son of Paīṛā Mall, a Khatrī of Pasrūr in Siālkoṭ district (now in Pakistan), married Bībī Rūp Kaur, daughter of Gurū Har Rāi at Kīratpur on 3 December 1662. The couple after a brief stay at Pasrūr shifted to Kīratpur.

See RŪP KAUR, BĪBĪ

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

2. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārikh Gurū Khālsā*. Patiala, 1970

M.G.S.

KHEM KAUR, daughter of Jodh Singh Kalālvalā and granddaughter of Sāhib Singh Bhaṅgī of Gujrat, was married in 1816 to Prince Khaṛak Singh, eldest son of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. She survived her husband and helped anti-British forces in the second Anglo-Sikh war (1849) for which reason her *jāgīrs* were considerably reduced.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

KHEM SINGH BEDĪ, BĀBĀ SIR (1832-1905), one of the founders of the Singh Sabhā movement, was born on 21 February 1832 at Kallar, a small town in Rāwalpīṇḍī district, now in Pakistan. He was a direct descendant, in the thirteenth place, of Gurū Nānak. He received the rites of *amrit* at the hands of the celebrated Bābā Bīr Singh of Naurāṅgābād. His father Bābā Atar Singh was killed in a family feud on 25 November 1839. Khem Singh and his elder brother Sampūran Singh inherited *jāgīrs* in the Jalandhar Doāb along with 41 villages in Dīpālpur *tahsīl* of Gugerā, later Montgomery (Sāhīvāl), district. On the annexation of the Punjab to the British dominions in 1849, 14 of these villages were resumed by the new government.

During the uprising of 1857, Bābā Khem Singh assisted the British in quelling a local revolt in Gugerā district. He personally took part in a number of skirmishes, proving himself an excellent marksman with gun and rifle. While accompanying Extra-Assistant Commissioner Berkeley on a drive to reopen communications with Multān, Khem Singh distinguished himself in a cavalry charge on 21 September 1857. The following day he barely escaped death in an ambush in which Berkeley was killed. The Government of India bestowed on him a *khill'at* or robe of honour of the value of 1,000 rupees and a double barrelled rifle. His *jāgīrs* were enhanced from time to time and, towards the end of his life, his possessions in land in Montgomery district alone amounted to 28,272 acres. He was appointed a magistrate in 1877 and an honorary *munsif* in 1878. He was made Companion of the Indian Empire (C.I.E.) in 1879, was nominated to the Viceroy's Legislative Council in 1893, and when the Indian Council Act was extended to the Punjab in 1897, he was among the first non-official members nominated to the Punjab legislature. He was knighted in 1898 (K.C.I.E.).

Bābā Khem Singh was sensitive to the

decline that had set in Sikh society after the occupation of the Punjab by the British and to the inroads being made by Christian proselytization. The gravity of the situation was brought home to the community dramatically when, at the beginning of 1873, four Sikh students of the Amritsar Mission School proclaimed their intention of renouncing their faith and embracing Christianity. The Sikhs convened a meeting at Amritsar on 30 July 1873, led by Bābā Khem Singh Bedī, Sardār Ṭhākūr Singh Sandhānvālīā and Kaṅvar Bikramā Singh of Kapūrthalā. As a result of their deliberations, a society called Srī Gurū Singh Sabhā was established at a largely attended gathering on the occasion of Dussehrā, 1 October 1873.

Singh Sabhās began to spring up at other places as well. A co-ordinating *Khālsā Dīwān* was formed at Amritsar on 12 April 1883, with Bābā Khem Singh as president and Bhāi Gurmukh Singh of Lahore as chief secretary. Serious differences, however, soon arose between the two. Bābā Khem Singh, being a direct descendant of Gurū Nānak, was glorified by his followers which was resented by many. At the Baisākhī *dīvān* at Amritsar in 1884, he was given the customary cushioned seat in the presence of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The group led by Bhāi Gurmukh Singh protested. A schism arose. Bābā Khem Singh's supporters were commonly burlesqued as *gadailā* party.

A separate *Khālsā Dīwān* was set up at Lahore in April 1886. Bābā Khem Singh, supported by the Patron of the Amritsar Dīwān, Rājā Bikram Singh of Faridkot, secured the excommunication of Bhāi Gurmukh Singh under the seal of the Golden Temple. This, however, did not help him retain his position among the Sikh masses; henceforth, his influence was restricted to the Poṭhohār region and to some areas in Western Punjab. There he preached among the Sahajdhārīs, and brought a large number into the Sikh fold.

Besides the propagation of Sikh faith, Bābā Khem Singh's important contribution lies in the spread of education among the Sikh masses, especially women. In 1855, the dispatch of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which initiated a new era in Indian education, was received at Lahore. The following year the Punjab Government established the Department of Public Instruction and planned to open 30 single-teacher primary schools in each district. Bābā Khem Singh lent his full support to the scheme. He also opened schools on his own in the Rāwalpiṅḍī division. Out of his immense wealth he gave away liberally for this purpose and at least fifty schools for boys and girls were opened in the Punjab through his help. On the occasion of the marriage of his daughter in 1893, he donated Rs 3,00,000 for religious and charitable purposes. Half of this amount was for setting up a college at Rāwalpiṅḍī. As a beginning, a vocational school was opened there, in early 1894, with provision for training in dyeing, photography, carpentry, tailoring, etc. Provision was made for subsidized board and lodging for poor students.

Bābā Khem Singh lived in princely style and enjoyed the reverence of hundreds of thousands of followers in Western Punjab and what later became the North-West Frontier Province. He was on a tour of the latter in the spring of 1905 when he suddenly fell ill. On 8 April 1905, he left Peshāwar by rail in a state of serious sickness and feebleness, and died at Montgomery on 10 April 1905.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Nārā, Hirā Singh, *Pañjāb Ratan Bābā Khem Singh Sāhib Bedī*. Delhi, 1972
2. Jagjit Singh, *Singh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974
3. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
4. Gurmukh Singh, Bhai, *My Attempted Excommunication from the Sikh Temples and the Khalsa Community at*

Faridkot in 1897. Lahore, 1898

5. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
Gd.S.

KHERĀ BHĀĪ, a Soiṇī Khatri, has been listed in Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārāñ*, XI, 13, among the Sikhs of the time of Gurū Nānak (1469-1539).

See PRITHĀ, BHĀĪ

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhāñ dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

M.G.S.

KHIĀLĀ KALĀÑ, a village 8 km north from Mānsā (29°-59'N, 75°-23'E) in Mānsā district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. As the Gurū once arrived here, a Brāhmaṇ peasant, just returned after ploughing his fields, waited on him. The Gurū asked him to fetch some fire. He brought the fire and also a pitcher of milk. The milk was distributed among the Sikhs. The Gurū blessed the Brāhmaṇ saying, "Your pitchers will never be empty of milk." He also gave him a bronze bowl which is still preserved in the family as a sacred relic. According to local tradition, the villagers complained about the scarcity of drinking water. The Gurū shot an arrow and said, "Dig where the arrow falls and plant a banyan tree there." The arrow flew over the village on to the other side. The Gurū left the next morning; the villagers followed the instructions he had given and were amazed to strike sweet water on the site where his arrow had fallen. There are now three *gurdwārās* in Khiālā Kalāñ commemorating Gurū Tegh Bahādur's visit.

GURDWĀRĀ PĀTSHĀHĪ IX, locally called Gurdwārā Mahantāñvālā, marking the site where Gujjar Rām, the Brāhmaṇ, had,

according to his descendants, offered milk to the Gurū, is on the northern outskirts of the village. It comprises a square sanctum inside a brick-paved rectangular hall, with a verandah in front. The Gurdwārā, which owns 50 acres of land originally granted by the former rulers of Paṭiālā in whose domain Khiālā Kalāñ lay, is under the control of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

GURDWĀRĀ BER SĀHIB, close to Gurdwārā Mahantāñvālā, has been recently constructed around the *ber* tree under which Gurū Tegh Bahādur had sat. It is a flat-roofed rectangular room in which the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated. The management is in hands of the local *saṅgat*.

GURDWĀRĀ TĪRSAR MITṬHĀ KHŪH is near the well of sweet water (*mitṭhā khūh* in Punjabi), dug by the villagers where the *tīr*, or arrow, shot by Gurū Tegh Bahādur had fallen. The old well is still in use, but the Gurdwārā building has been constructed anew in recent years by the Nihāṅgs of the Buḍḍhā Dal, who administer it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurduāñiāñ*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Kankhal, 1975
M.G.S.

KHĪVĀ KALĀÑ, village 6 km north of Bhīkhī (30°-3'N, 75°-33'E) in Mānsā district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur who passed through here during one of his journeys across the countryside. The villagers with the exception of a farmer, Siṅghā by name, did not pay any attention to the holy visitor. Siṅghā offered his services, supplied the Gurū's camp with firewood and cooking utensils as well as with forage for the animals. A shrine was established later to mark the site where Gurū

Tegh Bahādur had camped. The present Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Tegh Bahādur Sāhib Pātshāhī IX stands in a 50-metre square brick-paved compound, with the sanctum on a high plinth. The building is topped by a four-cornered dome. The Gurdwārā owns 80 acres of land and is managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. Besides the daily worship and the celebration of major Sikh anniversaries, religious gatherings take place on the first of every Bikramī month.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twāriḡh Gurdwārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975
M.G.S.

KHĪVĪ, MĀTĀ (d. 1582), wife of Gurū Aṅgad, was the daughter of Bhāi Devī Chand, a well-to-do Marvāhā Khatrī of village Saṅgar, 4 km north of Khaḍūr Sāhib in present-day Amritsar district of the Punjab. She was, on 15 November 1519, married to Bhāi Lahiṇā (later Gurū Aṅgad), then living at Khaḍūr. To her were born two sons, Dāsū and Dātū, and two daughters, Amaro and Anokhī. Bhāi Lahiṇā, after his first meeting with Gurū Nānak in 1532, left his presence but rarely. Mātā Khīvī stayed behind in Khaḍūr, looking after the children. Succeeding Gurū Nānak in 1539, Bhāi Lahiṇā (now Gurū Aṅgad) made Khaḍūr his principal seat. Disciples began to pour in from far and near to have a glimpse of the Gurū and to receive instruction. Mātā Khīvī now took it upon herself to look after the pilgrims and supervise Gurū kā Laṅgar, the community refectory, which remained open from morning till late in the evening. For her constant attention to it, the Laṅgar came to be called after her name as Mātā Khīvī Jī kā Laṅgar. Bard Balvaṇḍ, in his verses preserved in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, says how Khīvī, the noblest of women, provided comfort to

pilgrims like a tree with deep leafy shade and how she distributed riches in the Laṅgar such as *khīr*, i.e. rice cooked in milk, enriched with ghee which tasted like ambrosia itself (GG, 967). Mātā Khīvī survived her husband to live through the times of Gurū Amar Dās and Gurū Rām Dās. She died at Khaḍūr in 1582.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Chhibbar, Kesar Singh, *Bansāvalināmā Dasān Pātshāhīān Kā*. Chandigarh, 1972
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prachīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1962
4. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Panth Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1970
5. Satībīr Singh, *Qudratī Nūr*. Jalandhar, 1981

M.G.S.

KHIZRĀBĀD (30°-52'N, 76°-39'E), an old village in the interior of Ropar district of the Punjab, claims a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Damdamā Sāhib, commemorating the visit of Gurū Gobind Singh in 1688 when he was returning from Pāoṅṅā to Anandpur via Rāipur Rāṇī and Maṇī Mājra. An old *pīpal* tree marks the site where the Gurū had stayed. A *gurdwārā* has been raised recently by the local *saṅgat*. Another shrine near by honours the memory of Bābā Zorāwar Singh (not Sāhibzādā Zorāwar Singh, the Gurū's third son). This Zorāwar Singh was the son of Bhāi Natthū, a carpenter of Bassī Paṭhānān. His mother being Mātā Jīo's domestic maid, he was brought up in Gurū Gobind Singh's household and was held in deep affection by him. According to the Bhaṭṭ Vahīs, he was wounded in the battle of Chamkaur, but survived the injuries and escaped to Koṭlā Nihaṅg Khān and later to Khizrābād. He rejoined Gurū Gobind Singh in Rājasthān and was killed in a skirmish at Chittoṛgaṛh on 6 Baisākh 1765 Bk/3 April 1708.

The shrine at Khizrābād, called Dehrā

Bābā Zorāwar Sīngh, is an old building comprising a square sanctum, with a circumambulatory passage and wide verandah all around. The ceiling and walls of this building are painted with floral designs and murals depicting scenes from Hindu mythology. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated in the sanctum and an annual fair is held here from 21-23 March.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Sīngh, Giānī, *Twārikh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Sīngh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975
M.G.S.

KHOSĀ KOTLĀ, 10 km northwest of Mogā (30°-48'N, 75°-10'E) in Farīdkoṭ district, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind who, during one of his tours of the Mālṽā region, made a brief halt here. A small Mañjī Sāhib commemorated the visit until the construction in 1908 of a new building which, in turn, gave place to the present Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Chheviñ erected by Sant Indar Sīngh in 1939-40. This building, rising above a high plinth has an octagonal domed sanctum within a spacious hall. The 40-metre square *sarovar* is to the north of the building. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and is managed by the successors of Sant Indar Sīngh with the assistance of a committee of the local *saṅgat*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Giān Sīngh, Giānī, *Twārikh Gurū Khālsā* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

M.G.S.

KHUDĀ SĪNGH, BĀBĀ, alias JASVANT SĪNGH (1777-1861), a policeman turned saint, son of Bhāī Natthā Sīngh, who cultivated a small piece of land in the village of Syāmgarh, near Kurukshetra, was born in August 1777. The child was barely four days

old when the village was attacked by dacoits, an occurrence not uncommon in those uncertain days. The villagers abandoned their homes and took shelter in a neighbouring town. Natthā Sīngh also fled, leaving the newborn babe and its mother, Sukh Devī, locked in his house. The dacoits ransacked the entire village but Bhāī Natthā Sīngh's house remained untouched.

Jasvant Sīngh was brought up in the true Sikh tradition, and administered *pāhul*, *Khālsā* initiation, at the age of six. He received weapon training and learnt horse-riding. He was married to Chand Kaur when 17, and had a son born to him when 25. Jasvant Sīngh was serving as a *thānedār* (police sub-inspector) at Kuraṛī, in Karnāl district, when in an encounter with a party of dacoits, he was badly wounded. The period of recovery induced a mood of introspection. A meeting with Sant Bābā Bīr Sīngh, who visited Kuraṛī and held *dīvāns* in the village *gurdwārā* for two months, finally changed his life. He became a disciple. As Bābā Bīr Sīngh was once travelling to Ūnā to do homage to Bābā Sāhib Sīngh Bedī, Jasvant Sīngh followed him, his wife and son riding a horse and he himself on foot carrying the Gurū Granth Sāhib on his head. At Nauraṅgābād (district Amritsar), headquarters of Bābā Bīr Sīngh, Jasvant Sīngh served in the *laṅgar* with devotion. He made a pilgrimage to Sikh places of worship such as Amritsar and Tarn Tāran. Accompanied by a pious Sikh, Ṭahal Sīngh, he proceeded to the northwest to preach the Sikh teaching. The journey took him to Peshāwar and thence beyond the *Khāibar* Pass to Jalālābād and Kābul. In Kābul, he recruited as a disciple a Sikh called Gulāb Sīngh, employed in the Afghān cavalry as a horseman. It was in the Afghān capital that he acquired the name Khudā Sīngh. In 1834, Bābā Khudā Sīngh settled in Multān where he stayed for eight years. Diwān Sāvan Mall, governor of Multān, used to attend

his sermons. After the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, Bābā Khudā Singh was confined at Wazirābād and later at Gujrañwālā by the British. He was arrested a second time on the suspicion of being in possession of arms. He was sent to Lahore for trial before Sir John Lawrence and was sentenced to three years in jail. Bābā Khudā Singh spent the last twelve years of his life in Lahore near Gurdwarā Janam Asthān (birthplace of Gurū Rām Dās). The place where he stayed came to be known as Dharamsālā of Bābā Khudā Singh. He died in Lahore in September 1861. In popular memory he lives as Sant Bābā Khudā Singh of Lahore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Jivan Bābā Khudā Singh Ji Lahore Vāle*. Amritsar, 1962

S.S.B.

KHULĀSAT UT-TWĀRĪKH, a chronicle in Persian by Munshī Sujān Rāi Bhaṇḍārī of Baṭālā, completed in the 40th year of Aurangzib's reign (A.H. 1107/AD 1695-96), edited by Zafar Hasan and published at Delhi in 1918. Sujān Rāi was a professional *munshī* and had served as such under various Mughal *nāzims* or provincial governors. His work became instantly popular. Numerous manuscripts of it exist — in the Punjab State Archives, Paṭiālā (No. M-428); Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, France (No. 544); Asiatic Society, Calcutta (No. D-156); 'Alīgarh Muslim University Library, 'Alīgarh (No. 954/10); National Library, Calcutta (No. 183, Bb, 91.9); and elsewhere. For its style and tone of sobriety in dealing with historical events, the *Khulāsāt ut-Twārīkh* became a model for future writers. Sohan Lāl Sūrī, the celebrated author of the '*Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*', openly acknowledges his debt to this work.

The *Khulāsāt ut-Twārīkh* covers the period from the early Hindu kings of Delhi to the war of succession among the sons of

Emperor Shāh Jahān, cursorily dealing with the reign of Aurangzib also. Broadly, the work is divided into three parts: the geographical description of Hindustān, the Hindu kings of Delhi, and the Muslim kings of Delhi. In the part dealing with the divisions of the Mughal empire, Sujān Rāi gives a detailed account of the province of Lahore within which fell his own native town of Baṭālā. He describes the annual fair at the nearby Achal, and as he refers to Gurū Nānak's place (*makān*) on the bank of the River Rāvī, he inserts a whole section embracing the lives of the founder of the Sikh faith and his successors. At a few other places in the text is also given some incidental information about the Gurūs and their followers. According to the author, Gurū Nānak was a great mystic who depicted the reality and the truth of the Supreme Being in his compositions and emphasized the unicity of the Godhead. He was born at Talvaṇḍī Rāi Bhoē in the reign of Bahlol Lodhī and, through God's grace, he was endowed with the power of working miracles at an early age. He travelled in many parts of the world, got married in Baṭālā and eventually settled down in a village on the bank of the Rāvī, in the *parganah* of Baṭālā. People from all directions used to come in large numbers to become his disciples. Between the age of 70 and 80, in the reign of Salīm Shāh, Gurū Nānak departed this life. At the time of his death he chose Lahiṇā, a Trehaṇ Khatrī, as his successor and installed him on his seat as Gurū Aṅgad.

About Gurū Nānak's successors, Sujān Rāi provides scanty detail. Gurū Aṅgad remained on the spiritual *gaddī* for thirteen years and nominated before his end Amar Dās, a Bhallā Khatrī, as his successor. Sujān Rāi errs when he says that Gurū Aṅgad had no sons and that Amar Dās was his son-in-law. Gurū Amar Dās guided his people for twenty-two years and, though he had sons, chose his son-in-law, Rām Dās, a Sodhī Khatrī,

as his successor, who adorned the seat for seven years. After him, came his son Gurū Arjan. Akbar, who had once visited him, was greatly pleased to listen to the compositions of Gurū Nānak. On Gurū Arjan's suggestion, the Emperor had reduced the rate of land revenue chargeable from farmers. Gurū Arjan's son and successor, Gurū Hargobind spent some of the thirty-seven years of his life at Kiratpur. His son, Gurdittā, having died in his lifetime, he nominated his grandson, Har Rāi, as his successor. Gurū Har Rāi lived at Kiratpur. When Dārā Shukoh, pursued by Aurāṅzīb, came towards the Punjab, Gurū Har Rāi went to him with a large contingent. Gurū Har Rāi nominated his young son, Har Krishan, who was succeeded by Tegh Bahādur, a younger son of Gurū Hargobind. Gurū Tegh Bahādur was imprisoned by some *amīrs* (nobles) and executed in Shāhjahānābād in the seventeenth regnal year of Aurāṅzīb under royal orders. At the time of completing the *Khulāsāt ut-Twārikh*, the son of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, named Gobind Rāi, had held the spiritual office at Mākhovāl for twenty-two years.

Sujān Rāi's account is not free from errors, but its overall accuracy is really striking. He gives the impression of care and diligence in the collection of his information. Of special significance is his impression of the Sikhs of his day. "Most of the followers of Gurū Nānak," observes Sujān Rāi, "have an exalted state, with the spiritual status of those whose prayers are accepted. Polite in conversation, they lead austere lives. In the recitation of their Gurūs' verses and reflection upon them lies the essence of their worship. Playing on musical instruments, they sing these verses in fascinating melodies. They have purified their hearts of worldly affections and attachments, and have thus cast away the dark veil of temptations. A kinsman and a stranger, a friend and a foe are alike in their eyes. In harmony with their friends, they

have no quarrel with their enemies. The kind of faith which they repose in their Gurū is not witnessed among any other group of people. For them, one of the best forms of worship is the service of a wayfarer in the Gurū's name which is constantly on their lips. If a person arrives at midnight and mentions the name of Bābā Nānak, they feed him and lodge him as a brother and friend to the best of their means, though he may be a total stranger or even a thief, a highway man or a profligate."

A Punjabi translation of the work was published by Punjabi University, Paṭiālā, in 1972.

J.S.G.

KHURĀNĀ, village 7 km east of Saṅgrūr (30°-14'N, 75°-50'E) in the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind, who passed through it while travelling across the Mālvā region in 1616. Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Chhemī, marking the spot where he alighted, is to the southeast of the village. It is a modest domed room in a low-wall compound which also encloses a couple of rooms for the *granthī*. The Gurdwārā is affiliated for administration to Gurdwārā Nānakiāṇā Sāhib, Maṅgvāl (Saṅgrūr).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārikh Gurduānān*. Amṛtsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tirath Saṅgrahi*. Kankhal, 1975
M.G.S.

KHURSHĪD KHĀLSĀ (*khurshīd*, lit. the sun — rays of the sun) is a book in Urdu pertaining to the history of the Sikhs from the time of Gurū Nānak published at Āftāb-i-Hind Press in Lahore in 1885. The book caused a considerable amount of controversy in contemporary Sikhism. Already riven into two factions, the Amṛtsar and Lahore groups, the antagonism between the two — one espousing the cause of Mahārājā Duleep Singh, the deposed sovereign of the Punjab,

and the other openly hostile to him — sharpened. Members of the Kūkā sect were the principal supporters of the Mahārājā. The book written by Bāvā Nihāl Singh, an employee of Mahārājā Bikram Singh of Farīdkoṭ, contained passages favourable to Mahārājā Duleep Singh, who had by then turned a foe of the British. The Lahore party objected and asked the author to withdraw the book. At celebrations in honour of Gurū Nānak's birth, a portrait of Duleep Singh was displayed by the Amritsar leaders in the presence of the Gurū Granth Sāhib which was resented by the Lahore party. In October 1885 Gurmukh Singh, secretary of the Khālsā Dīwān Lahore, issued a letter clearing the Dīwān of any connection with the publication and throwing the entire responsibility on the author and the publisher. The author had the implicit support of the Amritsar faction. The book was considered to be subversive of the Sikh tenets and the author was expelled from the membership of the Singh Sabhā.

S.S.B.

KHUSRAU, PRINCE (1587-1622), the eldest son of Prince Salīm (later Emperor Jahāngīr) from Mān Bāi (later Shāh Begam), daughter of Rājā Bhagvān Dās of Āmber, was born at Lahore on 6 August 1587. His grandfather, Emperor Akbar, had him brought up in the liberal tradition, entrusting his education to teachers, such as Abu'l-Fazl and Abu'l-Khair. Sheo Datt, a scholar of distinction, instructed him in Hindu religious thought and philosophy. Under the influence of these teachers and of his mother and Rājā Mān Singh, who acted as his guardian for some time, Khusrāu developed an eclectic interest in religion. His amiable disposition won him the favour of his grandfather and the goodwill of the liberal party at the court. But as relations between the Emperor and Prince Salīm became strained, Khusrāu was driven into an unseemly conflict with his father as a rival for succession to the throne.

During Akbar's absence in the South in 1599-1601, Salīm openly rebelled and started holding court at Allāhābād. In August 1602, he had Abu'l-Fazl, his father's trusted friend and counsellor, killed through a hired assassin. Salīm's excessive indulgence in wine was also a cause of distress to his father, especially after the death from the effects of alcohol of his second son, Dāniyāl, in April 1604. His third son, Murād, had met with a similar fate in May 1599. In this situation, Khusrāu came to be considered by a section of the nobles headed by Rājā Mān Singh and Mirzā 'Azīz Kokā, to whose daughter the young prince had been married, as a natural successor to Akbar. Distressed at the tension that had developed between the father and the son, Khusrāu's mother, Shāh Begam, committed suicide on 16 May 1604. Salīm, recalled to the court in November 1604, was reconciled to his father who, shortly before his death on 17 October 1605, appointed him his successor. Salīm, now Emperor Jahāngīr, placed Khusrāu under strict surveillance at Āgrā from where the latter escaped on 6 April 1606 and hurried towards the Punjab with only 350 horsemen, augmented at Mathurā by another contingent of 300 horse. The fugitive prince during his flight from Āgrā to Lahore, in April 1606, met Gurū Arjan, probably at Tarn Tāran. According to Sarūp Das Bhallā, *Mahimā Prakāsh*, "He was in serious trouble. The Gurū extended to him hospitality of Gurū kā Laṅgar. Spending the night there, he resumed his journey." The Gurū's detractors headed by Chandū Shāh, a revenue official at the court, incited the Emperor, while he was still in Lahore, against him (the Gurū) alleging that he had given help to the rebel prince and blessed him putting a mark of royalty on his forehead. Jahāngīr, who, according to what he records in his autobiography, resolved "to put an end to his preachings or bring him to the fold of Islam," summoned Gurū Arjan to his

court and ordered his execution with confiscation of his property. The Gurū was consequently tortured to death.

Khusrau himself was captured on 27 April 1606 at Shāhpur ferry on the River Chenāb. Following an abortive attempt to escape, he was blinded. In October 1616, he was transferred from the custody of Anī Rāi Sīngh, a Rājput noble sympathetic to the prisoner, to that of Āsaf Khhān, brother of Nūr Jahān and father-in-law of Prince Khhurram (later Emperor Shāh Jahān), the ambitious third son of Jahāngīr. In November 1620, Khhurram secured the possession of the person of Khusrau, and had him done to death on 29 January 1622.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
2. Smith, Vincent, *The Oxford History of India*. Oxford, 1958
3. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *History of the Panjab*. Delhi, 1964
4. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I., Princeton, 1963
5. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983

K.A.N.

KHUSHĀL CHAND, RĀJĀ, or Khushāl Rāi (d. 1752), an official under the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shāh (1719-48) and a writer and poet of some merit, described himself as a Nānakpanthī, i.e. a follower of Gurū Nānak, his father Jīvan Rām, and grandfather, Anand Rām Kāyastha, had also served in the Mughal court. Khushāl Chand's *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadshāhī*, 1748, in Persian prose, gives an account of the successors of Aurāngzīb from Bahādur Shāh I to the death of Rafī ud-Daulā Shāh Jahān II. It contains a detailed account of the massacre at Delhi of Bandā Sīngh Bahādur and of the Sikhs captured with him, including the story of a young boy who chose to die along with his brothers-in-faith declaring himself to be a Sikh although his mother had obtained a

royal decree for his release on the plea that he was not. Besides, Khushāl Chand composed many songs and hymns in Hindi, Punjabi and Rekhtā, a manuscript of which is preserved in the Central Public Library, Paṭiālā (MS. 568). In his compositions, he has used sixty-odd different metres specifying the *rāga* or musical measure and even the rhythm in each case, which fact testifies to his knowledge of music as well as of prosody. He was a devotee of the Gurūs and there are references in his verse to their teachings and to the events of their lives. The word Khhālsā occurs at several places in his poetry, in its prevalent Sikh usage as a collective name for the Sikh commonwealth.

P.S.P.

KHUSHĀL SĪNGH (d. 1795), son of Dān Sīngh, who was the younger brother of Nawāb Kapūr Sīngh, leader of the Dal Khhālsā, succeeded the Nawāb to the leadership of the Sīnghpuriā *misl*. He added a number of places and *parganahs* such as Bahrāmpur and Nūrpur to his estate. After the death of Ādīnā Beg, the *faujdar* of Jalandhar Doāb, Khushāl Sīngh, along with Jassā Sīngh Āhlūvālīā, attacked his *dīvān* Bishambhar Mall in 1759, captured Jalandhar and several adjoining areas. The Āhlūvālīā Sardār allowed Khushāl Sīngh to make Jalandhar his capital. Khushāl Sīngh captured the *parganahs* of Haibatpur and Paṭṭi from the Paṭhān chief of Kasūr and placed these under the charge of his son, Buddh Sīngh. At the time of the conquest of Sirhind by Sikhs in January 1764, he acquired Bharatgarh, Machhalī, Ghanaulī, Manaulī and several other villages as his share of the booty. He, along with other Sikh *sardārs*, kept making guerilla attacks upon the invading Afghān hordes of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī whenever he could. Khushāl Sīngh and Rājā Amar Sīngh of Paṭiālā seized from the Nawāb of Rāikoṭ 23 villages around Chhat and Banūr which remained

under their joint control for several years. Khushāl Singh built a bazar at Amritsar called Kaṭrā Singhpurīān, now known as Bazar Kaseriān. Khushāl Singh died in 1795. His territory annually yielded two lakhs in the Bārī Doāb, one lakh in the Jalandhar Doāb and one and a half lakh in the Sirhind province.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol.I. Princeton, 1966
3. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol.IV. Delhi, 1982

S.S.B.

KHUSHĀL SINGH, BHĀI (1889-1921), one of the Nankānā Sāhib martyrs, was born on 5 Chet 1945 Bk/17 March 1889, the son of Bhāi Buddh Singh. He learnt to read Gurmukhī in the village *gurdwārā* and received the rites of Khālsā initiation. He was one of the 15 Akālī volunteers from his village who, joining the *jathā* of Bhāi Lachhman Singh of Dhārovālī, laid down their lives on 20 February 1921 in an effort to free Gurdwārā Janam Asthān from the control of its dissolute custodian, Mahant Narain Dās. See NANKĀNĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE. The Shiromanī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee settled upon the family pension at Rs 107 per annum besides discharging its debt of Rs 1300.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahidī Jivan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

KHUSHĀL SINGH, BHĀI (1862-1945), holy man with mastery of Sikh music, was the son of Bhāi Gurmukh Singh, a Jat Sikh of Daudhar, a village 22 km southeast of Mogā (30°-48'N, 75°-10'E), in Farīdkoṭ district of

the Punjab. Blind from birth, Khushāl Singh received instruction in *gurbānī* and *kīrtan* or devotional music in Vaḍḍā Ḍerā, a school for training Sikh musicians established at Daudhar in 1859 by Sant Suddh Singh (d. 1882). Bhāi Vīr Singh (d. 1902), an accomplished musician who became *mahant* or head of the institution after the death of its founder, was his teacher. Khushāl Singh made swift progress and acquired uncanny proficiency in the art. Besides solitary recitation of *gurbānī* early in the morning and *kīrtan* in the *saṅgat* morning and evening, he gave lessons in devotional music to the inmates of the Ḍerā most of whom were physically handicapped being blind or maimed. The instruments taught included *sarandā*, *sitār*, *tānpūrā* and various kinds of drums and concussion instruments, but Khushāl Singh's particular specialization was in *sarandā*. A good vocalist, he not only sang the traditional classical measures, but also made his own innovations. Once his singing of a hymn in Mirzā Gauṛī, a new tune set by himself, in a learned gathering at Damdamā Sāhib, Talvaṇḍī Sābo, drew unprecedented applause.

Bhāi Khushāl Singh died in 1945 at the ripe age of 83. The wooden frame of his favourite *sarandā* is preserved in a museum in the town of Farīdkoṭ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Avtār Singh and Gurcharan Singh, *Gurbānī Saṅgīt*. Patiala, 1979
2. Sundar Singh, Bhāi, *Gurbānī Saṅgīt*. Amritsar, n.d.
3. Singh Sabhā Patrikā. February-March 1978

B.J.S.

KHUSHĀL SINGH, JAMĀDĀR (1790-1844), son of Hargobind, a Brāhmaṇ shopkeeper of Ikṛī in Meerut district of Uttar Pradesh, was born in 1790. At a very young age, he arrived in Lahore in search of employment, and joined the Sikh army as a trooper in Dhaunkal Singh's regiment in

1807. In 1812, he embraced Sikhism and was, after initiation, called Khushāl Singh, his original name being Khushāl Rām. A handsome youth of soldierly bearing, he soon attracted the attention of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh and was appointed his personal attendant (*khidmatgār*). From this humble start, he rose to the position of chamberlain (*deorhīdār*) or "the royal doorwayman" — an office he held for almost 15 years with a temporary break in 1818. The office commanded great influence and authority. As chamberlain, Khushāl Singh was master of royal ceremonies and superintendent of both the royal palace and the Darbār. None could have access to the sovereign or enter the palace without his prior permission.

Jamādār Khushāl Singh excelled as a soldier as well. He served in various military expeditions — Kashmir (1814), Multān (1816), reduction of south-western Punjab (1820), Mankerā, Leiāh and the Derājāt (1820), Peshāwar (1823) and Kāngra (1828). In 1832, he was sent to Kashmir to assist its *nāzim*, Kaṅvar Sher Singh, with "a committee of the three" — the other two being Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn and Bhāi Gurmukh Singh. He enjoyed the esteem of Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh, but his influence declined after the accession of Mahārājā Sher Singh, who was annoyed with him for his overt support to Mahārājā Khaṛak Singh's widow, Mahārāṇī Chand Kaur. The Ḍogrā faction was opposed to him and, although he generally kept aloof from courtly intrigue, he suffered many an indignity during the ascendancy of Hīrā Singh and his adviser Paṅḍit Jallā. He was deprived of part of his *jāgīrs*; yet on his death on 18 June 1844, he left his son, Kishan Singh, a vast estate and considerable riches secreted in British territory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89

2. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *History of the Panjab*. Delhi, 1964
3. Hasrat, B.J., *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, Hoshiarpur, 1977

J.S.K.

KIDĀRĀ, BHĀĪ, an inhabitant of the village of Maddar, now in Sheikhpur district of Pakistan, was a devout Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. He was, according to the tradition preserved in his village, miraculously cured of a wasting disease. The story was, as says Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, related by one Bhāi Māṅik of Maddar to Gurū Hargobind at the time of his visit to the village while returning from Kashmir around 1620. Gurū Hargobind was told that Gurū Arjan had once visited the village and Bhāi Kidārā was one of the local Sikhs who came to offer obeisance. Bhāi Gurdās discovered that he had a swollen and festering neck. Bhāi Kidārā told him that he had long been suffering from scrofula which had not responded to any treatment, and that despaired of recovery, he had given up having any treatment. On Bhāi Gurdās' suggestion, Bhāi Kidārā took hold of one of the shoes of the sleeping Gurū and rubbed it around his neck. The disease, continues *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, disappeared. As Gurū Arjan awoke he pushed his pair of shoes with his walking stick towards Bhāi Kidārā and bestowed both the shoes and the stick on him. The relics were preserved in the village. The story is also contained in an earlier source, *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KIKKAR SINGH, PAHILVĀN (1857-1914), wrestler of legendary fame, was born on 13 January 1857 to Javālā Singh Sandhū and

Sāhib Kaur, a farming couple of moderate means living in the village of Ghaṇīeke, in Lahore district (now in Pakistan). Javālā Sīngh, himself a wrestler, wished his only son to train as one. Young Kikkar Sīngh began his apprenticeship in his mother's native village, Nūrpur, under Chulām, the potter. As he returned to his own village, he started practising with an elderly wrestler, Vasāvā Sīngh, who taught him many fine points of the sport. He had already made a name as a wrestler by the time he put himself under the tutelage of Būṭā Pahilvān, Rustam-i-Hind (a title for the champion wrestler of India), of Lahore. Soon Kikkar Sīngh came to be counted as the leading Indian wrestler and one among the best in the world. He enjoyed the patronage of the rulers of the princely states of Jodhpur, Indore, Datīyā, Ṭoṅk and Jammū and Kashmir.

Kikkar Sīngh had a prodigious frame. He was uncommonly tall, over seven feet, as the tradition goes, and many legends became current of his Herculean strength. For example, his real name was Prem Sīngh, he came to be known as Kikkar Sīngh for he had once uprooted a *kikkar* tree (accacia) with bare hands. It is also likely that he earned his botanical name because of his extraordinary height and dark complexion.

Kikkar Sīngh fought and won many bouts during his lifetime. In fact there were not many competitors to match his strength and skill. He, however, lost the last contest of his life. During the Delhi Darbār held in December 1911 to celebrate the coronation of King George V, he was challenged by a younger wrestler and an old rival, Kallū of Amritsar. Kikkar Sīngh, at 54, was long past his prime and was already a patient of asthma, but he would not let a challenge go unanswered, and came into the arena. He put up an elegant fight to the delight of the elite gathering (Mahārājā Bhūpinder Sīngh of Paṭiālā and Sardūl Sīngh Caveeshar were

among the spectators), but lost although to many eye-witnesses it appeared a dubious judgement.

Kikkar Sīngh died on 18 February 1914 at his native village where a *samādhī* or memorial shrine was raised in his memory.

Sw.S.

KILĀ RĀIPUR, small town and railway station in Ludhiānā district, claims a historical shrine called Gurdwārā Damdamā Sāhib Pātshāhī Chheviñ. This *gurdwārā* was established in recent decades in the belief that Gurū Hargobind halted here awhile during his journey from Dehloñ to Gujjarvāl in 1631. The shrine is a square domed room with the Gurū Granth Sāhib seated under the cupola. A few weapons are displayed on a separate platform near it. The management is in the hands of the Buḍḍhā Dal of the Nihāṅgs.

M.G.S.

KĪRATPUR SĀHIB (76°-35'E, 31°-11'N), a small town in Śivālak foothills in Rūpnagar (Ropar) district of the Punjāb, was founded by Bābā Gurdittā under instructions from his father, Gurū Hargobind. According to the Bhaṭṭ Vahīs, the foundation was laid by Bābā Srī Chand, the aged son of Gurū Nānak, on Baisākh Pūranmāshī 1683 Bk/1 May 1626 by ceremonially planting a twig on a tract of land acquired by the Gurū from Rājā Tārā Chand of Kahlūr, a small hill state. Gurū Hargobind settled in Kīratpur after the battles of Kartārpur and Phagwārā in 1635. It remained the seat of the Sikh Gurūs until Gurū Tegh Bahādur founded in 1665 the new village of Chakk Nānakī (present Anandpur Sāhib), 8 km further north. The town has a number of shrines of historical importance.

GURDWĀRĀ CHARAN KAVAL PĀTSHĀHĪ PAHILĪ. Gurū Nānak stayed on this site when he visited this part of the country during one of his extensive travels. Here he held religious

discourse with a Muslim divine, Pīr Buḍḍhaṅ Shāh. The Pīr lived on goat's milk which he also offered to the Gurū. As the tradition goes, the Gurū drank half of it and returned the other half to Buḍḍhaṅ Shāh, telling him to keep it till a Sikh of his came to take it. This, it is believed, was an allusion to Bābā Gurdittā until whose arrival over a hundred years later Pīr Buḍḍhaṅ Shāh was still alive (His *mazār*, i.e. grave, is located on a hilltop, about 200 metres to the east of Dehrā Bābā Gurdittāji and is also visited by Sikh pilgrims to Kīratpur).

Gurdwārā Charan Kaval stands on a high base. The heavy stone walls riveting the base and the dented parapet at the top give it the appearance of a fortress. The main building was constructed by Rājā Bhūp Singh of Ropar during the earlier half of the nineteenth century.

GURDWĀRĀ SHĪSH MAHAL is one of a complex of six shrines which together mark the site of the buildings used by the Gurūs. Shish Mahal, standing in the midst of this complex, was the house in which the holy family resided after Gurū Hargobind had shifted to Kīratpur. Gurū Har Rāi and Gurū Har Krishan were born and brought up here. The old building has since been demolished and replaced by a tall and magnificent edifice. To make it a Shish Mahal (Glass Palace) in the literal sense, panels of decorative reflecting glass have been fixed along the whole interior, white on the ceiling and gold on the walls.

GURDWĀRĀ TAKHT KOṬ SĀHIB. Like the Akāl Takht at Amritsar, this was the seat at Kīratpur where Gurū Hargobind held his court. Important functions such as the anointing ceremony for Gurū Har Rāi (8 March 1644) and for Gurū Har Krishan (7 October 1661) were performed here. The Takht Sāhib, a square room where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated, is on a high plinth at the northern

end of a flat-roofed hall. There is a domed pavilion with a gold pinnacle on top of the Takht Sāhib.

GURDWĀRĀ SRĪ HARIMANDIR SĀHIB PĀTSHĀHĪ CHHEVĪN marks the site used by Gurū Hargobind for meditation or rest in seclusion. There used to be a garden around the pavilion, called Naulakkhā Bāgh, with an eight-cornered fountain in it. It was perhaps in this Naulakkhā Garden that young Har Rāi once brushed past a shrub with his long-flowing loose gown causing a flower to drop from its stem. He felt very grieved to have thus damaged a beautiful flower. Gurū Hargobind, his grandfather, saw him in tears. He consoled him and said: "You should always take care." The simple words stuck in the impressionable mind and when Gurū Har Rai became Gurū, he converted this garden into a small zoo in which he left off animals captured during the chase.

The old Gurdwārā building of Sirhindi bricks and lime-cast still stands. In the centre is a flat-roofed room in which the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated.

GURDWĀRĀ DAMDĀMĀ SĀHIB is a single room, with a small domed pavilion in the centre of the roof, some 20 metres west of Gurdwārā Shish Mahal. This was the site for daily gatherings in the time of Gurū Har Rāi.

GURŪ KĀ KHŪH is an old narrow well, about one metre in diameter, close to Gurdwārā Shish Mahal. Still narrower steps lead down into the well to what was probably at one time its water level, although the water table is now much lower. This was the main source of water supply for the inmates of Shish Mahal during the times of the Gurūs and later for the Soḍhī families residing there.

GURDWĀRĀ CHUBACHCHĀ SĀHIB, to the southwest of Damdamā Sāhib, is a low-domed building inside a small compound.

Chubachchā, in Punjabi, means a circular trough of masonry work used for watering animals near wells or for feeding them with grain in the stables. Although peace had generally prevailed after Gurū Hargobind had settled in Kīratpur, Gurū Har Rāi, obeying his grandfather's injunction, had retained a contingent of 2,200 mounted soldiers. The bulk of this force was stationed near village Buṅgā, about 6 km south of Kīratpur, but a few of the animals intended for riding by the Gurū were kept at the place marked by Gurdwārā Chubachchā Sāhib. Gurū Har Rāi himself came here at times to feed the horses with his own hands. The Gurdwārā, like other shrines at Kīratpur, is under the management of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

GURDWĀRĀ MAṆJĪ SĀHIB marks the residence of Gurū Har Rāi's daughter, Bibī Rūp Kaur, and her descendants, and was taken over by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee only in 1975. Bibī Rūp Kaur was married on Maghar *sudī* 3, 1719 Bk/3 December 1662 to Bhāi Khem Karan, son of Bhāi Peṛ Mall, of Pasrūr (now in Siālkoṭ district in Pakistan), but soon after the marriage the couple came back and settled in Kīratpur itself. It was here that Gurū Tegh Bahādur came from Bakālā on Bhādoṅ *sudī* 10, 1721 Bk/21 August 1664 to condole with Bibī Rūp Kaur upon the death of her brother, Gurū Har Krishan.

The building is a double-storeyed complex of small rooms. The Gurū Granth Sahib is placed in one of the rooms on the first floor. The shrine is especially important for its sacred relics. These include a hand-written *pothī*, a hand-fan, an embroidered handkerchief, and an anchorite's cap. The cap is said to have been originally given by Bābā Srī Chand to his spiritual successor, Bābā Gurdittā, and the *pothī* contains passages from the Gurū Granth Sāhib as well as some didactic stories. Both these were

presented to Bibī Rūp Kaur, along with her dowry, by her grandmother, Mātā Bassī. The hand-fan and handkerchief belonged to Bibī Rūp Kaur.

GURDWĀRĀ BIBĀNGARH SĀHIB. *Bibān*, in Punjabi, means a decorated hearse. The severed head of Gurū Tegh Bahādur, executed in Delhi on 11 November 1675, was brought to Kīratpur by Bhāi Jaitā (later Jivan Singh) on 16 November 1675. Gurū Gobind Singh came from Chakk Nānakī (Anandpur) to Kīratpur to receive it. Gurdwārā Bibāngarh Sāhib marks the spot where the sacred head was received and placed on a *bibān* to be carried for cremation to Anandpur in a procession chanting the sacred hymns.

BĀOLĪ SĀHIB or GURŪ KĪ BĀOLĪ is a large square-shaped well covered with a domed pavilion, with steep steps descending down to water level. The well was got sunk by Bābā Gurdittā when Kīratpur was founded, the digging having been ceremonially begun by Bābā Srī Chand.

GURDWĀRĀ DEHRĀ BĀBĀ GURDITTĀJĪ, atop a narrow plateau, marks the spot where Bābā Gurdittā, eldest son of Gurū Hargobind, laid down his life. It was Bābā Gurdittā who had established Kīratpur in compliance of his father's wish. Sikh tradition credits Bābā Gurdittā with miraculous powers. It is said that once during a chase he accidentally killed a cow and then, out of remorse, revived the animal. When this news reached Gurū Hargobind, he summoned him and admonished him for trying to interfere with the Divine order. Bābā Gurdittā, now overtaken by an even deeper remorse for causing annoyance to his father-Gurū by working a miracle, quietly left his father's presence, came to this place near the grave of Pīr Buḍḍhaṅ Shāh and quit his earthly frame. The grief-stricken family and the Sikhs

came wailing. Gurū Hargobind advised everyone to be calm and accept God's will. He cremated the body on this spot. The incident took place on Chet *sudī* 10, 1695 Bk/15 March 1638.

The present building of the Gurdwārā and the steps leading to it were constructed by Rājā Bhūp Singh of Ropar. The outer compound is enclosed by high walls and is entered through a double-storeyed gateway facing north. There are domed turrets at the corners and decorative pavilions with elongated domes at mid-points of the walls. The sanctum, where the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated, stands in the centre on a two-metre high pedestal. It has wide arched doors and a low dome under an old *nīm* tree. It is believed that this tree sprouted out of a stick Bābā Gurditta had stuck into the ground near where he lay down for his eternal rest.

GURDWĀRĀ TĪR SĀHIB is sacred to Gurū Hargobind. As one ascends the stairs towards Gurdwārā Dehrā Bābā Gurdittājī, there is a hillock on the right at the end of a spur, commanding the panoramic plain stretching towards the River Sutlej. Sitting on the hilltop, Gurū Hargobind used to hold competitions in archery. There is a local tradition that once, towards the end of his days, the Gurū shot an arrow from here which landed near the Sutlej bank. That was the place where he breathed his last. The spot is now marked by Gurdwārā Patālpurī. Gurdwārā Tīr Sāhib was until recently only a small Mañjī Sāhib. But the hills of Kīratpur being of soft clay rock are highly susceptible to erosion, and the old building in danger of collapse was demolished. A new structure has since been raised on a stone-riveted base.

GURDWĀRĀ PATĀLPURĪ SĀHIB, on the left bank of the River Sutlej, marks the site where Gurū Hargobind passed away. It is recorded that, when Gurū Hargobind saw his end near, he

had a hut constructed on this site which was called Patālpurī. Designating Gurū Har Rāi as his successor, he retired to this hut spending his time in meditation until he breathed his last on 3 March 1644. Here the body was cremated with due honours. Gurū Har Rāi, who passed away on 6 October 1661, was also cremated here. Although Gurū Har Krishan died in Delhi on 30 March 1664, his ashes were, according to the Bhaṭṭ Vahīs, brought to Patālpurī and immersed in the Sutlej on Bhādoṅ *sudī* 11, 1721 Bk/22 August 1664. (It has now become customary for Sikhs to immerse the ashes of their dead in the River Sutlej at this point.) Separate shrines for the three Gurūs were constructed. There were also several monuments in honour of the Gurūs' relations and descendants. They have all been demolished and replaced by a new Gurdwārā in a vast hall on a high plinth. Towards the river end of the hall is the *prakāsh asthān* for the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Another two storeys rise above the sanctum, with a dome on top.

SANT NIVĀS UDĀSĪ ĀSHRAM near Bāoli Sāhib commemorates the visit of Bābā Srī Chand, founder of the Udāsī sect. Here he is said to have given a cap and cord, emblems of the headship of the sect, to Bābā Gurdittā. According to the notice displayed at the Āshram, this visit took place on Hār *sudī* Pūranmāshī, 1685 Bk/7 July 1628, but according to the Bhaṭṭ Vahīs he visited Kīratpur on Baisākḥ *sudī* Pūranmāshī, 1683 Bk/1 May 1626, when he planted a sapling symbolizing the founding of Kīratpur and cut the ground for the *bāolī*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Chheviṅ Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūvaj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
4. Ṭhākar Singh, Giānī, *Srī Gurduāre Darshan*. Amritsar, 1923

5. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
6. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
7. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1994

M.G.S.

KIRPĀL CHAND, son of Bhāi Lāl Chand Subhikkhī and brother of Mātā Gujarī, mother of Gurū Gobind Singh. He began his career as a soldier in Gurū Har Rāi's army and maintained close contact with Tegh Bahādur during his long years of seclusion at Bakālā. He was one of those who protected the Gurū's person against armed attack by the *masand* Shihān. He served Gurū Gobind Singh as treasurer and camp organizer. While Gurū Tegh Bahādur went farther into Bengal and Assam, Kirpāl Chand remained at Paṭnā to look after the family, and later, on the way back, he escorted his newly born son, Gobind Rai, and the ladies from Paṭnā to Anandpur. After Gurū Tegh Bahādur's martyrdom he practically occupied for several years the position of the guardian of the young Gurū and managed the affairs of the household under the care of Mātā Gujarī and Mātā Nānakī. His valour in the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī is applauded by Gurū Gobind Singh in his *Bachitra Nāṭak*.

Kirpāl Chand outlived Gurū Gobind Singh and after him undertook the responsibility of managing the holy shrines at Amritsar. The date of his death is not known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
2. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhi 10*. Patiala, 1968
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
4. Padam, Piārā Singh, ed., *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986

M.G.S.

KIRPĀL CHAND KAṬOCH (d. 1696) of

Kāṅgrā, son of Rājā Udai Rām Chand (1687-90) and the younger brother of Rājā Bhīm Chand (1690-97) of Kāṅgrā. Kirpāl Chand was ambitious and adept in diplomacy. He is said to have incited Rājā Bhīm Chand of Kahlūr to pick up a quarrel with Gurū Gobind Singh and expel him from his territory. On the other hand, he sent a messenger to the Gurū requesting him to disregard the pretensions of the Rājā of Kahlūr. However, he joined hands with the hill chiefs and fought against Gurū Gobind Singh in the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī (AD 1688). In the battle of Nadaun (20 March 1691), he fought on the side of the Mughal commander, Alif Khān, and in the battle of Guler (20 February 1696) on the side of Husain Khān. Husain Khān was defeated and Kirpāl Chand Kaṭoch killed in action.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*.
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
4. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1966
K.S.T.

KIRPĀL DĀS, MAHANT, an Udāsī prelate, was putting up with Gurū Gobind Singh at Pāoṅṭā Sāhib at the time of the commencement of the battle of Bhaṅgāṇī, fought between the troops of hill chiefs and those of Gurū Gobind Singh, in 1688. As his followers, not given to fighting ways, fled, Mahant Kirpāl Dās stayed back and joined action, flourishing his heavy mace or club. He was totally inexperienced in the art of war. Yet he engaged the Paṭhān chief, Hayāt Khān, who dealt out a heavy blow with his sword. Kirpāl Dās received it on his club. Then rising in his stirrups and shouting vociferously *Sat Srī Akāl*, he smote Hayāt Khān's head with his wooden truncheon so mightily that his skull was crushed. The

scene is described by Gurū Gobind Singh in the *Bachitra Nāṭak* in an eloquent simile. He wrote: "Mahant Kirpāl, raging, lifted his club and struck the fierce Hayāt Khān on the head, upon which his brains spilt forth as butter flowed from the Gopi's pitcher broken by Kṛṣṇa."

Mahant Kirpāl Dās was later keeper of the Udāsī *ḍerā* at village Hehar in Ludhiānā district. He was visited by Gurū Gobind Singh after the battle of Chamkaur. He, as a mark of respect, gave his shoulder to the palanquin on which the Gurū was carried to the next village of Rājōānā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*.
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
4. Harbans Singh, *Guru Gobind Singh*. Chandigarh, 1966
5. Padam, Piārā Singh and Giānī Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*. Patiala 1986
6. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968

S.S.B.

KIRPĀL SINGH (d. 1830) came from the neighbourhood of Baṭhiṇḍā in 1770 and received the village of Shāmgarh from Sāhib Singh, the Sardār of Lāḍvā, who had married his sister. He joined Sāhib Singh in most of his expeditions. His daughter was married to Kaṅvar Partāp Singh of Jīnd and granddaughter (the daughter of his son, Fateh Singh) to Shāhzādā Sahdev Singh, son of Mahārājā Sher Singh of Lahore, who lived in Bareilly. Kirpāl Singh died in 1830.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

KIRPĀL SINGH, ARTIST (1923-1990), the creator of Sikh history in colour, was born

the son of Bhagat Singh and Har Kaur in a small village Vārā Chain Singhvālā in Fīrozpur district of the Punjab on 10 December 1923. He inherited interest in art from his father who was adept in woodwork engraving, and his practical training started with drawing rough sketches in his school notebooks. He was obliged to discontinue his school studies owing to lack of means. He was forced to take up a smalltime appointment in the military accounts department where he served from 1942 to 1947. After the partition of India (1947), Kirpāl Singh moved to Jalandhar. He gave up his service and decided to adopt painting as a career. In 1952 he shifted to Delhi for some time and then settled in a small town, Indrī, near Karnāl. The first exhibition of his paintings was held in Dyāl Singh College, Karnāl, on 26 June 1955. In the following year the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, employed him as an artist to produce exhibits for the Central Sikh Museum in the Darbār Sāhib complex. He resigned this job in 1962 and went again to Delhi from where, after a few years, the late Dr Mohinder Singh Randhāwā, himself a great lover and connoisseur of art, persuaded him to come to Chaṇḍīgarh where he settled down permanently. This turned out to be the most creative period of his career. Kirpāl Singh died in an accident on 26 April 1990.

Kirpāl Singh painted hundreds of pictures, portaits and landscapes, but his particular interest and specialization was in capturing on the canvas episodes from Sikh history including awe-inspiring scenes of ultimate sacrifice by Sikh martyrs and realistic portrayal of battle scenes. Some of his original works now adorning various museums, institutions, *gurdwārās* and private homes in India and abroad are displayed in Central Sikh Museum (36), Sardār Baghel Singh Museum in Gurdwārā Baṅglā Sāhib, New Delhi (21), Anglo-Sikh War Memorial,

Ferozeshāh near Fīrozpur (11), Sikh Regimental Centre, Rāmpur, Rāñchī (12), Takht Sri Paṭnā Sāhib (8), Takht Sri Kesgarh Sāhib, Anandpur (8), Punjabi University, Patiala (18), Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiānā, (18), Chaṇḍigarh Art Gallery (1) and Gurdwārā Mahidiānā Sāhib, Jagrāon, district Ludhiana (20).

M.G.S.

KIRPĀL SINGH, SINGH SĀHIB GIĀNĪ (1918-1993), theologian and writer, was born on 10 June 1918, the son of Bhāi Mall Singh and Bibī Rām Kaur, a Brār Jaṭṭ family of the village of Vairoke in Mogā *tahsil* of Firozpur district (now in district Farīdkoṭ). He passed his middle school examination in 1932. For religious instruction, he joined the *jathā* of Sant Gurbachan Singh *Khālsā* Bhiṇḍrāñvāle on 15 February 1939 and studied with him Sikh Scripture, philosophy, theology and history. In 1944 he set up a group of his own to preach *gurnat* (Sikh religious tenet). Simultaneously he started taking interest in politics and became general-secretary of the district Akālī Jathā of Fīrozpur during 1954-56. During the illness of Sant Gurbachan Singh *Khālsā* in 1956-58, Giānī Kirpāl Singh taught at the Bhiṇḍar Kalāñ seminary. On 2 April 1958 he was appointed *granthī* (scripture reader) in Harimandar Sāhib, Amritsar. He was nominated to the religious tribunal which tried and punished Master Tārā Singh, Sant Fateh Singh and members of the central executive of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal in 1962 for a disciplinary lapse they were taxed with. During 1963-65 he served as acting *jathedār* of Srī Akāl Takht. On 2 June 1973, he was appointed Head Granthī of Srī Harimandar Sāhib which position he held up to 16 April 1983. In 1980-81 he visited the United Kingdom on a preaching tour, and on the sudden demise of Giānī Gurdīāl Singh Ajnohā, he took over as *jathedār* of Srī Akāl Takht. Giānī Kirpāl Singh resigned office as

Jathedār of Srī Akāl Takht on 24 December 1986.

Singh Sāhib Giānī Kirpāl Singh, well-versed in Sikh lore, was a writer and researcher of repute. His *Sam Arth Kosh* is a dictionary of Punjabi synonyms. He also wrote a 6-volume commentary on Giānī Giān Singh's *Panth Prakāsh*, a history of the Sikhs in mixed Punjabi and Braj verse. His detailed account of Operation Blue Star (1984) was being serialized in the *Ajīt*, a Punjabi daily of Jalandhar, when he died suddenly at his residence in Amritsar, on 26 July 1993.

M.G.S.

KIRPĀN MORCHĀ, campaign started by the Sikhs to assert their right to keep and carry *kirpān*, i.e. sword, religiously obligatory for them, which was denied to them under the Indian Arms Act (XI) of 1878. Under this Act, no person could go armed or carry arms, except under special exemption or by virtue of a licence. Whatever could be used as an instrument of attack or defence fell under the term "Arms." Thus the term included firearms, bayonets, swords, daggerheads and bows and arrows. Under the Act, a *kirpān* could be bracketed with a sword. Early in the 20th century various Sikh religious bodies, particularly the Chief *Khālsā* Dīwān, made representations to the government demanding freedom for the Sikhs to keep *kirpān* as enjoined by their religion. At the time of World War I, the British government, fearing that the ban on the keeping of *kirpān* would affect the recruitment of Sikhs to the Indian army, thought it advisable to relax the enforcement of the provision. Thus between 1914 and 1918 by separate notifications issued by the Home government, the Sikhs were given the freedom of possessing or carrying a *kirpān* all over British India. However, the terms of these notifications were vague; the size and shape of the *kirpān*

having remained undefined; prosecution of Sikhs for wearing, carrying and manufacturing the *kirpān* continued.

During the Gurdwārā Reform movement (1920-25) the *kirpān* question became a major political issue. As the agitation started by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal gained momentum, the British Indian government shelved the two notifications. Sikhs possessing *kirpān* began to be prosecuted and imprisoned, and many of the Sikh soldiers in the armed forces were court-martialled for keeping *kirpān* and dismissed from service.

The Akālī Dal's Kirpān agitation remained in full swing during the years 1921-22 when black turbans and *kirpāns* became the symbols of the Sikh defiance. The Punjab government resorted to several measures: any Sikh carrying a *kirpān* could be arrested without warrant. As an act of defiance, the Akālīs began carrying full-sized *kirpāns*. Thousands of Sikhs were sent to jail for contravening the Indian Arms Act. The *kirpān* factories at Bherā and Siālkoṭ were raided in 1921, all *kirpāns* exceeding 9 inches in length were seized, and the owners of the factories put under arrest. Excesses were committed by police upon non-violent *kirpān*-carrying Sikhs who bore these with stoic resignation and unflinching faith; by the Sikh religious organizations they were honoured with the title of Kirpān Bahādur, Hero of the Kirpān. A weekly newspaper, the *Kirpān Bahādur*, edited by Sevā Singh, was launched in 1922 from Amritsar to support the agitation.

In 1922, the Punjab Governor opened negotiations with the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. A compromise was arrived at according to which an announcement was made on behalf of the Punjab government that the Sikhs would not be prosecuted for wearing, keeping and carrying the *kirpān*. In March 1922, the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak

Committee issued instructions to the Sikhs that they must carry *kirpān* which was one of their religious emblems but it may be unsheathed and drawn out only for prayers (*ardās*), initiatory ceremonies (*amrit prachār*), and by the Five Beloved (Pañj Piāre) leading a religious march. As a sacred symbol of the faith, it should not be unsheathed and brandished except on these occasions. In this manner ended the Kirpān Morchā, a confrontation between the Sikhs and the British Indian government for the restoration to the Sikhs of their right to keep and carry *kirpān*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Josh, Sohan Singh, *Akālī Morchiān dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1972
2. Pratāp Singh, Giāni, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975

Rj.S.

KIRPĀ RĀM, DĪWĀN (d. 1843), civil administrator, soldier and statesman in Sikh times, was the youngest son of Dīwān Motī Rām. In 1819, Kirpā Rām was sent by Mahārājā Rañjīt Singh to Hazārā to settle that turbulent country. The same year he was transferred to the Jalandhar Doāb as governor in place of his father, Motī Rām, entrusted with charge of the Kashmir province. In 1823, Kirpā Rām joined the Mahārājā with the Doāb forces and took part in the battle of Naushehrā in which the Afghān forces under Muhammad 'Azīm Khān of Kābul suffered a heavy defeat. Dīwān Kirpā Rām took charge of the Sūbah-i-Kāshmir in 1827. In 1830, owing to Rājā Dhiān Singh's machinations, he was recalled to Lahore on charges of corruption and imprisoned. Thus humiliated, Kirpā Rām made plans to flee Lahore. He secretly slipped across the Sutlej, and repaired to Banāras to join his father. He never returned to Lahore, although attempts were made by the Sandhānvālī chiefs and Mahārāṇī Chand Kaur to recall

him to the Punjab. Kirpā Rām died at Haridvār on 11 November 1843.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*. Oxford, 1905
3. Hasrat, B.J., *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*. Hoshiarpur, 1977

S.S.B.

KIRPĀ RĀM, PAṆḌIT or Kripā Rām (d. 1705), was the son of Bhāi Aṛū Rām, a Sārasvat Brāhmaṇ of Maṭan, 65 km east of Srīnagar, in Kashmīr. Aṛū Rām had met Gurū Har Rāi and sought his blessing at the time of the latter's visit to Kashmīr in 1660. In May 1675, Kirpā Rām led to Anandpur a group of Kashmīrī PaṇḌits driven to dire straits by State persecution. Iftikhār Khān, governor of Kashmīr (1671-75), was a harsh man and was making forcible conversions to Islam. Gurū Tegh Bahādur whose help the visitors sought asked them to go and have it communicated to the Emperor that, if he (Gurū Tegh Bahādur) was converted, they would all voluntarily accept conversion. Kirpā Rām and his companions sent to Emperor Aurangzib a petition to that effect through Zālim Khān, governor of Lahore. Then followed the imperial summons, and Gurū Tegh Bahādur's arrest and his martyrdom in Delhi. Kirpā Rām returned to Anandpur. According to some chronicles, he helped Gurū Gobind Singh in his Sanskrit studies. In 1699, he received the holy *amrit* and entered the fold of the Khālsā. He fell a martyr in the battle of Chamkaur on 7 December 1705.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Trilochan Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur: Prophet and Martyr*. Delhi, 1967
3. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1986

A.C.B.

KĪRTAN (from Skt. *kīrti*, i.e. to praise, celebrate or glorify), a commonly accepted mode of rendering devotion to God by singing His praises, is a necessary part of Sikh worship. Music plays a significant role in most religious traditions. In Sikhism it is valued as the highest form of expression of adoration and counts as the most efficacious means of linking the soul to the Divine Essence. *Kīrtan* in the Indian tradition can be traced back to the Vedic chant in the second millennium B.C., the impulse behind it being the realization of the effect on the individual of joining the sound of music to the religious text. In Vedic rites, recitation was employed emphatically to bring out the meaning of the verses. *Kīrtan* as we now understand it was popularized in medieval India by Vaiṣṇava *bhaktas* and Sūfī saints who sang usually their own compositions which not only produced in them a feeling of spiritual ecstasy but also led their followers into a mood of fervour. Jayadeva, a twelfth-century Bengali poet who composed the famous *Gīta Govinda*, is generally considered to be the first in line, although centuries earlier Vaiṣṇava poet-saints of South India, the Ālvārs, had earned much popularity with their devotional songs, called *Nāṭāyira-divya-prabandham*. Along with the Vaiṣṇavites of the Bhakti cult who sang lyrics about the sacred love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, appeared holy men of the Sant tradition like Jñānadeva (1275-1296) and Nāmdev (1270-1350), who addressed their songs and adoration to the Formless God. In Islam in India, Sūfī mystics such as Shaikh Farīd (1173-1265) composed and sang songs to express their longing for the Divine Being. The Vaiṣṇavite saint Chaitanya (1485-1533) and his contemporary Sūfī saints also popularized *saṅkīrtana* and *qawwālī*, respectively, as forms of group-singing.

Gurū Nānak, founder of the Sikh faith, and the succeeding Gurūs promulgated, besides repetition and contemplation of the Divine Name, *kīrtan* as a form of worship.

Gurū Nānak in one of his verses thus figured forth the ecstasy of *kīrtan*: “*Rāg ratan pārā parvār, tisu vichi upajai amritu sār* — music is a jewel born of the (supernatural) fairy family; from it rises the essence of nectar” (GG, 351). But warning men against the voluptuous indulgence in music, he said, “*Gīt rāg ghan tāl si kūre, trihu guṇ upjai binsai dūre, dūji durmati dardu na jāi, chhūtai gurmukhi dārū guṇ gāi* — false are such songs, musical measures and the many rhythmic beats as bind one to the three modes of Māyā, resulting in one’s alienation from God. By wilfulness one does not annul suffering. They who follow the Gurū’s instruction are saved. The remedy lies in chanting God’s praises” (GG, 832). Likewise, Gurū Amar Dās, Nānak III: “Singing of Rāga Bilāval will become acceptable only when through it the holy Word finds utterance. Music and melody excel as they by the holy Word lead to concentration and serenity. Were one to devote oneself to serving the Divine, one would attain honour at the Lord’s court even without having recourse to melody and music” (GG, 849). In Sikh *kīrtan*, music, though an essential element, is subordinate to the holy Word. Musical embellishment and ornamentation are permitted, but what is of real essence is *gurbāṇī* or the scriptural text. Technical virtuosity for its own sake will have little meaning.

Contents of the Gurū Granth Sāhib, the Holy Book of the Sikhs, can alone be sung in Sikh *kīrtan*, more accurately *śabda-kīrtan*. The only other approved canon for this purpose is the compositions of Gurū Gobind Singh which do not form part of the Gurū Granth Sāhib but are anthologized in a separate book, the *Dasam Granth*, and of Bhāi Gurdās and Bhāi Nand Lāl. The text comprising the Gurū Granth Sāhib is organized according to *rāgas* or musical measures, 31 in number, with further variants in many of them, to which the hymns were composed. The Gurūs themselves were well versed in music. At plac-

es in their hymns they have described themselves as “bards of the Lord.” Gurū Nānak kept with him as a constant companion a Muslim musician, Mardānā, who played the *rabāb* or rebeck as the Gurū rendered the hymns composed by himself. Gurū Arjan, who compiled the Gurū Granth Sāhib, was an accomplished musicologist, who is said to have designed a new string instrument, *sarandā*, for use by *rāgīs* or performers of *kīrtan*. The Gurūs employed professional *rabābīs* (rebeck-players) and *rāgīs* (musicians) to perform *kīrtan* in their presence. *Ḍhāḍīs*, using small hand-drums called *ḍhaḍs* and a stringed instrument sang *vārs* or ballads. Gurū Arjan encouraged lay Sikhs to train as *kīrtan*-singers. *Rabābīs* as a class of hereditary musicians were almost exclusively Muslims and groups of them continued to recite the sacred hymns inside Harimandar, the Golden Temple, until the partition of 1947 when they migrated to Pakistan. *Ḍhāḍī*-singers specialize in heroic balladry rather than in *śabda-kīrtan*.

It is the *rāgī* ensemble which now performs *kīrtan* in *gurdwārās* and at congregations held on religious and festival occasions. *Gurdwārā* music begins in the early hours of the morning. In the Harimandar at Amritsar, *kīrtan* starts around 2 in the morning in summer months and around 3 in winter and is continued by a relay of *rāgī jathās* or choirs till late in the evening. At other places, it may be intermittent or limited to morning and evening hours. Traditionally, there are four *chaukīs* or services of *kīrtan*. They are: (1) *Āsā kī Vār* at early morning; (2) Charan Kamal or Bilāval *chaukī* in the forenoon (for 4 hours after sunrise); (3) Sodar *chaukī* at sunset; and (4) Kalyān *chaukī* in the evening about an hour and a half after sunset. A *rāgī jathā* commonly comprises three members — a lead singer nowadays usually playing the harmonium, a companion also at harmonium, and a *tablā* player (*tablā*, a pair of drums). The more elaborate ensembles

may have one or more additional singers playing traditional string instruments such as *tāūs*, *tānpūrā* or *sarandā*. The *rāgīs* sit on the ground or on a platform but always lower than, and usually to the left of where the Holy Book is seated. Smaller localities depend on local talent and simpler instruments such as a *ḍholakī*, a harmonium, cymbals and *chimtā* (tongs fitted with jingling metallic discs). The performance follows the basic design of the classical tradition. Only permissible texts are rendered, with no extra words or syllables added. Every hymn is sung, as far as possible, in its correct *rāga* and performed in appropriate *lai* (tempo), *sur* (melody), *tān* (tune) and *tāl* (rhythm). The *kīrtan* commences with an *alāp* (long-drawn vocal tune) setting the pattern and tone of the music. The tempo is slow and words are pronounced in a mood of reverence and devotion. The refrain is presented in the first place by the lead singer and is repeated in chorus by the other *rāgīs*. Then the harmoniums and/or string instruments repeat the tune to be followed by a vocal recitation. *Rāga* phrases may be presented in their entirety or divided to suit the text and the tune. In either case, the phrase will end with a chorus. Interludes in the development section, i.e. melodic material from both *sthāī* (refrain) and *antarā* (crescendo), may occasionally be done by *tablā* alone or sung with a vowel sound to the same melody instead of a repetition by a reed or string instrument. If a full classical development of a *rāga* is not attempted, a lighter classical style may be employed, especially for *ślokas* and *paurīs* of a *vār*. Explanatory or amplificatory passages, again out of permissible texts alone, may be inserted in the main composition and presented in a related *rāga* or in a recitative musical style. The lead singer generally introduces all new texts and musical material but the others may join in during the latter part of the phrase.

Śabda-kīrtan has some limitations placed

upon it traditionally in order that the religious structure of the performance is not compromised. In no case must the holy text be garbled, not even for musical effect. Every single word must be accurately pronounced. The message must reach the listener through clearly enunciated words. Hymns should be sung with affirmation in a full voice. *Gamaks* or musical ornaments should be limited to those essential to the correct performance of a *rāga* such as glides between notes to maintain a connected melodic line. However, creative faculties of the performers should not be inhibited. Hand gestures, clapping and dancing are prohibited. No appreciation may be shown to the *rāgīs* during the performance.

The *Sikh Rahit Maryādā* or code of conduct published under the authority of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, statutorily elected religious body of the Sikhs, defines *kīrtan* as rendition of *gurbāṇī* or Scriptural texts in (appropriate) *rāgas*. For illustration, verses from Bhāī Gurdās and Bhāī Nand Lāl could be used. Even when singing the hymns in open religious tunes, i.e. when they are not being rendered by the *rāgī* ensemble in prescribed *rāgas*, with the entire congregation participating or forming an alternate chorus, the purity of line and phrase has to be maintained, eschewing additional words or syllables. Only a line from the hymn in question may be used as the refrain.

Combining discourse with *kīrtan* is sometimes resorted to generally by the lead *rāgī*, but it is not favoured by connoisseurs of music, or by lovers of *gurbāṇī* who prefer *nīrol*, i.e. unadulterated *śabda-kīrtan*. Lately, *kīrtan darbārs*, continuous sessions in which several choir groups take turns at singing Sikh hymns, *akhaṇḍ* (uninterrupted) *kīrtan* or *raiṇ sabāī* (night-long) *kīrtan* have come into vogue. They not only cater to the aesthetic and spiritual needs of the devotees, but also help widen the

scope and appeal of Sikh *kīrtan*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Deva, B.C., *Indian Music*. Delhi, 1974
2. Avtār Singh and Gurcharan Singh, *Gurbānī Saṅgīt*. Patiala, 1979
3. Sundar Singh, Bhāi, *Gurmat Saṅgīt*. Amritsar, n.d.
4. *Singh Sabhā Patrikā*. February-March 1978

G.S.T.

KĪRTĪĀ, BHĀĪ, later Kīrat Singh (d. 1705), son of Bhāi Gurdās, a Sikh who had served Gurū Tegh Bahādur, joined the retinue of Gurū Gobind Singh as a young man. He received *amrit*, i.e. initiatory rites of the *Khālsā*, and became Kīrat Singh. He fell a martyr in the battle of Chamkaur (7 December 1705).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
 2. Garjā Singh, Giāni, ed., *Shahīd Bilās*. Ludhiana, 1961
- P.S.P.

KIRTĪ KISĀN SABHĀ, a *sabhā*, i.e. society or party, of the *kirtīs* (workers) and *kisāns* (peasants), fostered and, to some extent, funded by the *Chadr* Party, was established on 12 April 1928 with a view to organizing small agriculturists and industrial workers and other low-paid urban labour, for revolutionary activity. The Sabhā owed its origin to the Kirtī movement started by Bhāi Santokh Singh (d. 1927), a *Chadr* leader who had spent two years in Moscow "studying Soviet methods of village propaganda." Initially, he laid out secret plans to prepare the masses for action. He then started propaganda through the press. To this end, he launched a monthly magazine in Punjabi, the *Kirtī*, the first issue of which was published from Amritsar in February 1926. The journal became the mouthpiece of the Kirtī Kisān Sabhā. Bhāi Santokh Singh was helped in his work, which was first carried on secretly, by

Bhāg Singh Canadian, who was co-founder with Santokh Singh of the *Kirtī*, Karam Singh Chīmā, Bābā Vasākhā Singh and Kartār Singh of Latālā. They were joined by Santā Singh of Gaṇḍviṇḍ, also trained in Soviet methods of rural agitation, and Dasaundhā Singh and Gajjan Singh who had taken an active part in Soviet propaganda in China and had been deported to India in March 1928. A little later came Harjāp Singh, according to government papers a "notorious" *Chadr* emissary, under whose direction the Sabhā suddenly changed its tactics and emerged into the open with a definite constitution and programme. It was in furtherance of this new policy that an openly inflammatory Gurmukhī weekly *Mazdūr Kisān* was also started.

The first Kirtī Kisān conference, presided over by Professor Chhabīl Dās of the National School of Politics, was held on 28-30 September 1928 at Lyallpur. Among the 12 resolutions adopted was one declaring complete independence for the country as the goal and rejecting the recommendations of the Nehrū Committee which had limited it to dominion status. The Sabhā held another conference (13 October 1928) in Meerut which provided the authorities a pretext to launch the Meerut Communist conspiracy case and arrest many of the workers. The 1929 annual session of the Sabhā was held at Lahore during the Christmas week. Throughout this period the *Kirtī* continued to disseminate Communist thought and preach the creed of revolt against British imperialism. Every issue of the paper was proscribed and prosecution launched against its dummy editors and the press at which it was printed. The Kirtī Kisān conference held on 4 March 1931 at Anandpur Sāhib on the occasion of the Holā Mohallā festival called upon workers and peasants to set up units of the Sabhā in the villages. The Irwin-Gāndhī Pact (1931), which failed to secure release of the youth involved

in cases of violence, and the hanging (23 March) of Bhagat Singh, Rājgurū and Sukhdev were subjected to severe censure at the annual session of the Sabhā convened at Karāchī on 29 March, sharing the *paṇḍāl* with the Naujavān Bhārat Sabhā.

The Kirtī Kisān Sabhā was declared unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, vide notification No. 12467SB, dated 10 September 1934. The Sabhā ceased to exist thereafter but the movement assumed other names and continued with the task it had taken upon itself.

S.S.J.

KISANĀ, BHĀĪ, son of Bhāi Rāmā, resident of Chahal, a village 13 km southeast of Lahore, was the maternal uncle of Gurū Nānak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

M.G.S.

KISANĀ, BHĀĪ, of Muzang near Lahore, became a disciple in the time of Gurū Arjan, when the Gurū appointed Bhāi Bhānū to preach among the inhabitants of Muzang, notorious for their lack of morals. Bhāi Kisanā and Seṭh Maṅgīṇā were the first who, along with their families, accepted the Sikh teaching. They formed the nucleus of the local *saṅgat*, and assembled early in the morning to listen to Bhāi Bhānū's discourses and to sing the sacred hymns. Gradually, following their example, others were also converted, and a new pious way of life opened for them. Bhāi Kisanā joined the voluntary digging of the sacred pool at Amritsar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*.

Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KISANĀ JHINGARAN, a learned Brāhmaṇ, who received initiation at the hands of Gurū Arjan. The Gurū appointed him to preach the word of Gurū Nānak.

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān XI*. 18

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KISHAN CHAND, RĀI (d. 1873), news writer and *vakīl* or agent of the Sikh court at Ludhiāṇā, the British post on the Anglo-Sikh frontier, was son of Bakhsī Anand Singh. Well versed in diplomacy, he accompanied Colonel Claude Wade on a political mission to Peshāwar in 1839. In 1840, Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh conferred on him the title of Rāi. After the death of Mahārājā Sher Singh, he began exercising civil and criminal powers over territories under the protection of the Lahore Darbār, and amassed great wealth. When Rājā Hirā Singh became the prime minister, he grew jealous of Rāi Kishan Chand's increasing influence and his pro-Gulāb Singh leanings. As hostilities broke out between the British and the Sikhs in 1845, Kishan Chand left Ludhiāṇā and crossed the Sutlej into the Punjab. He lost his *jāgīrs* when the Jalandhar Doāb was annexed by the British. He was one of the signatories to the treaty of Bharovāl on behalf of the minor Mahārājā Duleep Singh, and for some time attended on the British Resident at Lahore before being permitted to retire to Baṭālā.

Kishan Chand died in 1873.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt-ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89

2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

G.S.Ch.

KISHAN KAṆVAR, DĪWĀN, son of Dīwān Hākīm Rāi, served the Sikh rulers of Lahore in various capacities. He had been the playmate and associate of Prince Nau Nihāl Singh who bestowed upon him the title of *dīwān* and showed him several other favours. In 1837, Prince Nau Nihāl Singh, while at Peshāwar, granted him command of four regiments of infantry and one of cavalry with usual proportion of artillery, on a monthly salary of 1,500 rupees. Kishan Kaṅvar was appointed administrator of Rāwalpiṇḍī in 1841. He assumed the charge of the district of Baṭālā, Dīnānagar and Kalānaur in 1848 when Lahiṇā Singh Majīthiā, the administrator of the territory lying between the Rivers Rāvi and Sutlej, left for Banāras. He fought against the British with his father at the time of the second Anglo-Sikh war of 1848-49.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

G.S.N.

KISHAN KAUR or Kaṅval Kaur, the widow of Rājā Dharam Singh, was the mother-in-law of Ṭhākur Singh Sandhānvaliā, prime minister in Mahārājā Duleep Singh's emigre government at Pondicherry. Her son Nāhar Singh, alias Nihāl Singh, Rājā of Ballabgarh since 1829, was implicated in the 1857 uprising and hanged by the British. Several of the Rāṇī's relations were deported to Burma. Rāṇī Kishan Kaur, who was allowed to retain her private property, espoused the cause of Duleep Singh and helped in the transmission of letters and messages from Ṭhākur Singh to his contacts in the Punjab.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ganda Singh, ed., *History of the Freedom Movement in the Punjab (Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence)*. Patiala, 1972

K.S.T.

KISHAN KAUR, daughter of Chaudharī Rājā Singh belonging to the village of Samrā, in Amritsar district of the Punjab, was married to Prince Khaṛak Singh, eldest son of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, in 1818. She survived her husband and was granted by the British an annual pension of Rs 2,324.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

S.S.B.

KISHAN KAUR, MĀĪ (1860-1952), known for her fearless role in the Jaito agitation, was the daughter of Sūbā Singh and Māī Sobhān of the village of Lohgarh in Ludhiānā district of the Punjab. The family, goldsmith by profession, later migrated to Daudhar in Mogā *tahsil* of present-day Farīdkoṭ district. Kishan Kaur was married to Harnām Singh of Kāoṅke village, near Jagrāoṅ, in Ludhiānā district. He was a *dafādār* or sergeant in cavalry who later resigned from the army and migrated to Burma, where he died at the young age of 33. Three children, two sons and a daughter, were born to Kishan Kaur but all of them predeceased their father. Kishan Kaur, now a childless widow, came back to live at Kāoṅke. She took the *pāhul* or rites of the *Khālsā* in 1907 and decided to devote the rest of her life to the service of the Gurū. She took a leading part, in 1912, in the construction of historical Gurdwārā Gurūsar, dedicated to Gurū Hargobind, near her village. Already over 60, she took active part in the Jaito agitation of 1923-24. The Government of India had forced Mahārājā Ripudaman Singh, the ruler of Nābhā state

known for his independent attitude, to abdicate. The Sikhs of Jaito, which fell within his territory, planned to hold prayers for his well-being and restoration. By order of the British-controlled state administration, a posse of armed police entered Gurdwārā Gaṅgsar, where an *akhand pāth* or non-stop recital of Gurū Granth Sāhib was in progress, and not only interrupted the service but also virtually imprisoned the entire *saṅgat* gathered there denying them exit and permitting no provisions from outside to reach them. Jathedār Dullā Singh and Suchchā Singh of the village of Rode organized a band of volunteers, popularly known as Ḍurlī Jathā, who collected the required rations and managed through feint and force to unload them inside the Gurdwārā compound. Māi Kishan Kaur was a member of this band which later arranged rations for the Shahīdī Jathās and the huge crowds that accompanied them.

The first Shahīdī Jathā, lit. band of martyrs, 500 strong and vowed to non-violence, was to reach Jaito on 21 February 1924 in a bid to enter Gurdwārā Gaṅgsar at any cost and recommence the *akhand pāth*. The state government was equally determined not to let them do so and had deployed armed police and military contingents with orders to open fire, if necessary. Māi Kishan Kaur and her companion, Bibī Tej Kaur, went to Jaito disguised as ladies of the Hindu trading class, collected intelligence about government's plans and preparations, and re-joined the *jathā* to convey the information. The *jathā* accordingly rescheduled their march and instead of going straight to Gurdwārā Gaṅgsar, changed course suddenly and headed for Gurdwārā Ṭibbī Sāhib, half a kilometre to the north. State troops, however, barred entry even to that shrine and opened fire on the *jathā*. Māi Kishan Kaur, with her small band of volunteers, at once busied herself attending the wounded. She along with 21 others was arrested and prosecuted. The trial commenced at Nābhā

on 17 May 1924. Kishan Kaur was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment. Released on 30 June 1928, she was accorded a warm welcome the following day at Amritsar, where a *siropa* or robe of honour was bestowed on her from the Akāl Takht. The Sikhs everywhere acclaimed her courage and sacrifice.

Māi Kishan Kaur continued to serve Gurdwārā Gurūsar at Kāonke till her last day. She died there on 10 August 1952.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Pratāp Singh, Giāni, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975

G.S.G.

KISHAN SINGH (d. 1846), the second son of Jamādār Khushāl Singh, an influential courtier in Sikh times. Chronicles of the Lahore district do not contain any mention of Kishan Singh until after the death of his father in 1844. As Hirā Singh Dogrā rose to power in 1843, the tribulations of the family began. Kishan Singh was offered stringent terms of succession to his father's estates. He was deprived of his father's *jāgīrs* worth Rs 1,70,000 annually, and lands worth only Rs 70,000 were left to him and his family. He was required to pay a *nazarānā* of Rs 5,00,000 to the State. In addition, he was put under pressure to bring back to the Punjab the treasure and goods his father had secreted at Haridvār. Kishan Singh, along with his mother and family, was placed under restraint at Amritsar and an official of the *toshākhānā* was sent to Haridvār to take possession of the property. The detainees were set at liberty only after the death of Hirā Singh.

Kishan Singh died in the battle of Sabhrāon in 1846.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

2. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Princeton, 1966
3. Latif, Syad Muhammad, *History of the Panjab*. Delhi, 1964

J.S.K.

KISHAN SINGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1921), son of Bhāi Sundar Singh and Mātā Nihāl Kaur, a Mazhabī Sikh couple, of Rattoke village in Amritsar district, later migrating to Burj, district Lyallpur, was a young initiated Singh and the *granthī* (custodian) of Gurdwārā Mazhabī Singhān in his village. He was only about 20 years old when he joined Bhāi Lachhman Singh's *jathā* and attained martyrdom inside the compound of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, Nankānā Sāhib, on 20 February 1921.

See NANKĀNĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jīvan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

KISHAN SINGH GARGAJJ (1886-1926), founder of the Babar Akālī movement, was the only son of Fateh Singh of Bariṅg, a village in Jalandhar district in the Punjab. He joined the army as a sepoy in 1906 and rose to be a havildār major in 35th Sikh Battalion. While in the army, he was much affected by events such as the demolition of the wall of the Rikābgaṅj Gurdwārā in Delhi, the firing on the *Komagata Maru* passengers at Budge Budge, near Calcutta, and the Jalliānvālā Bāgh massacre. He started criticizing the government for the imposition of martial law in the Punjab for which he was court-martialled and sentenced to 28 days rigorous imprisonment in military custody. He resigned from the army in 1921 and joined the Akālī agitation for *gurdwārā* reform. The Nankānā Sāhib massacre of 20 February 1921 proved a real turning point in the life of Kishan Singh. He blamed the

British for the tragedy and nursed thoughts of revenge. At the time of the Sikh Educational Conference at Hoshiārpur from 19-21 March 1921, he and Master Motā Singh held a secret meeting and resolved to slay those responsible for the bloody happenings at Nankānā Sāhib. Their first target was Mr Bowering, the British superintendent of police at Lahore. The attempt on his life aborted and the men involved were arrested on 23 May 1921. Warrants for the arrest of Kishan Singh and Master Motā Singh were issued, but both of them went underground. Kishan Singh continued making violent speeches whenever he had the chance. At Palāhī, in Kapūrthalā state, he exhorted the people to don black turbans and become Akālīs, to wear *khaddar* (home-spun cotton fabric) and not to co-operate with the government. On account of his fiery speeches, he came to be known as Kishan Singh Gargajj (the Thunderer).

Towards the close of 1921, Kishan Singh formed a secret group which came to be known as the Chakravartī Jathā. Among his trusted colleagues were Dalīp Singh Gosal, Sundar Singh Babar, Karam Singh Jhīngar, and Sant Kartār Singh (Sharaf Dīn before he converted a Sikh). They went around exhorting the people, especially army soldiers, to be ready for an armed rebellion against the British. From November 1921 to August of 1922, a series of *divāns* was held at Bhubiānā, Ruṛkā Kalān, Bulenā, Paṇḍorī Nijjhrān, Dhīngariān, Harīpur, Bhojovāl, Saṅghvāl and other villages. While Kishan Singh and his companions carried on their campaign in Jalandhar district, with frequent incursions into the villages of Ambālā district and Kapūrthalā state, Karam Singh of Daulatpur, who had organized a similar band of extremist Sikhs, worked in Hoshiārpur district. In October 1922, both groups joined together to form the Babar Akālī Jathā vowed to violence. Kishan Singh was elected president of the Jathā, while

Dalip Singh Gosal became secretary and Karam Singh Jhingar treasurer. The *Babar Akālī Doābā* was the Jathā's official organ to which Kishan Singh frequently contributed articles and poems. Additionally, a series of leaflets particularly aimed at the Indian soliders was issued regularly from August 1922 to May 1923. To obtain arms and ammunition, Kishan Singh established contact with two Sikh army soldiers — Amar Singh and Ude Singh. He directed the secret campaign for the "reformation", a euphemism for liquidation or murder, of the *jholichuks* (lit. robe-bearers, i.e. British stooges and toadies), especially those who spied on the Babar Akālīs.

The Punjab Government came down upon the Babar Akālīs with a heavy hand. A proclamation was issued announcing rewards for the apprehension of absconding Babars. Kishan Singh's arrest carried a reward of Rs 2,000. On 26 February 1923, he was seized at Paṇḍorī Māhal through the treachery of Kābul Singh, a resident of his own village, Bariṅg. Kishan Singh was the main accused in the Babar Akālī conspiracy case. The trial lasted from 15 August 1923 to 28 February 1925. His written statement, which ran into 125 pages, centred on the inequities of British rule. Beyond making this statement, he forbore from taking any further part in the court proceedings. Kishan Singh was awarded death sentence, and was hanged on 27 February 1926.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mohan, Kamlesh, *Militant Nationalism in the Punjab 1919-35*. Delhi, 1985
2. Nijjar, B.S., *History of the Babar Akālīs*. Jalandhar, 1987
3. Nijjar, Milkā Singh, *Babar Akālī Lahir dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1986
4. Pratāp Singh, Giāni, *Gurḍwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir* [Reprint]. Amritsar, 1975
5. Josh, Sohan Singh, *Akālī Morchiān dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1972

K.M.

KISHNĀ, BHĀĪ (d. 1621), a Jhānjhī Khatri, accompanied by Bhāi Pammū, a Khatri of Purī clan, once waited on Gurū Hargobind to seek instruction. The Gurū, says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, advised them to practise *nām*. "*Nām*, i.e. the Word", said the Gurū, "eradicates sin." Bhāi Kishnā attached himself to the feet of Gurū Hargobind and trained in the manly arts. He died fighting in the battle of Ruhelā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.

KOH-I-NŪR ("Mountain of Light"), the peerless diamond which today takes the pride of place among the British crown jewels, once belonged to Mahārājā Duleep Singh, the last Sikh sovereign of the Punjab. Duleep Singh was made to surrender it to the British after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. The stone, which weighed 186-1/6 carats, was exhibited in London in 1851. In 1852, it was entrusted for recutting to a London firm of jewellers who engaged for this purpose a Dutch from Amsterdam. The cutting enhanced the brilliance of the diamond, but reduced its weight by 80 carats. Today it weighs only 106-1/16 carats — still the most brilliant gem among the British crown jewels, if no longer the largest. It was set in the crown of the Queen Consort in 1937 at the time of the coronation of George VI.

During the course of its long history, the Koh-i-Nūr has witnessed the rise and fall of many a ruling dynasty. When Nādir Shāh occupied Delhi in 1739, the gem was worn by the Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shāh, in his turban. Nādir promptly exchanged turbans with Muhammad Shāh as a mark of mutual reconciliation and thus acquired the coveted stone. He was struck

by its brilliance and shape and called it Koh-i-Nūr, the Mountain of Light. The stone has since been known by this name. Nādir was murdered in 1747 and the Koh-i-Nūr came into the possession of his grandson, Shāh Rukh, who surrendered it to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī of Kābul. It passed by descent to Ahmad Shāh's son, Taimūr, and then to his grandson Shāh Zamān. Deposed and deprived of his eyes by his brother Mahmūd, Shāh Zamān contrived to retain the Koh-i-Nūr with him while in prison. Another brother Shāh Shujā', in 1795, dethroned and imprisoned Mahmūd, and acquired the Koh-i-Nūr which he found secreted in a wall of the cell in which Shāh Zamān had lived. During the struggle that followed, Shāh Shujā', became a prisoner in Kashmīr (1812), but his wife, Wafā Begam, escaped to Lahore with other members of the family and with much of the treasure, including the Koh-i-Nūr. She was given asylum by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh.

Fateh Khān, the Kābul Wazīr, sought an alliance with Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh for a joint invasion of Kashmīr and offered to share with him the booty. When Wafā Begam learnt about Fateh Khān's designs, she became apprehensive for her husband's safety. Through his courtiers, Faqīr 'Azīz ud-Dīn and Dīwān Mohkam Chand, she supplicated the Mahārājā for help and offered to present him with the Koh-i-Nūr if he would rescue her husband from captivity. Ranjīt Singh, who was already preparing to invade Kashmīr, asked his commander, Dīwān Mohkam Chand, to secure the release of Shāh Shujā', and bring him safely to Lahore. The release of Shāh Shujā' became the primary object of the Sikh expedition. The Sikhs and the Afghāns marched towards Kashmīr in December 1812. The Afghāns were better used to the hills and soon stole a march over the Lahore army. But the Sikhs reached the valley ahead of Fateh Khān striking a shorter, though more hazardous, route. Shāh Shujā',

who lay in chains in a dungeon, was rescued and escorted to Lahore. Unwilling to part with such a precious treasure as the Koh-i-Nūr, Shāh Shujā', was in the end persuaded to make good his wife's promise. He invited Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh to his house on 1 June 1813 and placed on his palm the fabulous Koh-i-Nūr.

Ranjīt Singh used to wear the Koh-i-Nūr on his left arm on State occasions. Through his sons Kharak Singh and Sher Singh, it descended to his youngest son Duleep Singh who ascended the throne in September 1843 and who was made to surrender it to the British at the end of the second Anglo-Sikh war (1849). Even though a boy of merely ten at that time, Duleep Singh was never reconciled to the loss of his proud possession. At his birthday party in 1849 itself, he sadly recalled that, for his birthday the previous year, he had worn the Koh-i-Nūr among his gems. In Duleep Singh, a minor under British guardianship when he was deprived of his kingdom and property including the Koh-i-Nūr, questioned the legality of the whole transaction. From the time of its surrender till it left Lahore, the Koh-i-Nūr was in the custody of Dr John Spencer Login, guardian and superintendent of Mahārājā Duleep Singh. In 1850, Lord Dalhousie personally took the diamond from Lahore to Bombay for despatch to England.

The history of the diamond before it came into the hands of Nādir Shāh is shrouded in obscurity. According to one version, the stone was discovered about five millennia earlier in the bed of the River Godāvarī, near Machhlīpaṭnam, in South Golconḍā, now in Āndhra Pradesh. Some trace its origin to the hills of Amrāvati, in Mahārāshṭra. It is said that it was worn by Rājā Karṇa, the legendary son of Sūrya and one of the heroes of the Mahābhārata war, who had the diamond tied around his arm as a talisman. After Karṇa's tragic end on the battlefield, the diamond passed into the

hands of the Pāṇḍavas. It is also surmised that the diamond once belonged to Rājā Vikramāditya, the ruler of the great Hindu kingdom of Ujjain in Central India, who flourished about 57 BC and who drove the Scythians out of the country. The first authentic referenece to the Koh-i-Nūr is considered to be the one in Bābar's memoirs, the *Tuzuk*. According to the *Tuzuk*, King 'Alā ud-Dīn (1296-1316) of the Khaljī dynasty was the possessor of the stone. The Khaljī king, according to some accounts, had acquired it from the Rājā of Mālvā in 1304, while according to others the diamond which once adorned the third eye of an image of Śiva in a temple somewhere in Telaṅgānā, was gouged out by 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī during his sack of the Deccan in 1311-12. It later passed into the hands of the Hindu ruler of Gwālīor and was presented to Humāyūn, son of Bābar, by the family of Rājā Bikramājīt who was killed at Pānīpat in 1526. Whatever its earlier history, the diamond was in the treasury of Emperor Auraṅzīb and during his reign the Italian jeweller, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, had the chance of seeing and examining it.

The Koh-i-Nūr is not known to have ever been bought or sold. It always changed hands as a result of conquest. Its value can hardly be estimated. Bābar had valued the gem at "two and a half days' expenses of the world." When Ranjīt Singh asked the jewellers in Amritsar to evaluate the Koh-i-Nūr, they said that its price was beyond estimate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Beveridge, Annette Susannah, trans., *Babur-nama*. Delhi, 1989
2. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
3. Waheeduddin, Faqir Syed, *The Real Ranjīt Singh*. Delhi, 1976
4. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1966
5. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjīt Singh and His Times*.

Delhi, 1990

6. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
S.S.B.

KOLĀYAT, popularly pronounced Kulait, a town 52 km southwest of Bikāner (28°-04'N, 73°-21'E), is famous for a temple dedicated to Kapila Muni, an ancient Hindu sage to whom the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy is attributed. According to Sikh chroniclers, Gurū Nānak visited Kolāyat. Gurū Gobind Singh, at the time of his travels through Rājasthān, is said to have stayed here for twelve days. Here Bhāi Dayā Singh and Bhāi Dharam Singh, who had been to Ahmadnagar to deliver to Emperor Auraṅzīb the *Zafarnāmah*, the Gurū's letter in Persian verse, rejoined him. However, no Sikh shrine existed here until 1968 when some Sikh residents of the area, led by a Sikh colonizer of Kolāyat, acquired a plot of land and constructed a *gurdwārā*.

The *gurdwārā* is a modest one-room building with a paved platform all around it. Sikh settlers of the surrounding area gather to celebrate Gurū Nānak's birth anniversary on the full-moon day of Kārtik (October-November) every year.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975
M.G.S.

KOMAGATA MARU, a Japanese tramp-steamer, renamed Gurū Nānak Jahāz, launched from Hong Kong by Babā Gurdit Singh (1860-1954), an adventurous Sikh businessman, to take a batch of Indian emigrants to Canada. This was done to circumvent the new Canadian Immigration Ordinances which, aiming to stop the influx of Indians, prohibited entry into Canada of all immigrants from Asia except by a "continuous journey on through tickets from

the country of their birth or citizenship." In view of tightened immigration controls, shipping companies were loath to issue tickets to Indians seeking passage to Canada and in Hong Kong, particularly, there was a backlog of Indians, most of whom were Punjabi Sikhs, hoping to find some way to emigrate to what they considered the land of opportunity. Their plight captured the attention of Gurdit Singh who, making Singapore his headquarters, decided to test the Canadian restrictions. He formed the Gurū Nānak Navigation Company and chartered a Japanese ship, the *Komagata Maru*, with a view to making a test voyage to Vancouver and return trip to Calcutta and, from then on running a regular service between the two ports. According to all accounts, when it was announced that the ship was going to Canada, its full 500 accommodations were booked, but when Gurdit Singh was arrested by Hong Kong authorities, almost two-thirds of the prospective passengers decided to cancel out. Gurdit Singh was released after having been held for three days and the ship sailed from Hong Kong on 4 April 1914, making intermediate stops to pick up more passengers at Shanghai, Moji and Yokohama. When the *Komagata Maru* arrived at Vancouver on 23 May 1914, there were 376 Indians aboard the vessel, of whom all but 30 were Sikhs.

The progress of the *Komagata Maru* was reported in British Columbian papers as a "mounting Oriental invasion." When the ship arrived in Canadian waters, it was cordoned off and only 22 men who could prove their Canadian domicile were allowed to land. Pressure was brought to bear upon Gurdit Singh to pay the charter dues immediately or suffer the ship to be impounded. Gurdit Singh's protests that he could only pay the money after he had fulfilled his contract with the passengers by getting them into Canada and had sold the cargo which he had on board were ignored.

Sikhs in Canada raised \$ 22,000 to pay for the charter. They appealed to the Canadian people and government for justice, sent telegrams to the King, the Duke of Connaught, the Viceroy, and Indian leaders in India and England. There were public meetings in several towns of the Punjab to express sympathy with the passengers of the *Komagata Maru*. The Shore Committee of Vancouver Sikhs ultimately took the case of the *Komagata Maru* to court. A full bench of the Supreme Court decided that the new orders-in-council barred judicial tribunals from interfering with the decisions of the Immigration department. The passengers took over control of the ship from the Japanese crew and refused to disembark. A cruiser threatened to fire on them. After having been stalled in the sea for two months — a period of grave hardship for the passengers, the *Komagata Maru* slipped out into the pacific.

The travails of the *Komagata Maru* were not yet ended. None of her passengers was allowed to land at Hong Kong or Singapore, where several had their homes. Sikhs became rebels in the eyes of the government and when the ship docked at Budge-Budge, near Calcutta, on 29 September 1914, it was searched by police, but no arms were found. The passengers were ordered to board a train which was to take them to the Punjab. The Sikh passengers refused to obey government orders and forming themselves into a procession with the Gurū Granth Sāhib at the head of it, wended their way towards the city of Calcutta. British troops and police turned out and forced them back to the railway station where, owing to the high handedness of some European sergeants who interrupted the evening Sikh prayer the passengers were reciting on the platform, a clash took place. Nineteen of the Sikhs and two European officers and two men of the Punjab police were killed and a score of others wounded. Gurdit Singh and 28 of his

companions escaped. The rest were rounded up and sent to the Punjab, where over 200 of them were interned under the Ingress Ordinance. The heroic deeds of the *Komagata Maru* men and their trials aroused the admiration and sympathy of the entire Indian nation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Josh, Sohan Singh, *Tragedy of Komagata Maru*. Delhi, 1975
2. Johnston, Hugh, *The Voyage of the Komagata Maru*. Delhi, 1979
3. Ker, James Campbell, *Political Trouble in India*. Calcutta, 1917

E.C.B.

KOT BHĀI, village 7 km northeast of Giddarbāhā (30°-12'N, 74°-39'E) in Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab, is named after Bhāi Bhagatū, a devout Sikh who served the Fifth, Sixth and the Seventh Gurūs. When Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) visited the village in 1706, two *bāñās*, i.e. shopkeepers-cum-moneylenders, Raṅgī and Ghummī by name, served him with devotion and begged to be initiated into the order of the *Khālsā*. There are two *gurdwārās* commemorating the Gurū's visit — one inside the village where those two Sikhs resided, and the other on the eastern end of the village marking the site where Gurū Gobind Singh had camped. Both shrines are controlled by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twāñkh Gurdwārān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975

M.G.S.

KOT DHARMŪ, village 13 km south of the district town Mānsā (29°-59'N, 75°-23'E), in the Punjab, has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Sūlisar Sāhib Pātshāhī Nauvīn,

commemorating the visit of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. According to the *Sākhī Pothī*, Gurū Tegh Bahādur stopped here near a pool on his way back from Talvaṇḍī Sābo. During the night two thieves broke into the camp and stole the Gurū's horse. But as they led the animal away, they felt they could see nothing. They were thus easily apprehended by the Sikhs the next morning. Brought before the Gurū, they confessed their misdeed. Gurū Tegh Bahādur said, "Why did you come to steal during the night? Take what you desire now." But the thieves overcome by remorse replied, "Our only wish now is to take the punishment in accordance with our deserts." As they were passing through a thorny thicket over a mound near by, one of them killed himself running against a dry splintered branch of *janḍ* tree (*Prosopis spicigera*). Devotees later established a memorial platform and called the place Sūlisar (*sūlī* in Punjabi means a cross or a stake). A small Mañji Sāhib subsequently constructed over this platform still exists. Here is seated Gurū Granth Sāhib. Special gatherings take place on the tenth of the brighter half of each lunar month as well as on the first of every Bikramī month. An annual fair is held on the last day of Poh (mid-January). The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. A grand new building has come up since.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975.

M.G.S.

KOTHĀ GURŪ, famous old village of the Punjab, announces its antiquity through the existence on its outskirts of a deserted ancient mound. This bulbous mountain of sand dominates the entire skyline of the village concealing within its folds many a layer of

distant history. Once upon a time this sprawling old mound was the seat of the Māns, still called in those parts by their old name of "Manhās."

The modern period of the village begins with the acquisition of the village site from the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr by Bābā Prithī Chand of the line of the Sodhis. The earlier name of Koṭhe Prithī Chand Ke was changed to Koṭhā Gurū by Gurū Gobind Singh.

The story is also current about the Mughal official Sulhī Khān who met with a painful death in a burning fire. He had allowed his horse to run loose over the half-burnt bricks of a kiln. The fact is attested by a line in the Gurū Granth Sāhib itself (GG, 825).

In the time of Bābā Prithī Chand, son Miharbān, the place became a centre of learning and many weighty manuscripts emanated from here. Among them were the *Goṣṭis* of the Bhagats and *Bhagat Bānī Paramārtha* and *Pothī Sach Khand* which is a Janam Sākhī or life-story of Gurū Nānak. Miharbān's son and his younger brother wrote commentaries on the sacred texts.

Sodhī Abhay Singh who lived in Koṭhā Gurū wrote his monumental *Harjas Granth*. Sodhī Faujdār Singh was another charismatic character. He had been allowed by the Mahārājā of Paṭiālā to keep with him as a special privilege a body of 100 horsemen. In the Singh Sabhā days, Paṇḍit Indar Singh of Koṭhā Gurū became famous for his learned commentary on an old Sanskrit text "Aushnash Simrti."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Sukhā Singh, Bhāi, *Gurbilās Dasvān Pātshāhī*. Lahore, 1912
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
4. Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tirath Saṅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975
5. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā*. Patiala, 1970

6. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Singh, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914

G.B.S.

KOṬHĀ SINGH, BHĀĪ (d. 1705), also known as Kāṭhā Singh, was one of the martyrs of Chamkaur Sāhib battle fought on 7 December 1705.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Padam, Piārā Singh, and Giāni Garjā Singh, eds., *Gurū kīān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986
2. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968

N.S.Sa.

KOṬ KAPŪRĀ (30°-35'N, 74°-49'E), town in Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab, was founded by Chaudharī Kapūrā (d. 1708), a Brār chief in the country south of the River Sutlej and an ancestor of the Farīdkoṭ family. When after evacuating Anandpur Gurū Gobind Singh arrived here in December 1705 pursued by the *faujdār* of Sirhind, Kapūrā met him with presents and provided him with a guide to lead him to the pool of Khidrānā, now Muktsar, across a waterless waste. Chaudharī Kapūrā, who subsequently had himself initiated into the Khālsā fold receiving the name of Kāpūr Singh, was assassinated in 1708 by 'Īsā Khān, Mañjh Rājput chief of Koṭ 'Īse Khān in Fīrozpur district. His grandson, Jodh Singh, built a fort near Koṭ Kapūrā in 1766, but fell the following year in a battle with Rājā Amar Singh of Paṭiālā. Koṭ Kapūrā eventually came under the control of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh and was restored to the Farīdkoṭ family only in 1847.

Gurdwārā Sāhib Pātshāhī Dasvān, in the middle of the town, marks the site where Gurū Gobind Singh had put up camp on reaching here in 1705. The present building, the cornerstone of which was laid by Rājā Harindar Singh of Farīdkoṭ on 30 January 1937, comprises an octagonal sanctum in the centre of a high-ceilinged, marble-floored

hall which has an octagonal interior but looks square-shaped from the outside with only its corners slightly slashed to give it four additional sides. A large semi-globular dome covers the entire sanctum and a verandah encircles the hall. The *sarovar* at the back is also octagonal in shape. The Gurdwārā is managed by Nihāᅅg of the Buḍḍhā Dal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Siᅅgh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Siᅅgh, *Srī Guru Tirath Saᅅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975
M.G.S.

KOṬLĀ NIHAᅅG KHĀN, about two and a half kilometres south of Ropar (30°-58'N, 76°-31'E). owes its prominence to Gurdwārā Bhaṭṭhā Sāhib. The village is named after the local chief, Nihāᅅg Khān, a god-fearing Afghān contemporary of Gurū Gobind Siᅅgh. Gurū Gobind Siᅅgh first visited Koṭlā Nihāᅅg Khān while on his way back from Pāoᅅṭā to Anandpur. The site of the present Gurdwārā Bhaṭṭhā Sāhib used to be a lime kiln which was the property of Nihāᅅg Khān. It is said that the kiln was still smouldering when the Gurū arrived here on Magghar *vadī* Amāvas, 1745 Bk/12 November 1688 and, inadvertently or otherwise, rode on to it. As soon as the hooves of his horse touched the kiln, it cooled. Nihāᅅg Khān fell at the Gurū's feet and became forever his devoted follower. He escorted him to his *havelī* and put him up for the night with reverence and attention. The Gurū again passed through Koṭlā Nihāᅅg Khān while returning from the solar eclipse in 1702/1703. The third visit was on 6 December 1705 when Gurū Gobind Siᅅgh, after crossing the Sarsā cut across straight towards Koṭlā Nihāᅅg Khān, detaching 100 of his warriors under Bhāi Bachittar Siᅅgh to cover his flank. He safely reached Koṭlā where, relaxing in Nihāᅅg Khān's house, he waited for Bachittar Siᅅgh. The latter engaged the pursuing host, but most of his

men perished in the action. He himself was seriously wounded and brought in that condition to Nihāᅅg Khān's house by Sāhibzādā Ajit Siᅅgh and Bhāi Madan Siᅅgh. Gurū Gobind Siᅅgh charged Nihāᅅg Khān with looking after Bachittar Siᅅgh, and proceeded with the remaining forty-odd Sikhs towards Chamkaur.

Informed that Nihāᅅg Khān was sheltering Sikhs, the Mughal troops searched his house. Bachittar Siᅅgh lay half-dead in a small room attended by Nihāᅅg Khān's daughter. Nihāᅅg Khān showed no sign of perturbation, and succeeded in keeping away the search party from that room saying that inside his daughter was nursing her sick husband. The danger was averted, but the life of Bhāi Bachittar Siᅅgh could not be saved. He succumbed to his injuries and breathed his last on 8 December 1705. Nihāᅅg Khān had the cremation performed secretly the following night.

Gurū Gobind Siᅅgh had, before his departure, bestowed upon Nihāᅅg Khān a sword, a dagger and a shield. These relics were preserved in the family, but no shrine was raised to the Gurū's memory until Gurdwārā Bhaṭṭhā Sāhib was constructed by Sant Bābā Jīvan Siᅅgh (1833-1938) of Buḍḍhā Bhorā on the site of the kiln. The construction was commenced in 1910 and completed in 1923. When the Paṭhān family left India, following the partition of 1947, they presented the sword and the dagger at the Gurdwārā, but the shield was taken possession of by the family who occupied their house. The sword, which has a beautiful golden hilt and sheath, carries the inscription in Perisan letters: "Shāhinshāh Shāh Mīr Muhammad Māmūr."

Gurdwārā buildings upon a 3-acre walled campus include several halls and suites of rooms. The central three-storeyed domed shrine, marking the spot where the Gurū's horse had stood on the kiln, is usually kept closed. The Gurū Granth Sāhib

is seated in two of the halls. There are two blocks of rooms, named Gurū Nānak Nivās and Dashmesh Nivās, respectively, for pilgrims. The Gurdwārā is administered by Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. Besides the daily morning and evening services, special gatherings take place on Sunday mornings and on the first of every Bikramī month. An annual fair is held from 16-18 December. The Gurū kā Laṅgar is open round the clock. Inside the village, the Nihāṅgs have established a small shrine in memory of Bhāi Bhachittar Siṅgh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Siṅgh, Giāni, *Twoāriḱh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Siṅgh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975

M.G.S.

KOT SHAMĪR or Koṭ Shambhīr, village 12 km southeast of Bathiṅḍā (30°-14'N, 74°-59'E) is sacred to Gurū Gobind Siṅgh, who visited here during his sojourn at Talvaṅḍī Sābo, in 1706. According to *Sāḱhī Pothī*, Bhāi Ḍallā, the local chieftain who was also a disciple, came to call on him. Jaṅḍālīvālā Ṭibbā, a sandy mound, where according to local tradition the meeting took place, can still be seen 2 km south of the village.

Gurdwārā Pātshāhī Dasamī commemorating Gurū Gobind Siṅgh's visit is situated on a low mound, west of the village. It comprises a hall, with a square sanctum in the middle. Above the sanctum is a square room, with a wide coping, topped by a ribbed lotus dome. The Gurdwārā is administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. Besides the daily services, special *divāns* take place on all major Sikh anniversaries. The Gurū Gobind Siṅgh's birthday is marked by a religious procession through the village.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sāḱhī Pothī*. Amritsar, 1968
2. Tārā Siṅgh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Kankhal, 1975
3. Giān Siṅgh, Giāni, *Twoāriḱh Gurduāriān*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

KRODH (Skt. *krodha*) or wrath is an emotion recognized in the Sikh system as a spring of conation and is as such counted as one of the Five Evils. It expresses itself in several forms from silent sullenness to hysterical tantrums and violence. In Sikh Scripture *krodh* usually appears in combination with *kām* — as *kām krodh*. The coalescence is not simply for the sake of alliterative effect. *Krodh* (ire) is the direct progeny of *kām* (desire). The latter when thwarted or jilted produces the former. The Scripture also counts *krodh* (or its synonym *kop*) among the four rivers of fire. "Violence, attachment, covetousness and wrath," says Gurū Nānak "are like four rivers of fire; those who fall in them burn, and can swim across, O Nānak, only through God's grace" (GG, 147). Elsewhere he says, "*Kām* and *krodh* dissolve the body as borax melts gold" (GG, 932). Gurū Arjan, Nānak V, censures *krodh* in these words: "O *krodh*, thou enslavest sinful men and then caperest around them like an ape. In thy company men become base and are punished variously by Death's messengers. The Merciful God, the Eradicator of the sufferings of the humble, O Nānak, alone saveth all" (GG, 1358). Gurū Rām Dās, Nanak IV, warns: "Do not go near those who are possessed by wrath uncontrollable" (GG, 40). *Krodh* is to be vanquished and eradicated. This is done through humility and firm faith in the Divine. Gurū Arjan's prescription: "Do not be angry with any one; search your own self and live in the world with humility. Thus, O Nānak, you may go across (the ocean of existence) under God's grace" (GG, 259). Shaikh Farīd, a thirteenth-century Muslim saint whose compositions are preserved in the Sikh

Scripture, says in one of his couplets: "O Farīd, do good to him who hath done thee evil and do not nurse anger in thy heart; no disease will then afflict thy body and all felicities shall be thine" (GG, 1381-82). Righteous indignation against evil, injustice and tyranny is, however, not to be equated with *krodh* as an undesirable passion. Several hymns in the Gurū Granth Sāhib, particularly those by Gurū Nānak and Kabīr, express in strong terms their disapproval of the corruption of their day.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī*. Amritsar, 1964
2. Jodh Singh, Bhāī, *Gurmat Nirṇaya*. Ludhiana, 1932
3. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944
4. Avtar Singh, *Ethics of the Sikhs*. Patiala, 1970
5. Nirbhai Singh, *Philosophy of Sikhism*. Delhi, 1990

L.M.J.

KUCHAJĪ, lit. an awkward, ill-mannered woman, is the title of one of Gurū Nānak's compositions, in measure Sūhī in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. Antithetically it is followed by another of his compositions called *Suchajī* (lit. a woman of good manner and accomplishment). *Kuchajī* verses are said to have been addressed, by the Gurū, to a sorceress named Nūrshāh, of Kāmṛp, who used to entice men by her magical powers. But the contents belie the conjecture. Whatever the occasion of this composition, it is a graceful poem expressing the emotions of a repentant person, who is figuratively called *kuchajī* here — (*ku-* is a prefix meaning ill or contrary, *chajj* meaning manner or style, with *ī* being the suffix of feminine singular). Speaking in the first person *kuchajī* repents for being an undeserving bride of the Lord God. In Sikh hymnology, the devotee is often presented in the image of the bride, God in that of the bridegroom. The repentant devotee in *Kuchajī* regrets being unworthy of the Lord. She realizes that she is full of faults, unredeemed by any virtues. She has been

lured all the time by material gifts, remaining completely oblivious of the Giver. What is worse, she comprehended not her shortcomings. Now recounting her faults and failures, she expresses the hope that, in spite of what she has been, the Lord God might still, in His mercy, admit her into His company.

Kuchajī is the first of three compositions in a series in measure Sūhī in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The other two are *Suchajī* by Gurū Nānak and *Guṇvantī* by Gurū Arjan. All three are notable for their lyricism and music and for their devotional ardour.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī*. Amritsar, 1964
2. Sāhib Singh, *Sī Gurū Granth Sāhib Darpan*. Jalandhar, n.d.

T.S.

KŪKĀS or NĀMDHĀRĪS, the name given to the members of a sectarian group that arose among the Sikhs towards the close of the nineteenth century. *Kūk*, in Punjabi, means a scream or shout. While chanting the sacred hymns at their religious congregations, the adherents of the new order broke into ecstatic cries which led to their being called Kūkās. The other term Nāmdhārīs, also used for them, means devotees of *nām*, i.e. those attached to God's Name. The sect had its origin in the movement of reform intimations of which first became audible in the northwest corner of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore. It harked back to a way of life more in keeping with the spiritual tradition of the Sikhs. Its principal concern was to spread the true spirit of the faith shorn of empty ritualism which had grown on it since the beginning of Sikh monarchy. These ideas were preached by Bābā Bālak Singh (1797-1862), a pious and saintly man, who collected around him at Hazro, in Attock district in the northwest frontier region, a small

following. He was visited one day by a young man, Rām Singh (1816-85), then serving in the Sikh army. Rām Singh was deeply impressed by Bābā Bālak Singh's concern about the decline of Sikh values in the wake of political power and his appeal for a life of simplicity and spirituality. He resigned from the army and dedicated himself to his precept. Before he died, Bābā Bālak Singh named him his successor. Bābā Rām Singh who made Bhainī in Ludhiānā district his headquarters, imparted to the movement vigour as well as form. He attached special importance to the administration of the rites of *amrit* or *pāhul*, the vows of the *Khālsā* introduced by Gurū Gobind Singh. Those admitted to the discipline were distinguished by their peculiarly simple style of tying their turbans and by their woollen rosary and white dress. A strict code of conduct was enjoined upon the members. They were to adore the One Formless Being and to acknowledge but one Scripture, the Gurū Granth Sāhib. They were forbidden to worship at tombs and graves and to venerate scions of Soḍhī and Bedī families, then claiming religious popularity. The importance of leading a life of regular prayer and meditation and of abstinence from falsehood, slander, adultery, and from eating flesh and use of liquor, hemp or opium was reiterated. Protection to the cow was made a cardinal principle of the Kūkās' social ethics. Beggary and parasitism were condemned as evil, and industry and charity were applauded. Regard for personal hygiene, likewise, formed an essential ingredient of the Kūkā code. No caste distinctions were recognized. Women were freely admitted to the ranks of the brotherhood and were allowed to participate in all community activity. Female infanticide, enforced widowhood and dowry were forbidden. Simple and inexpensive marriage custom, following Sikh injunctions, was introduced. Bābā Rām Singh asked his

followers to breed horses, learn horsemanship and carry clubs in their hands; also, to recite daily Gurū Gobind Singh's martial poem, *Chanḍī dī Vār*. An hierarchical structure comprising *sūbās* (governors), *nāib sūbās* (deputy governors) and *jathedārs* operated within their jurisdictions and maintained with the centre at Bhainī Sāhib, as also amongst themselves, regular communication by means of their own private postal service. Special emphasis was laid on the use of *svadeshī*, homespun cloth, as against the imported mill-made cloth. Education through the medium of English introduced by the British was to be shunned.

The Kūkā activity made the government wary and in April 1863 Bābā Rām Singh and his followers were interrogated by officials at the time of their visit to Amritsar. This was resented by the Kūkās who had among their ranks some old soldiers of the Sikh army and who were generally critical of Christian proselytization as well as of the opening of slaughter-houses by the foreign rulers. Their *ḍivāns* were now marked by added fervour. The news that the head man of a village in Fīrozpur district had turned a Kūkā, burning away in his new zeal his plough, bullock-cart, a bedstead and the spinning wheel, alarmed the district authorities who saw in such accretions the signs of the growing influence of the movement. More than 40 Kūkās trying to convene a meeting at Tharājvālā, in Fīrozpur district, were arrested and seven of them were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment by the deputy commissioner.

The government found further grounds for suspicion in some of the Kūkās' joining the armies of the Indian princes. It was feared that the object of such recruits was to get military training and then return to the Punjab to raise a tumult against the British. Since the Kūkās were averse to seeking service under the English, some of them had visited

Mahārājā Raṅbīr Singh of Kashmīr in 1869 and offered to join the state forces. The Mahārājā agreed to recruit a new regiment and enlisted about 150 Kūkās under the command of Sūbā Hīrā Singh of Saḍhaurā, but the force was disbanded two years later under pressure from the British government.

In the early seventies of the 19th century, events moved at a catastrophic pace bringing the career of the Kūkā revolution to a dramatic climax. In their zeal for protecting the cow, some Kūkās attacked a slaughterhouse in the sacred city of Amritsar on the night of 15 June 1871. Four butchers were killed and three seriously wounded. Seven of the Kūkās were apprehended out of whom four paid the extreme penalty of the law. Exactly a month later, a similar incident took place a Rāikoṭ, in Ludhiānā district, where three butchers were killed. Five Kūkās including Giānī Ratan Singh, esteemed as a scholar, were awarded death penalty. Returning from the Māghī fair at Bhaiṇī Sāhib at the beginning of 1872, a group of Kūkās planned to plunder the armoury at Mālerkoṭlā, the capital of a princely state. On the way, they attacked the house of the Sikh chief of Malaud to rob it of arms and horses which they needed for their assault on Mālerkoṭlā. At Mālerkoṭlā, the Kūkās, more than a hundred strong, were challenged by police as they scaled the city wall on the morning of 15 January 1872 to enter the treasury. In the fracas that followed eight policemen and seven Kūkās lost their lives. Sixty-eight of the Kūkās, including two women, were captured by Mīr Niāz 'Alī, an officer of the Paṭiālā state, at Raṛ, a nearby village to which they had retired. Under orders of the British deputy commissioner of Ludhiānā, all of them, except the women prisoners who were made over to Paṭiālā authorities, were executed — 49 blown off by cannon and one put to the sword on 17 January and the remaining 16 again killed at gunmouth. Bābā Rām Singh was exiled from

the Punjab along with ten of his Sūbās, and taken to Allāhābād from where he was transferred to Rangoon and detained under the Bengal Act of 1818. The Sūbās were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. A police post was stationed at Bhaiṇī Sāhib, the Kūkā headquarters, and the entire setup placed under strict surveillance. Village functionaries, *zaildārs* and *nambardārs*, were ordered to report under penalty of deprivation of office or other punishment the movements of Kūkās within their respective areas. The assembly of more than five Kūkās was forbidden throughout the Punjab as also the carrying in public of axes, iron-knobbed sticks and other weapons.

Despite these repressive measures, the movement was sustained by the mystique that grew around Bābā Rām Singh. His followers continued to believe that he would one day reappear among them and lead them to freedom from British rule. A few even made the hazardous journey to Rangoon to see him, circumventing the guards, and bring messages from him. In the Punjab, Bābā Rām Singh's brother, Budh Singh, who now assumed the name of Harī Singh, took his place. One of the Sūbās, Gurcharan Singh and after him Bishan Singh, made secret trips across the borders to make contact with the Russians. Prophecies, in the name of Gurū Gobind Singh, were circulated predicting that Russia would invade the Punjab and drive away the British. The Kūkās were also active in campaign for the restoration of Mahārājā Duleep Singh, the last Sikh sovereign of the Punjab, who had been dethroned after the second Anglo-Sikh war.

With the turn of the century, the excitement had ebbed away. The Kūkās retained their religious fervour and evolved over the years a distinct identity. The process received great stimulus from the personality of Bābā Partāp Singh who succeeded Bābā Harī Singh upon his death in 1906. Kūkās

emerged, under his leadership, as a cohesive social and religious group. Their numbers increased and they flourished in their chosen trades such as animal husbandry, agriculture and small industry. Bābā Partāp Singh died in 1959 and was succeeded by Bābā Jagjīt Singh. Bhaiṇī Sāhib, in Ludhiāṇā district in the Punjab, and Jivan Nagar, in Hissār district in Haryāṇā, are today the two principal centres of the Nāmdhārīs, term which is now more commonly used. The Nāmdhārīs generally go to their own *gurdwārās*. They instal the Gurū Granth Sāhib in their *gurdwārās*, but believe in living Gurūs, Bābā Jagjīt Singh being their present pontiff. The Nāmdhārīs are known for their simple living and rigid code of conduct. They wear white homespun and wind round their heads mull or longcloth without any semblance of embellishment. They are strict vegetarians. Marriages are performed inexpensively usually in groups on special occasion such as Holā Mahallā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gaṇḍā Singh, *Kūkiān dī Vithiā*. Amritsar, 1944
2. Vahimī, Taran Singh, *Jass Jivan*. Rampur (Hissar), 1971
3. Fauja Singh, *Kuka Movement*. Delhi, 1965
4. Jaswinder Singh, *Kuka Movement : Freedom Struggle in Punjab*. Delhi, 1985
5. Ahluwalia, M.M., *Kukas : The Freedom Fighters of the Punjab*. Bombay, 1965
6. Jolly, Surjit Kaur, *Sikh Revivalist Movements*. Delhi, 1988
7. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Princeton, 1966
8. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
F.S.

KUKO, BHĀĪ, a Vadhāvan Khatri, and his son, Anantā, according to Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, received instruction at the hands of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644). Both father and son were also trained in the martial arts and formed part of the Gurū's retinue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

B.S.

KUL GURŪ GOBIND SINGH JĪ KĪ DASAM PĀTSHĀHĪ KĪ, lit. the family or sept (*kula*) of Gurū Gobind Singh, the tenth (*dasam*) Gurū of the Sikhs, forms part of a collection of unpublished Punjabi manuscripts, including such titles as Rahitnāmā Nand Lāl, Rahitnāmā Prahād Singh and abbreviated version of *Prem Sumārag Granth*, held in the Khālsā College, Amritsar, under catalogue No. 1442. The work, anonymous and undated, recounts in rapid Punjabi verse the genealogy of Gurū Gobind Singh in the manner of panegyrics by family bards, i.e. *dūms* or *bhaṭṭs*, for oral recitation in honour of their patrons. Such recitals run from the present to the past, from the known to the unknown. Beginning with the names of the four sons of Gurū Gobind Singh, the *Kula* traces the line back to mythological past. In the process, explanation is proffered as to how the family came to be known as Soḍhī, the composition concludes with the bare statement, "Gurū Gobind Singh dies," which may indicate that it was meant to be recited at the time of the Gurū's passing away. No date is mentioned.

S.S.Am.

KULLĀ, BHĀĪ, a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. He once had the chance of listening to the Gurū's instruction distinguishing a *gurmukh* from a *manmukh*.
See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārāṇi*, XI. 18

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

KUNVARESH, one of the many poets and scholars kept by Gurū Gobind Singh, came from a Kashyap Brāhmaṇ family of the village of Barī, near the ancient town of Karā (26°-7'N, 80°-22'E), in the present Fatehpur district of Uttar Pradesh. He translated into Bhākhā, written in Gurmukhī script, "Droṇa Parva" of the *Mahābhārata* at the instance of Gurū Gobind Singh in 1695. Only a fragment of this work has survived. It is preserved in the private collection of the Mahārājā of Paṭiālā. A manuscript in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, contained another work by Kunvaresh, *Rati Rahasya Koś*, a panegyric on Gurū Gobind Singh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Padam, Piārā Singh, *Srī Gurū Gobind Singh Jī de Darbārī Ratan*. Patiala, 1976
2. Vidiārathī, Devinder Singh, *Srī Gurū Gobind Singh Abhinandan*. Amritsar, 1983
3. Sukhā Singh, *Gurbilās Dasvīn Pātshāhī*. Lahore, 1912
4. Santokh Singh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

P.S.P.

KURĀLĪ (30°-48'N, 76°-35'E), a town in Ropar district of the Punjab, is sacred to Gurū Hargobind, who halted here on his way back from Kurukshetra to Kīratpur in 1638.

Gurdwarā Srī Hargobindgarh Sāhib commemorates his visit. Initially, a platform and a modest hut marked the site. The Gurdwarā now is a flat-roofed assembly hall, with decorative domed pavilions at the corners. The management is in the hands of the local *saṅgat*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twoārikh Gurū Khālsā* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
2. Faujā Singh, *Gurū Teg Bahādur, Yatrā Asthān, Pramāpravān te Yād Chinn*. Patiala, 1976

M.G.S.

KUSAL DĀS, BHĀĪ (early 19th century), was a minor poet in attendance upon Didār Dās, a lineal descendant of Bābā Prithī Chand, the eldest son of Gurū Rām Dās. Kusal Dās composed 653 verses in *Kabitt* and *savaiyyā* forms, panegyricizing the preceptors of the Miṇā sect founded by Bābā Prithī Chand. Among the preceptors were counted the Gurūs — Gurū Nānak to Gurū Arjan — as well. Kusal Dās completed the panegyric in 1816. Besides, he also wrote three *bārāmāhās* and six *vārs*, mostly on mythological themes. A manuscript of his compositions was until recently preserved in the *toshākhānā* or store of Takht Harimandar Sāhib at Paṭnā Sāhib.

P.S.P.

L

LĀBH SINGH, BĀBŪ (1895-1947), Akālī politician, was born in 1895 at the village of Lasārā, in Jalandhar district, the son of Dūlā Singh. He spent his early youth at Queṭṭā and passed his Matriculation examination from the high school there. In 1914, he took up service in the army as a clerk. Like all clerks, he was addressed there as "Bābū", which prefix stuck to his name for the rest of his life. He resigned his job as a protest against the killing of Sikhs at Nankānā Sāhib on 20 February 1921, and joined the campaign for the reform of Gurdwārā management. He was arrested in 1922 in connection with the Gurū kā Bāgh agitation. On 18 April 1924, he courted arrest at Jaito and was detained in Nābhā jail. He was released along with other Akālī prisoners after the passage in 1925 of the Sikh Gurdwārās Act. In 1926, he was elected president of the district unit of the Jalandhar Akālī Jathā. In 1928, he participated in a protest march against the Simon Commission, and in 1930 he, along with a batch of 100 Sikh volunteers from his district, participated in the Civil Disobedience movement launched by the Indian National Congress. He was taken into custody in Delhi, but was released after the Gāndhī-Irwin Pact was signed in 1931. He was arrested under the Defence of India Rules during the Quit India movement. He organized from 25 to 27 November 1944 at Jaṇḍiālā, in Jalandhar district, a massive Sikh conference to celebrate the silver jubilee of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal. In 1945, he was elected president

of the Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal which office he held until his death on 9 March 1947 at Jalandhar. He was stabbed by a Muslim fanatic while leading a peace march after communal disturbances in the town. The Civil Hospital and a *gurdwārā* in Raiṇak Bazar at Jalandhar commemorate his memory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Dilgeer, Harjinder Singh, *Shiromaṇī Akālī Dal*. Chandigarh, 1980
2. Pratāp Singh, Giānī, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975
3. —*Akālī Lahir de Mahān Netā*. Amritsar, 1976
4. Ashok, Shamsher Singh, *Pañjāb diān Lahirān*. Patiala, 1974
5. Josh, Sohan Singh, *Akālī Morchiān dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1972

H.S.D.

LACHHMAN SINGH (1885-1921), one of the Nankānā Sāhib martyrs, was the leader of the *jathā* of more than one hundred Sikhs who were attacked in Gurdwārā Janam Asthān (birthplace of Gurū Nānak) by the custodian of the shrine, Mahant Naraiṇ Dās, and his accomplices, and killed to a man. Lachhman Singh was born to Mehar Singh and Har Kaur in 1885 at the village of Dhārovālī, in Gurdāspur district of the Punjab. Mehar Singh, who retired as a police inspector in 1888, had been awarded for his meritorious record six squares of land in Chakk No. 33 in canal colony in Sheikhūpurā district. Four years later, he shifted his family of four sons and a daughter to this village,

which began to be called Dhārovālī after their original village. Lachhman Singh passed his boyhood herding cattle and learning to read Gurmukhī and recite *gurbānī*. In 1901, he was married to Indar Kaur, daughter of Buddh Singh Bundālā of Chakk No. 64. In 1910, he joined *Khālsā* Parchārak Vidyālā, a missionary school at Tarn Tāran, and returned after two years' training to devote himself to the cause of education and to spreading Sikhism in the canal colonies. He started a girls primary school and a *Khālsā* orphanage in his village with donations collected from the farmers.

Reports about the corruption and licentiousness of Mahant Narain Dās, who was in control of the principal sacred shrine, Gurdwārā Janam Asthān, at Nankānā Sāhib, led Lachhman Singh to call a public convention in his village, Dhārovālī, on 1-3 October 1920. The Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee, which was formed at Amritsar on 15 November 1920, also decided to convene a conference at Nankānā Sāhib on 4-6 March 1921 with a view to exerting pressure on the Mahant to reform himself and make over control of the *gurdwārā* to a democratically elected body. Lachhman Singh learnt about the conspiracies Mahant Narain Dās was hatching against the reformers. He and Kartār Singh Jhabbar, another equally dashing leader of the Bār *Khālsā* Dīwān, decided on 17 February 1921 that they would proceed to Gurdwārā Janam Asthān and claim possession of the shrine on behalf of the Panth. The date fixed was 20 February when the Mahant, according to their information, was scheduled to attend a Sanātan Sikh conference at Lahore. Lachhman Singh was to march with his *jathā* from Dhārovālī through the darkness of the night of 19 February and Kartār Singh Jhabbar from Sachchā Saudā was to join him with his comrades at dawn at Chandarkoṭ canal-waterfall bridge, about 8 km north of

Nankānā Sāhib. They sent a special messenger to Amritsar to secure the concurrence of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. The Committee did not agree and deputed Dalip Singh of Sāhovāl to go and dissuade Lachhman Singh and Kartār Singh Jhabbar from taking any precipitate action. Dalip Singh succeeded in contacting Kartār Singh Jhabbar and bringing him round to the viewpoint of the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. Then they drafted a *hukamnāmā*, signed by six prominent leaders including Kartār Singh Jhabbar, to be delivered to Jathedār Lachhman Singh to stop him from proceeding to Nankānā Sāhib. Lachhman Singh had meanwhile left Dhārovālī along with his comrades. They offered the *ardās* and prayed for the success of their mission. Volunteers from villages *en route* increased their number to more than 130. Taking a short cut, they went by the village of Mohlān and not by Chandarkoṭ bridge, 3 km south, which was the rendezvous fixed for a meeting with Kartār Singh Jhabbar. Dalip Singh who was carrying the *hukamnāmā* combed the area round Chandarkoṭ till the small hours of 20 February but failed to locate Lachhman Singh's *jathā*. Exhausted by his fruitless wandering, he retired for rest to Uttam Singh's factory, about a mile away from Gurdwārā Janam Asthān leaving his companion, Waryām Singh, to continue the search. The latter did meet Lachhman Singh and delivered to him the message commanding him to halt and go back with the *jathā*. The *jathā* was bound by the *ardās* it had offered before setting out on its march. So Lachhman Singh refused to comply and entered, along with his companions, Gurdwārā Janam Asthān at 5.45 a.m. chanting hymns. All of a sudden bullets began flying in from the southwest corner of the roof of the Mahimānkhānā or guest house of Mahant Narain Dās. Those squatting in the compound below were killed

in the shooting. The Mahant's men then descended and pounced upon their prey with swords, hatchets and other lethal weapons and made short work of the devotees. A bullet-hole was made in the silver-plated door of *Chaukhandī*, the sanctum-sanctorum, where Lachhman Singh sat in attendance behind the Gurū Granth Sāhib. His companions stood in front in a row to protect the Holy Book from desecration. All of them including Lachhman Singh fell to the bullets fired by the Mahant's men who had broken open the door. This happened on 20 February 1921.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Shamsheer, Gurbakhsh Singh, *Shahīdī Jīvan*. Nankana Sahib, 1938
2. Josh, Sohan Singh, *Akālī Morchiān dā Itihās*. Delhi, 1972
3. Pratāp Singh, Giāni, *Gurdwārā Sudhār arthāt Akālī Lahir*. Amritsar, 1975
4. Ashok, Shamsheer Singh, *Shiromani Gurdwārā Prabandhak Committee dā Pañjāh Sālā Itihās*. Amritsar, 1982
5. Sahni, Ruchi Ram, *Struggle for Reform in Sikh Shrines*. Ed. Ganda Singh. Amritsar, n.d.
6. Teja Singh, *Gurdwara Reform and the Sikh Awakening*. Jalandhar, 1922
7. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
Rj.S.

LACHHMAN SINGH GILL (1917-1969), Akālī politician and chief minister of the Punjab for a brief term, was born at Jagrāon in Ludhiānā district. He started life in 1937 as a government contractor. He entered politics via the Shiromani Akālī Dal of which he became a member during the Punjabi Sūbā *morchā* or agitation. The agitation was started in the 1950's in support of a separate state for the Punjabi-speaking people to be carved out of the then existing Punjab. In 1960 began his membership of the executive committee of the Shiromani Gurdwārā

Parbandhak Committee. In 1966, he was elected a member of the Sikh Educational Committee for the management of Sikh colleges at Qādiān (Gurdāspur) and at Baṅgā (Jalandhar). In 1962, he was nominated a member of the Srī Nankānā Sāhib Education Trust, Ludhiānā. In 1961, he became general secretary of the Shiromani Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee.

The renewal of the Punjabi Sūbā agitation in 1959-61 ended in a split in the Shiromani Akālī Dal. Lachhman Singh Gill sided with the group led by Sant Fateh Singh. In the legislative elections held in 1962 he was elected a member of the Punjab Assembly from Jagrāon constituency. The Punjab went through a major realignment of its boundaries in 1966 when Haryānā and the Punjab were split into two political entities.

Lachhman Singh Gill was elected to the legislative assembly (this time from Dharamkot constituency in Firozpur district) in February 1967. Although the Akālī Dal won only 26 seats against 48 for the Congress in a house of 104, it made a joint front of all non-Congress MLA's and a few independents and formed a ministry headed by Sardār Gurnām Singh. Lachhman Singh Gill was sworn in as minister for education and revenue on 8 March 1967. However, in April he joined Harcharan Singh Huḍiārā to form a separate group. By November this group had a strength of 19 members led by Lachhman Singh. On 22 November 1967 Lachhman Singh Gill pledged his support to the Congress party. The United Front ministry put in its resignation the same day. The Congress party, however, instead of forming a ministry of their own offered support to Lachhman Singh Gill, who was sworn in as Chief Minister on 25 November 1967. Lachhman Singh Gill's first action as chief minister was to declare Punjabi as the official language up to the secretariat level. The language bill was passed in the assembly

on 19 December and it received the governor's assent on 29 December 1967. According to this bill, Punjabi was to come into force by 14 January 1968 up to district level and by 13 April up to secretariat level. He had already announced on 13 December 1967, the grant of U.G.C. (University Grants Commission) grades to university teachers. His other historic decision was to connect all villages to market towns with metalled roads. On 20 August 1968 the Congress party withdrew its support leading to the fall of Lachhman Singh Gill's ministry. The Punjab was placed under the President's rule. In the mid-term elections which took place in February 1969, Sardār Gurnām Singh bounced back into power, heading a United Front ministry.

Lachhman Singh Gill died of a severe heart attack at Chaṇḍigarh on 26 April 1969.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Dilgeer, Harjinder Singh, *Shiromanī Akālī Dal*. Chandigarh, 1980
2. Ashok, Shamsher Singh, *Shiromanī Gurdwārā Prabandhak Committee dā Pañjāh Sālā Itihās*. Amritsar, 1982
3. Wallace, Paul and Surendra Chopra, eds., *Political Dynamics of Punjab*. Amritsar, 1981

M.G.S.

LACHHMAN SINGH GRANTHĪ, BHĀĪ (1867-1921), one of the martyrs of Nankānā Sāhib, was born in 1867, the son of Bhāi Nānak and Māi Gaṅgā Deī. His original name was Lachhman. As he grew up, he enlisted in the army as a cook. There he underwent the rites of *Khālsā* initiation and received the new name of Lachhman Singh. While in service, he learnt Gurmukhī well enough to be able to read the Gurū Granth Sāhib. On his discharge from the army, Bhāi Lachhman Singh settled down as a Gurdwārā officiant at Chakk No. 83 Ḍallā Naṅgal, in Sheikhpurā district. He was drawn into the Gurdwārā movement for the reform and

management of Sikh shrines. He registered himself as an Akālī volunteer and attained martyrdom along with Bhāi Lachhman Singh Dhārovālī's *jathā* inside the compound of Gurdwārā Janam Asthān on 20 February 1921.

See NANKĀNĀ SĀHIB MASSACRE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shamsher, Gurbaksh Singh, *Shahīdī Jīvan*. Nakana Sahib, 1938

G.S.G.

LACHHMĪ, RĀNĪ, daughter of Desā Singh Vadpaggā, a Sandhū Sikh of the village of Jogkī Khān, in Gujrañwālā district, now in Pakistan, was married to Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, in 1820. She survived the Mahārājā and received from the British a pension of Rs 11,200 per annum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ganda Singh, ed., *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: First Death Centenary Memorial Volume*. Amritsar, 1939
2. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
3. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909

G.S.N.

LADDHĀ, BHĀĪ, a Sikh widely respected for his piety, compassion and selfless service; lived in Lahore during the time of Gurū Arjan. When Bhāi Buddhū, as says Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, solicited Gurū Arjan's blessing to cancel Bhāi Lakkhū's curse upon his brick-kiln, the Gurū deputed Bhāi Laddhā to intercede on his behalf. Bhāi Laddhā succeeded in softening Bhāi Lakkhū.

Once, records Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, the musicians, Sattā and Balvaṇḍ, by their greed and vanity and by their disparagement of the earlier Gurūs, had so annoyed Gurū Arjan that he not only banished them from his presence but also declared that anyone pleading pardon for

them would face punishment which would amount to blackening the intercessor's face and a ride through town astride a donkey, with a garland of old shoes hung around his neck. Sattā and Balvaṇḍ were penitent, but found no one who would be willing to escort them back to the Gurū. They, continues Bhāi Santokh Singh, at last approached Bhāi Laddhā, who forthwith agreed to help even at the risk of earning the Gurū's displeasure. He blackened his face, put a string of old shoes around his neck, and riding a donkey, went to the Gurū's presence, leaving Sattā and Balvaṇḍ at the entrance. Gurū Arjan, seeing that Bhāi Laddhā had voluntarily undergone the proclaimed punishment for having Sattā and Balvaṇḍ pardoned, agreed to readmit the bards to the *saṅgal*, provided they indemnified the sacrilege committed by composing verses in honour of the Gurūs they had spoken ill of earlier. Bhāi Āurdās, in one of his stanzas, praises Bhāi Laddhā calling him *paruṅkāṛī* — one ready to do a good turn to others even at personal risk.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Sri Gur Pratāp Suraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

T.S.

LAHILĪ KALĀN, village 15 km southeast of Hoshiārpur (31°-32'N, 75°-55'E) in the Punjab, has an historical shrine, Gurdwārā Jaṇḍ Sāhib Pātshāhī VII, raised in honour of Gurū Har Rāi, who visited the site during a journey from Kīratpur to Kartārpur. The Gurdwārā is a high-ceilinged hall, with a square sanctum in the centre. Above the sanctum is a domed room with a gold-plated pinnacle and umbrella-shaped finial topped by a *khaṇḍā*. The *jaṇḍ* (*Prosopis specigera*) tree believed to have existed since the time of

Gurū Har Rāi's visit and lending its name to the Gurdwārā is about 30 metres west of the main building.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārikh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Sri Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Kankhal, 1975
M.G.S.

LAHIṆĀ SINGH (d. 1797), one of the triumvirate who ruled over Lahore for more than 30 years before its occupation by Raṅjīt Singh, was the son of Dargāhā and was adopted by Gurbakhsh Singh Roṛānvalā, a Sikh chief of note belonging to the Bhaṅgī *misl*, after whose death in 1763 he succeeded him to his estates. The most spectacular achievement of LahiṆā Singh, in collaboration with Gujjar Singh and Sobhā Singh, was the capture of Lahore from the Afghān nominees, Kābulī Mall and his nephew, Amīr Singh, and minting in 1765 the Sikh coin. LahiṆā Singh ruled over Lahore most successfully for 32 years, with some intermissions, until his death in September 1797. He enjoyed complete obedience and respect of the subjects. When in December 1766, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī invaded Lahore and LahiṆā Singh retired towards Kasūr, the Muslim citizens of Lahore pleaded before the Shāh to confirm LahiṆā Singh in the governorship of the Punjab. To this end, the Durrānī actually invited LahiṆā Singh, but the latter declined the proposal. He returned to the Shāh the fruit he had sent him, saying that such delicacies were meant for royalty alone. The Sikhs, he told the messenger, lived on parched gram. Of this he gave a quantity to the messenger to be presented to Ahmad Shāh on his behalf. LahiṆā Singh occupied Lahore as soon as the Shāh left for Afghanistan.

LahiṆā Singh retained a permanent body of 3,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry and in an

emergency he could muster a force of 7,000 horse and 4,000 foot. His territory yielded about 15 lakhs of rupees annually.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Ganda Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*. Bombay, 1959
3. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol.II. Delhi, 1978
4. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol.I. Princeton, 1963

S.S.B.

LAHIṆĀ SINGH MAJĪTHĪĀ (d. 1854), son of Desā Singh Majīthīā, was commander, civil and military administrator, and one of the principal *sardārs* of the Sikh court. Of all the Majīthīās associated with the ruling family of Lahore, Lahiṇā Singh was the ablest and most ingenious. He succeeded his father Desā Singh in 1832 as the *nāzim* (governor) of Kānḡrā and the hill districts, with the title of Qaisar ul-Iqtidār. Earlier, he had served the Mahārājā in various capacities. He commanded 2 battalions of infantry, a *topkhānā* of 10 light and field guns, and 1,500 horse. In 1831, he was assigned to the task of collecting monies from the Nakaīs; the same year, he along with General Ventura took part in the Ḍerā Ismā'il Khān expedition. At the court, he often acted as chief of protocol, receiving and looking after important foreign dignitaries. On several occasions, he led goodwill missions on behalf of the Mahārājā. Like his father, he held charge of the management of Srī Harimandar Sāhib, Amritsar.

Lahiṇā Singh was a man of learning and was especially interested in astronomy and mathematics. He was a skilful mechanic and designer of ordnance. He cast shrapnel shells made of pewter for the Sikh artillery. He invented gun shell that would explode at a fixed place and time. He also invented a clock which showed the hour, the day of

month and the lunar changes. He is said to have translated *Euclid* into Punjabi. Amidst the rivalries of the Ḍogrā and Sandhānvālīā factions soon after the death of Mahārājā Kharak Singh, Lahiṇā Singh maintained his position and influence at the Darbār. In March 1844, Lahiṇā Singh fell foul of the Jallā regime and feeling insecure at Lahore, he left the Punjab for Haridvār. His *jāgīrs* were promptly confiscated and usurped by Hīrā Singh. Lahiṇā Singh settled in Banāras, and declined to return to the Punjab even when he was offered the office of Wazīr (minister) by Mahārāṇī Jind Kaur during her regency. He was arrested and kept under surveillance by the British from 23 January 1846 till the end of the first Anglo-Sikh war. In 1846, the British Resident, Sir Henry Lawrence, suggested his nomination as Wazīr in place of Lāl Singh, but Lord Hardinge did not accept the proposal. Lahiṇā Singh returned to the Punjab in 1851, but after two years went back to Banāras where he died in 1854.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūri, Sohan Lāl, '*Umdāt-ut-Twārīkh*'. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Smyth, G. Carmichael, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*. Patiala, 1970
4. Osborne, W.G., *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh*. London, 1840
5. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968
6. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983

B.J.H.

LAHIṆĀ SINGH SANDHĀNVĀLĪĀ (d. 1843), son of Amīr Singh Sandhānvālīā, enjoyed at the court of Ranjīt Singh the title of "Ujjal Dīdār, Nirmal Buddh, Sardār i-bā-Waqār (Resplendent presence, pure of intellect, the Sardār with prestige marked) Sardār Lahiṇā Singh Sandhānvālīā Bahādūr." Like other collaterals of the Mahārājā, Lahiṇā

Singh was rich both in wealth and intrigue; he first became a partisan of the Dogrā faction at the court, but changed sides when Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh came to power. When Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh fell out with Col Wade, the British political agent at Ludhiānā, Lahiṇā Singh was deputed along with Faqir 'Azīz ud-Dīn to go to Shimlā in September 1839 to call on Lord Auckland and demand Wade's removal from Ludhiānā. During the struggle for power between Rāṇī Chand Kaur and Prince Sher Singh, Lahiṇā Singh, along with Atar Singh and Ajīt Singh, supported the former.

The Sandhānvālīās continued their intrigues against their sovereign despite the latter's offers of conciliation. In March 1841, the Darbār intercepted a letter from Atar Singh Sandhānvālīā, then in British territory, to Lahiṇā Singh and Kehar Singh Sandhānvālīā, both of whom commanded troops in Maṇḍī, to retire with their force to the south of the Sutlej. The troops, apprehending treachery on their part arrested both of them and brought them to Lahore where Mahārājā Sher Singh kept them under surveillance. In January 1842, they were imprisoned under the orders of the Mahārājā and were set at liberty in September 1842 when he granted Atar Singh Sandhānvālīā and Ajīt Singh Sandhānvālīā amnesty and allowed them to return to the Punjab from the British territory where they had taken asylum.

Lahiṇā Singh Sandhānvālīā was one of the principal actors in the triple murder on 15 September 1843 which shook the kingdom of Lahore. On the morning of that fatal day, Lahiṇā Singh and Ajīt Singh rode out of their mansion with 150 horse and 300 footmen. Lahiṇā Singh hid himself near the garden of Javālā Singh, and Ajīt Singh went forward to the Bārādārī of Shāh Bilāval, and shot Mahārājā Sher Singh dead, pretending to show him the carbine he had received as a gift in Calcutta. The shot was the signal for

Lahiṇā Singh to rush with his troops into the garden where the young heir apparent, Kaṅvar Partāp Singh, was engaged in a ceremony distributing alms and, despite the woeful entreaties of the prince, cut off his head with his sword.

Lahiṇā Singh fastened the severed head of Partāp Singh to his saddle, and hastened to join his nephew, Ajīt Singh. Both of them then proceeded towards the Fort, where, after finishing off Wazīr Dhiān Singh, they proclaimed minor Duleep Singh as the new Mahārājā and Ajīt Singh Sandhānvālīā as his Wazīr. The Khālsā army were aroused to anger and, led by Hīrā Singh, son of Wazīr Dhiān Singh, they stormed the Fort early next morning (16 September 1843). Ajīt Singh was shot dead while attempting to escape by lowering himself by a rope from the Fort ramparts. Lahiṇā Singh, who had hidden himself in a vault, was seized and gored to death. His mutilated body was, at Hīrā Singh's orders, fastened to a rope and dragged through the streets of Lahore. Later, it was quartered and pieces of flesh were hung on the gates of the city.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, Lahore, 1909
3. Smyth, G. Carmichael, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*. Patiala, 1970
4. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
5. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol.II. Princeton, 1966
6. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *Anglo-Sikhs Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968

B.J.H.

LAHIṆĀ SINGH, SARDĀR (d.1893) a military commander during Sikh rule in the Punjab, came of a Sohī Khatrī family of Gharjākh, a village adjacent to the town of Gujrānwālā (now in Pakistan). His grandfather, Pañjāb Singh, was a trooper in

the regiment of Sardār Fateh Siṅgh Kālīānvālā, a general in the army of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Siṅgh. After Fateh Siṅgh's death in 1807 in the battle of Naraingarh, Pañjāb Siṅgh left his regiment to join another directly under Raṅjīt Siṅgh's command, where he rose in rank and was given a *jāgīr*. His son, Kāhn Siṅgh, was given the command of 500 horse and a *jāgīr* worth 15,000 rupees a year. He remained in the service of the Mahārājā for nine years and was dismissed on account of some discrepancies discovered in his accounts. Kāhn Siṅgh then served successively under Harī Siṅgh Nalvā, Atar Siṅgh Sandhānvālīā and Colonel Mīhān Siṅgh, governor of Kashmīr. Lahiṇā Siṅgh was the youngest of the three sons of Kāhn Siṅgh and Kishan Kaur. As he grew up, he joined army service under Ajīt Siṅgh Sandhānvālīā. He married Chand Kaur, daughter of Harī Siṅgh Nalvā. According to Bābā Prem Siṅgh Hotī, *Harī Siṅgh Nalvā*, Lahiṇā Siṅgh was present in Jamrūd Fort at the time of the general's death. Lahiṇā Siṅgh's family (including Kāhn Siṅgh and his other sons) continued to receive royal patronage until the murder of Mahārājā Sher Siṅgh in September 1843. Rājā Hīrā Siṅgh, who then came into power, confiscated the *jāgīr* and threw Lahiṇā Siṅgh and his elder brother, Fateh Siṅgh, into prison. Lahiṇā Siṅgh managed to escape and sought asylum in the *derā* of Bābā Bīr Siṅgh of Nauraṅgābād. The family was restored to their former position after the fall of Hīrā Siṅgh in December 1844. Kāhn Siṅgh was killed during the first Anglo-Sikh war, and the family *jāgīr* was restricted to an annual revenue of 2,910 rupees. After the annexation of the Punjab to British dominions, the *jāgīr* was resumed by the government and pensions in cash were granted to different members of the family. Lahiṇā Siṅgh's share was 360 rupees per annum. He, at the request of his mother-in-law, Māi Desān, retired to live with the latter in Sardār Harī Siṅgh's *havelī* or

mansion in the heart of Gujrānwālā town. There, under the influence of a holy man, Bābā Ratan Siṅgh, he turned to spiritual pursuit adopting a simple way of life, and came to be known as Sant Lahiṇā Siṅgh. He died at Gujrānwālā in 1893. His widow, Sardārni Chand Kaur, was allowed by government to draw half of his pension for her lifetime.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
2. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
3. Hotī, Prem Siṅgh, *Harī Siṅgh Nalvā*. Lahore, 1937
Atj.S.

LAHORE (31°-35'N, 74°-20'E), pronounced Lāhaur, provincial capital of West Punjab in Pakistan, lies on the left bank of the River Rāvi. Hindu tradition attributes its founding to Lava, son of Lord Rāma, but it is neither mentioned in the Greek accounts of Alexander's invasion (326 BC) nor described by Strabo (63 BC - AD 23?) or Pliny (AD 23-79). The earliest recorded mention is by the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, who visited it in AD 630. He describes it as a large Brāhmanical city. Alberūnī speaks of Lahore as a province, but not as a town. It must have been an unimportant town of the Hindūshāhī kingdom at the close of the tenth century, for it was not the object of attack in any of Mahmūd of Ghazni's plundering raids (997-1026). However, in 1036 Lahore was made capital of the Ghaznid dominions east of the Indus, and during the reign of Masūd III (1099-1114) it became the capital of the empire. Since then Lahore has remained the capital of the whole or part of the Punjab. Muhammad of Ghor put it to ransom in 1181 and occupied it in 1186. During the Sultanate period (1206-1526), while it grew in importance, strategic as well as commercial, it had to bear the brunt of foreign invasions. The Mongols sacked it in 1241 and put it to

ransom in 1246. Balban rebuilt it in 1270, but the Mongols hit it again in 1285. That Bābar ransacked it in 1524 is testified by a line in Gurū Nānak (1469-1539): "For a *pahar* and a quarter, i.e. for about four hours the city of Lahore was given up to death and destruction" (GG, 1412). It was under the great Mughal emperors, Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān and Aurāngzīb (1556-1707) that Lahore reached its zenith. Travel accounts of Europeans attest to its splendour during this period. The city grew both in area and population. Akbar enlarged and repaired the Fort and surrounded the town with a wall. Jahāngīr added the *khwābgāh* or sleeping chambers, the Motī Mašjid or pearl mosque and the tomb of Anārkalī, sweet-heart of his youth whom, according to tradition, his father, Akbar, had maliciously bricked alive in a wall. Shāhjahān added another smaller *khwābgāh* with several octagonal towers, the largest of which, Musamman Burj, with its Naulakhā pavilion and Shīsh Mahal, later became the reception chamber of Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh. Other buildings constructed during the reign of Shāhjahān (1627-58) and famous for their *khāshī* or inlaid pottery panelling work include mosques of Wazīr Khān and Dāi Angā, and the Chauburjī Deorhī or four-turreted gateway built in 1641 by the princess Zeb un-Nisā, daughter of Aurāngzīb. In the Lahore Fort the *khāshī* panelling covered a total surface of over 6,600 square metres. Shālāmār Gardens, 6 km east of the city, were laid out in 1667 by 'Alī Mardān Khān, the celebrated engineer of Shāhjahān. Under Aurāngzīb, however, Lahore began to decline. The only building of note added by him was the Jāmā Mašjid, besides a 5 km long embankment to prevent inundation caused by the River Rāvī, which however changed course soon after and left the town at a considerable distance. After a period of uncertainty with the invasions of Nādir Shāh and Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, Lahore regained its glory and importance

under Mahārājā Raṅjīt Singh, who occupied it in 1799 and made it his capital. After the annexation of the Punjab to the British empire in 1849, several innovations were introduced. For civil administration, a municipality was created in 1867, water works opened in 1881, drainage system was completed in 1883 and electricity soon after. Several schools and colleges appeared and the University of the Pañjāb was established in 1882. Lahore cantonment was separated from the civil station. Troops from the Anārkalī area moved to the new site, 5 km away, in 1851-52.

Lahore's connection with Sikh history dates from the days of Gurū Nānak, who visited it during his travels across the country. Gurū Rām Dās (1534-81) was born in Lahore. Gurū Arjan's martyrdom (1606), a momentous event in the history of the nascent community, also took place here. Gurū Hargobind, Nānak VI, visited Lahore more than once. With the removal of the principal seat of gurūship to distant Kīratpur in the Śivālik foothills early in 1635, a direct clash with the provincial government of Lahore was averted during the following half century, but militarization of the Sikhs under Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) alerted the Lahore government. It sent out several expeditions against them reinforcing the Sirhind *sarkār* in whose jurisdiction the new Sikh centres, Kīratpur and Anandpur, fell. After the death of Gurū Gobind Singh, the entire Sikh population of the Punjab rose in open rebellion under the leadership, first of Bandā Singh Bahādur and then under several local leaders subsequently organized into *mists* or fighting units which united to form the Dal Khālsā. The successive governors of Lahore tried to suppress the Sikhs. They were driven out of their homes and hunted out of their jungle resorts. Those captured in battle or through informers were brought to Lahore where they were herded together in dark, narrow cells, and tortured to death in

what was known as Nakhās Chowk or market square for the buying and selling of horses. A *shahīdgañj* or memorial to the martyrs now marks the site. However, the Sikhs' power continued to increase. Barely five months after the Vaddā Ghallūghārā or the great holocaust of 5 February 1762 in which the Sikhs lost over 20,000 men in a single day, they extended their depredations up to the walls of Lahore, while Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, the victor of Pānīpat in 1761, sat helpless at Kalānaur. On 16 May 1764, the Sikhs of the Bhañgī *misl* occupied Lahore itself, and although Ahmad Shāh retook it during his next invasion in December 1766, the Bhañgī chiefs reoccupied it on the return of the invader to his own country in July 1767, and ruled it for the next 30 years. Shāh Zamān, a grandson of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, entered Lahore on 1 January 1797, but was forced to retreat homeward after twenty days. He again occupied it on 30 November 1798 but had to retire on 4 January 1799. This time, on his way back home, he gave Lahore to the Sukkarchakkīā chief, Rañjīt Siñgh, as a formal grant. Rañjīt Siñgh (later Mahārājā) occupied Lahore on 7 July 1799. Lahore remained the capital of the Punjab province after its annexation to the British dominions. On the partition of India in 1947, Lahore was allocated to Pakistan.

Several historical Sikh shrines were located in Lahore. Some of them are being maintained by the Waqf Board of Pakistan and are occasionally visited by Sikh pilgrims from India. They include:

- 1) GURDWĀRĀ PĀTSHĀHĪ I within the walled city in *mohallā* Sirīāñvālā commemorating the visit of Gurū Nānak and marking the site where Seṭh Dunī Chand, a wealthy merchant, received instruction from him.
- 2) GURDWĀRĀ JANAM ASTHĀN GURŪ RĀM DĀS in Chūnī Mañḍī locality marks the birthplace of Gurū Rām Dās, Nānak IV.
- 3) DHARAMSĀLĀ GURŪ RĀM DĀS and DĪWĀN KHĀNĀ GURŪ ARJAN SĀHIB are located in

Chūnī Mañḍī area.

- 4) GURDWĀRĀ DEHRĀ SĀHIB marking the site of the martyrdom of Gurū Arjan close to the Fort is the principal Sikh shrine of Lahore, and is one of the few *gurdwārās* in Pakistan which continued to be attended by Sikh officiants even after the partition of the country in 1947. Gurū Arjan, tortured to death under the orders of Emperor Jahāngīr, breathed his last on Jeṭh *sudī* 4, 1663 BK/30 May 1606 in the River Rāvī which then flowed close to the Fort here. The shrine was established by Gurū Hargobind and the present building, a typical model of Sikh architecture, was raised by Mahārājā Rañjīt Siñgh. The death anniversary of the Gurū is still observed here on Jeṭh *sudī* 4 (May-June) every year.
- 5) SHAHĪD GAÑJ BHĀĪ MANĪ SINGH commemorating the martyrdom in 1737 of Bhāī Manī Siñgh also stands close to the Fort to the east of it.
- 6) BĀOLĪ SĀHIB, a well with steps leading down to water level, constructed by Gurū Arjan is in the Ḍabbī Bāzār area.
- 7) SHAHĪDGAÑJ BHĀĪ TĀRŪ SINGH and SHAHĪD GAÑJ SINGHANĪĀN are also close to each other along Lañḍā Bāzār, near the main railway station.
- 8) There are two *gurdwārās* dedicated to Gurū Hargobind. One is near Bhāī Gate and the other is in Muzañg in the southern suburbs of the city.
- 9) SAMĀDH (mausoleum) of MAHĀRĀJĀ RAÑJĪT SINGH, near Gurdwārā Dehrā Sāhib, has also become a place of pilgrimage for Sikhs. The Government of Pakistan permits large batches of Sikhs from India and other countries to forgather there to observe the death anniversary of the Mahārājā on 27 June every year.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Baqir, M., *Lahore Past and Present*. Lahore, 1952

2. Latif, S.M., *Lahore*. Lahore, 1892
3. Thornton, T.H., and J.L. Kipling. *Lahore*. Lahore, 1876
4. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab*. Calcutta, 1908
5. *Punjab District Gazetteers, Lahore District*. Lahore, 1916
6. Mushtaq, M., "Lahore: Major Urban Regions," *Pakistan Geographical Review*. 1967

I.J.K.

LAHORE DARBĀR, i.e. the Sikh Court at Lahore, denoted the government of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh and his successors (1799-1849). However, the Persian chroniclers refer to this government as Sarkār *Khālsājī*, and the term "Lahore Darbār" is not used even in British records until about the death of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh.

The composition of the Lahore Darbār was highly diversified. In the direction of all State affairs, political, foreign and domestic, it was completely subservient to the will of the Mahārājā. Highly personalized, the Lahore Darbār was a creation of the Mahārājā, a devout Sikh; he in theory at least publicly proclaimed that he was "the drum of the *Khālsā*" and that his government was based on the ideals of the *Khālsā* or the commonwealth of Gurū Gobind Singh, but in actual practice it was totally secular. It comprised councillors, ministers, advisers of all denominations — Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians. The Jammū brothers — Gulāb Singh, Dhiān Singh and Suchet Singh — were *Ḍogrā Rājput*s; Jamādar Khushāl Singh, Tej Singh, Sāhib Diāl, Gaṅgā Rām, Dīnā Nāth, Belī Rām, Ajudhiā Parshād, who controlled the financial, diplomatic and military affairs of the Darbār, were all Brāhman̄s. The Faqīr brothers — 'Azīz ud-Dīn, the foreign minister, Nūr ud-Dīn, the governor of Lahore, and Imām ud-Dīn, the governor of Gobindgarh fortress — were Muslims, and Allard, Court, Avitabile and Ventura, the architects of the Europeanized

wing of the Darbār's army, Christians.

The Lahore nobility presented a very picturesque aspect. The Jaṭ Sikh of the ruling class with his commanding figure and his handsome beard and turban was the adornment of the court which excelled in oriental pageantry and splendour. Personally, the Mahārājā was not given to ostentation. He was usually dressed in simple white, wore no ornaments but a single string of pearls and, on special occasions, the celebrated Koh-i-Nūr diamond on his arm. "My sword," he once confined to Baron Charles Hugel, "procures me all the distinction I desire; I am quite indifferent to external pomp." But he liked to be surrounded by magnificently robed ministers and fine-looking *sardārs* majestically accoutred and armed. "The dresses and jewels of the Rajah's court were the most superb that can be conceived," observes H.E. Fane. "The whole scene can only be compared to a gala night at the opera."

Heir apparent Kharak Singh, Kaṅvar Sher Singh and Rājā Hirā Singh were the only individuals privileged to sit on chairs in the Darbār. Golden pillars covered three parts of the Darbār hall; rich shawl carpets embroidered with gold and silver and inset with gems covered the floor. Behind the Mahārājā invariably stood the Rājā Kalān Dhiān Singh; all others — ministers, officials, courtiers and *sardārs* stood with folded hands and lowered eyes at places according to their ranks and status. Yellow and green were court colours and most of the officials were clothed in yellow garments of Kashmīr silks or woollens. There being no rigid classification or gradation of rank, the status of courtiers was normally determined by the degree of trust reposed in them by the Mahārājā. Titles conferred upon officials were usually honorifics, but many favoured *sardārs* held them along with lucrative *jāgīrs*.

The Lahore Darbār treated all foreign visitors with decorum and hospitality. Strict

protocol was observed according to the status of the visitor. Moorcroft, Wade, Charles Hugel, Mohan Lāl, Shahāmat 'Alī, Fane and others tell us of the generous hospitality they received from the Darbār. The visitors were on arrival met by protocol officers especially appointed, their lodgings were fixed according to their status, and funds in cash and kind were provided for their entertainment. When Baron Charles Hugel visited Lahore, 'Azīz ud-Dīn, the foreign minister, received him and over 50 bearers made their appearance with presents of sweets and fruit, wines and a bag of 700 rupees. He was given accommodation in General Ventura's palatial residence and an allowance of 6,000 rupees per month was fixed for hospitality. The magnificence of the Lahore Darbār was unmatched on diplomatic and ceremonial occasions. As for instance, the reception of the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck at Ropar in 1831, of Governor-General Lord Auckland at Firozpur in 1838, and of the Commander-in-Chief Sir Henry Fane in 1837 at the time of the marriage of Kaṅvar Nau Nihāl Singh. Full regalia and military might of the Darbār were then on display.

The Lahore Darbār transacted State business in the buildings inside the Lahore Fort called the Musamman Burj. A public court was held in the morning till noon in the Dīwān-i-'Ām or the Hall of Audience, attended by princes, ministers, nobles and civil and military officers. The Mahārājā sat cross-legged on a golden chair, clad in plain clothes. High civil and military appointments were made; reports from the provincial satraps and *hārdārs* were read out and royal orders given orally to be transcribed for final approval; tributes and *nazarānās* were accepted and supplicants dismissed gracefully with *khill'ats* (robes) and cash awards. When on tour or on expedition, business was conducted by the Mahārājā on horseback or under the shade of a tree. He dictated orders

to the provincial governors while inspecting troops or fighting a battle. Alexander Burnes, who visited Lahore in February 1831, testifies to the expeditious manner in which work was transacted by the Mahārājā in the Darbār: "I never quitted the presence of a native of Asia with such impressions as I left the man; without education and without a guide, he conducts all affairs of the kingdom with surprising energy and vigour, yet wields his power with a moderation quite unprecedented in an eastern prince."

The Darbār kept itself fully informed of what was happening in the far-flung territories and in the neighbouring countries. The *waqa'nawīs* (news-writers) in the *sūbās* (provinces) sent to the royal court newsletters at regular intervals. *Vakīls* (agents) of foreign countries were attached to the court on a reciprocal basis. The Darbār had news-writers in Afghanistan and *vakīls* in some of the cis-Sutlej Sikh states and in the British territory. *Vakīls* of the cis-Sutlej states, Rājputānā, the Marāṭhā country and Nepal frequently came on complimentary missions. The Lahore Darbār also had in its employ numerous European officers. About four scores of such *feringhee* officers — English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, American and Russian — adorned the Mahārājā's Darbār. Among these foreigners were Jean Francois Allard, "the Suleman Bey of Ranjit Singh," Jean Baptiste Ventura, "the baron of the Fauji-Khas," Paolo di Avitabile who became a civil administrator and a judge, and Claude Auguste Court, "the architect of Lahore Darbar's artillery." However, the Lahore Darbār kept the Europeans under strict control and discipline. They were encouraged to domesticate themselves by marriage and settle down in the Punjab and were bound to wear turbans and grow beards like the Sikhs and not to eat beef or smoke in public. The court nobility, which also included members of the royal family and the collaterals, lived in style in palatial *havelīs*, wore costly garments

and rich jewellery. Some of the royal princes and the Rājā Kalān Dhiān Siṅgh were permitted to hold their miniature *darbārs*. None were allowed to lead a life of indolence. The Mahārājā kept sending out princes and *sardārs* alike on military expeditions and on diplomatic and political duties.

The main festivals observed by the Darbār were Baisākhi, Dussehrā, Basant, Holi and Dīvālī. The day of Baisākhi was deemed blessed and was celebrated at the court with disbursement of money, gold, silver, cows, horses, elephants, gold bangles and food-stuffs to the Brāhmaṇs and to the poor. The festival of Basant was celebrated with great enthusiasm. Troops paraded in yellow uniforms and court officials and *sardārs*, also clad in yellow, offered *nazars* to their sovereign who granted *khill'ats* (robes of honour) to each one according to his rank and status. The court assembled at Amritsar for the celebration of the Dussehrā. On this occasion a muster of the *jāgīrdārī* troops was taken and parades inspected by the Mahārājā.

The Lahore Darbār presided by Ranjīt Siṅgh had become a byword for grandeur. To have established such precise standards of regal usage and dignity was remarkable for one born to a small worldly inheritance. Ranjīt Siṅgh's patrimony did not amount to more than a few villages precariously held in the turbulent days, and his authority then scarcely coincided with any recognizable or settled geographical demarcation. He carved out sovereignty for himself in his own lifetime after a protracted and bitter struggle and set up a unique tradition of noble pomp and glory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Osborne, W.G., *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*. London, 1840
3. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990
4. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*,

Nabha, 1977

5. Waheed-ud-Din, Fakir Syed, *The Real Ranjit Singh*. Karachi, 1965
 6. Harbans Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*. Delhi, 1980
- B.J.H.

LAHORE POLITICAL DIARIES is how volumes III to VI of the *Records of the Punjab Government* are collectively referred to. Comprising a part of the British Government records published in nine volumes during the early years of the twentieth century, these four volumes deal with the regency period, 1846-49. They contain journals, reports and diaries of the British residents at the Sikh capital, Lahore, and the agents appointed in different districts of the Punjab. Altogether they afford an intimate glimpse of the administration of the Punjab during the period between the two Anglo-Sikh wars, and the settlement of various districts under British officers. These energetic and vigilant officers also kept the Lahore Residency informed of all political events and trends in the areas under their charge. Their first-hand accounts form an original and authentic source on the history of that period. Volume III, entitled *Political Diaries of the Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier and Resident at Lahore*, covers the period 1 January 1847 to 4 March 1848. The opening entry describes the grand display of fireworks held at the Shālāmār Gardens, Lahore, in honour of the Governor-General, who was present with his staff. An entry dated 12 May 1847 shows how Mahārānī Jindān had already been divested of political power and reduced to the status of an ordinary government pensioner. On this date, it is recorded, Būṭā Siṅgh, Munshī to the Mahārānī, brought an order on the treasury for 10,000 rupees. Diwān Dīnā Nāth tore it up, saying that the Mahārānī could not overdraw her fixed allowance of 12,000 rupees a year. Another entry shows that although Diwān Mūlrāj, governor of Multān, had cleared his arrears

of 18 lacs of rupees, John Lawrence, who had succeeded his brother, Sir Henry Lawrence, as Resident, wanted to get rid of him on the pretext that his replacement by a British officer would yield a revenue of 20 lacs.

Volume IV is entitled *Journals and Diaries of the Assistants to the Agent, Governor-General, North-West Frontier and Resident at Lahore*, from 1846-1849. It comprises journals and diaries of Captain James Abbott, the Resident's assistant in Hazārā district, and political diaries from Peshāwar. It shows how Captain Abbott, legally a subordinate officer to the Sikh governor of Haripur-Hazārā, Sardār Chatar Singh Aṭārīvālā, tried to precipitate events by false and exaggerated reports. Sir Frederick Currie, the officiating Resident of Lahore, censured him, on 7 July 1848, for inserting false rumours in his diaries. Yet Abbott, through his continued intrigues, forced Sardār Chatar Singh to rise in open rebellion which directly led to the second Anglo-Sikh war.

Volume V, embodying political diaries of Lieutenant H.B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore posted at Bannū in 1847-49, throws important light on Dīwān Mūlrāj's administration and the Multān rebellion. Edwardes recorded on 16 February 1847 that "the fame of the good government in Mooltan is certainly widespread." As regards the revolt of Mūlrāj, he frankly refers to the calculated inaction of the Government of India to suppress the minor Multān revolt in the initial stage on the untenable ground of the unsuitability of weather conditions.

Volume VI contains political diaries of several political officers serving in different parts of the Punjab. It is a miscellany of events and activities. An interesting part of it throws light on the trade and profiteering practices of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh of Jammū and Kashmīr.

Besides dealing with matters political and administrative, the Lahore political diaries

provide information about the social and economic conditions of the Punjab during that brief period of two years. At places the reporters also give topographical details of the territories assigned to them. For example, volume IV contains a detail of the strategic forts on the Peshāwar frontier.

B.J.H.

LAILĪ or LAILĀ, a famous horse of superb beauty and grace, was originally owned by Yār Muhammad Khān Bārakzaī, the Sikh tributary governor of Peshāwar. It was much coveted by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, whose love for horses was proverbial. With the romantic name given it, Lailī was known throughout Central Asia for its breed and deportment — dark-grey in colour, 13 years of age in 1835, and reportedly 16 *haths* in height equivalent to 16 widths of hand. Ranjīt Singh informed Baron Charles Hugel, a contemporary traveller who visited his court, that he had never seen such a horse before — so perfect was it in every respect; further, that it cost him the price of a kingdom (Rs 60,00,000) and 12,000 soldiers to obtain it.

The story of this legendary horse has found its way into the accounts of most of the contemporary European travellers visiting the Punjab. Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh who had set his heart on Lailī sent in 1823 a message to the Bārakzaī chief through Faqīr 'Azīz ud-Dīn demanding surrender of the animal. Yār Muhammad Khān denied the existence of the horse and the Sikh emissary returned to Lahore empty-handed. In 1826, a Sikh army commanded by Buddh Singh Sandhānvālīā marched to Peshāwar to seize the horse as well as to quell the disturbance raised by Sayyid Ahmad Barelavī in the valley. To Buddh Singh Yār Muhammad's reply was that the horse had died.

In 1829, another force was sent by the Mahārājā under Prince Kharak Singh and

General Ventura with instructions to secure Lailī and depose Yār Muhammad Khān in case he refused to part with the animal. Yār Muhammad fled into the Yūsufzāī hills on the approach of the Sikh army. His brother, Sultān Muhammad Khān, who was installed in his place, was put under arrest by General Ventura, who eventually secured possession of Lailī.

The Mahārājā was highly gratified to possess the famous horse. He showed this horse to Lord William Bentinck at Ropar in 1831. The great German traveller, Baron Charles Hugel, who saw the horse in the royal stables at Lahore in 1835, records: "It is the finest horse belonging to the Maha Raja.... and round his knees he has gold bangles; he is a dark grey, with black legs, thirteen years old, and full sixteen hands high."

Some writers, including Lepel Griffin, are of the view that this horse was not the real Lailī. They hold that Lailī means a mare and not a stallion. Further Lailī implies black colour and qualities of femininity. But Ventura and Ranjīt Singh were sure that it was the real Lailī. Ranjīt Singh's court historian, Sohan Lāl, holds that the horse was surrendered by Yār Muhammad Khān in October 1827, while others are of the view that it was Sultān Muhammad Khān who gave the horse to General Ventura.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, *Ranjit Singh*. Oxford, 1905
2. Osborne, W.G., *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*. London, 1840
3. Hugel, C.A. Von, *Travels in Kashmir and the Country of the Sikhs*. London, 1845
4. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*. Hoshiarpur, 1977

S.S.B.

LAIRDEE (d. 1846), an Englishman who deserted the East India Company's artillery and came to Lahore. He took up service

under the Sikhs in 1842. He trained the gunners and was one of the few Europeans who actually fought against the English in the first Anglo-Sikh war. At Sabhrāoñ (10 February 1846) he fell into British hands and was killed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785-1849* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

LĀKHAN MĀJRĀ, a village in Rohtak district of Haryāṇā, has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Srī Mañji Sāhib, commemorating the visit of Gurū Tegh Bahādur who, halted here while travelling from Jind to Delhi. A single-roomed shrine marked the site until after 1947 when immigrants from Pakistan to Delhi and Rohtak thought of enlarging the structure. The present flagmast was raised in 1958, and the foundation of the new five-storeyed building was laid on 24 April 1967. The Gurdwārā now stands in a compound entered through a double-storeyed gateway. The assembly hall, on the ground floor, is mounted over by a domed pavilion on the top storey. An annexe to the east of the hall is Gurū kā Laṅgar.

The Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee manages the shrine through a local committee at Rohtak. Sikhs from Rohtak, Delhi and other places assemble in large numbers on every full-moon day. The biggest festival of the year is Holā Mahallā, which is celebrated in March.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurdwārānān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tirath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.G.S.

LAKHBĪR SĪNGH, SANT (1860-1935), a convert to Sikhism, was born Karīm Bakḥsh to Muslim parents, Natthū and Basrī, at

Bakāpur, a small village about 3 km from Phillaur, in the Punjab, which became the site of a big Sikh convention at the advent of the twentieth century. Karīm Bakhsh had a religious bent of mind from the very beginning. This disturbed his family, who, to detract him from his lonely ways, married him to a girl, named Jīndo, when he was barely twelve. At the age of 15, Karīm Bakhsh's quest for spiritual company took him to a Sikh saint, Bhāi Kāhlā Singh of Baṅgā, in Jalandhar district. He spent two years at his feet. After Bhāi Kāhlā Singh's death, Karīm Bakhsh sought solace in the service of his disciple, Bhāi Dūlā Singh of Ṭhākurvāl, in Hoshiārpur district. For twelve years he presented himself once every week in the holy *saṅgat* at Ṭhākurvāl, about 30 km away from his village.

Karīm Bakhsh took up appointment as a Persian teacher in a school at Phillaur. He spent most of his time reciting *gurbānī* from memory. He used to welcome the Sikhs with the *Khālsā* salutation, *Vāhigurū jī kī Fateh*, and made regular visits to Amritsar to bathe in the sacred pool. Gradually, his wife was also converted to his way of life and it is said that he established conjugal relations with her only after he was convinced of her faith in Sikhism.

The story of Karīm Bakhsh's interest in Sikhism reached the Singh Sabhā, Bhasaur, in Paṭiālā state, through Bhāi Takht Singh of Fīrozpur. The Singh Sabhā decided to fulfil his wish and convert to Sikhism the Bakāpur family at its annual *divān* of 1901, but it had to give up the plan owing to the outbreak of the plague epidemic. Karīm Bakhsh attended the annual *divān* of the Sikhs at Bhasaur in 1902, but had to return empty-handed owing to a controversy that had arisen.

The Bhasaur Singh Sabhā sent its emissaries — Bhāi Tejā Singh of Maiṅgaṅ, Sardār Bishan Singh and Bhāi Takht Singh — to visit Bakāpur by turn and assure Karīm

Bakhsh that his heart's wish must be fulfilled. Finally, Bābū Tejā Singh, the secretary of the Sabhā, went himself. At Bakāpur, he learnt that Maulawī Karīm Bakhsh's wife had passed away less than a week earlier and that the last rites had been performed strictly in accordance with the Sikh custom. The Gurū Granth Sāhib was kept with reverence in a room in the house and the Sikh *kīrtan* was performed daily.

On return, Bābū Tejā Singh issued a public notice signifying that a *divān* would be convened in the village of Bakāpur on 13-14 June 1903. The letter was sent on behalf of the Bhasaur Singh Sabhā to important Sikh societies and individuals inviting them to participate in the proceedings. The letter included a note on the Bakāpur family and its zeal for the Sikh faith. The invitation, widely circulated, evoked a warm response. On the appointed day, batches of Sikhs converged on Bakāpur from places such as Lahore, Amritsar, Gujrañwālā, Kaṭānī, Nāraṅvāl and Ludhiāṅā.

To conduct the initiation ceremonies, the five Piārās (or the Gurū's Beloved) designated were Bhāi Tejā Singh, Bhāi Takht Singh, Bhāi Basant Singh of Bappiāṅā (Paṭiālā state), Bhāi Sohan Singh of Gujjarkhān and Bhāi Amar Singh of Rājā Ghuman. Bhāi Jodh Singh, then a student at the *Khālsā* College at Amritsar, was named *granthī* for the ceremonies.

Maulawī Karīm Bakhsh, then 43, was named Lakhbīr Singh after initiation. His four sons Rukan Dīn, 15, Fateh Dīn, 12, Ghulām Muhammad, 6 and Khair Dīn, 4, became Matāb Singh, Kirpāl Singh, Harnām Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh, respectively. His daughter Bibī Nūrān, 9, was given the Sikh name of Varyām Kaur. Lakhbīr Singh won wide esteem in the Sikh community as Sant Lakhbīr Singh. His son, Matāb Singh, founded a society called the *Khālsā* Barādārī and played a pioneer role in the Akālī campaign for the reformation of the Sikh sa-

cred places.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Jagjit Singh, *Singh Sabhā Lahir*. Ludhiana, 1974
2. *Vīr Sudhār Pattar : arthāt Srī Gurū Singh Sabhā Bhasaur de aṭhme te naume sālāne dīvān dā siṭṭā*. Bhasaur, 1903
3. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
S.S.B.

LAKHĪSAR, a small habitation in the neighbourhood of Goniānā Maṇḍī (30°-18'N, 74°-54'E) in Baṭhīṇḍā district of the Punjab, is famous for the historical shrine, Gurdwārā Lakkhī Jaṅgal, raised in honour of Gurū Gobind Singh. According to Sikh tradition, the name Lakkhī Jaṅgal was given this semi-desert tract by Gurū Gobind Singh, who passed through here on his way from Muktsar to Talvaṇḍī Sābo early in 1706. As says the anonymous chronicle, *Mālvā Desh Raṭan dī Sākhī Pothī*, the Gurū stayed here for three days. Bhāi Dān Singh, a devoted disciple from the Braṛ clan and whose own village Dānsinghvālā lay only 6 km to the northwest of where Gurū Gobind Singh had halted, supplied provisions for Gurū kā Laṅgar. The old building of Gurdwārā Lakkhī Jaṅgal, constructed and endowed by Rājā Harindar Singh (1915-89) of Farīdkoṭ state, has since been replaced by a bigger hall, with a square flat-roofed sanctum in the middle. The *sarovar*, also constructed by the Farīdkoṭ ruler, is close by. Special gatherings take place every month to mark the full-moon day.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twāriḥh Gurdwārānī*. Amritsar, n.d.
M.G.S.

LAKHMĪ DĀS, BĀBĀ, also called Lakhmī Chand (1497-1555), the younger son of Gurū Nānak, was born to Mātā Sulakkhṇī at Sultānpur Lodhī, in present-day Kapūrthalā district of the Punjab, on 19 Phāgun 1553 Bk/12 February 1497. Unlike his elder

brother, Srī Chand, Lakhmī Dās got married and led a householder's life. The Bedī families of the Punjab claim their descent from him. He died at Kartārpur (on Rāvī) on 13 Baisākh 1612 Bk/9 April 1555.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh
2. Vīr Singh, Bhāi ed., *Purūtan Janam Sākhī*. Amritsar, 1982
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
4. Chhibbar, Kesar Singh, *Baṅsāvalīnāmā Dasān Pātshāhīn Kā*. Chandigarh, 1972
5. Macauliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
Gn.S.

LAKHNAUR, 10 km south of Ambālā City (30°-23'N, 76°-47'E), was the ancestral village of Mātā Gujarī, mother of Gurū Gobind Singh. Returning in 1670 to Paṭnā after his long eastern journey, Gurū Tegh Bahādur asked his family to travel straight to Lakhnaur, while he himself made a detour and went to Delhi before re-joining them there. Mātā Gujarī accompanied by her four-year-old son, Gobind Singh, named Gobind Rāi at birth, and escorted by her brother, Kirpāl Chand, and other Sikhs, arrived at Lakhnaur on 13 September 1670, and stayed here for about six months with her elder brother, Bhāi Mehar Chand, and Bhāi Jeṭhā, the local *masand* or *saṅgat* leader. It was here that a Muslim divine, Sayyid Shāh Bhīkh or Bhīkhan Shāh, of Ṭhaskā, then residing at Ghurām, an old town about 30 km southeast of Paṭiālā, came, guided by his spiritual vision, to pay homage to Gobind Singh. Bhīkhan Shāh, in order to know the aptitude and religious leanings of the future Gurū, offered two small earthen pots containing sweets to him, writing one in his own mind for Hindus and the other for the Muslims. Gobind Singh placed his hands one on the either pot, and, having sent for another one, placed it between the

two, thus signifying that not only would he show equal respect to the Hindus as well as to the Muslims, he would add a third one to the number. The Sayyid convinced of the divine light in the child paid his respectful obeisance to him. Another Muslim mystic, Pīr 'Āraf Dīn, is also mentioned as having bowed before him perceiving the manifestation of heavenly grace in his earthly presence.

Water in the wells in Lakhnaur was brackish and lukewarm. The only well having sweet and cold water was outside the village and it had long been in disuse as its walls had caved in. At Mātā Gujarī's instance, a new narrower well was dug within the old ruined one, thus reviving this source of cold sweet water. The well, used by the villagers to this day, is reverently called Mātājī dā Khūh or Mātā Gujarī dā Khūh (The holy mother's well).

The place where the Gurū had stayed was maintained for a time by someone from Mātā Gujarī's paternal line, and later by one Bābā Harbakhsh Singh who is said to have looked after it for sixty years. This was a period of great turmoil for the Sikhs. The persecution campaign against them reached its climax in the Great Holocaust of 1762. The Muslim chief of Koṭ Kachhūā, near Lakhnaur, had also participated in this massacre. During the retaliatory operations launched by the Sikhs in 1763-64, Koṭ Kachhūā was razed to the ground and its debris transported to Lakhnaur to construct a shrine in the form of a large *havelī*. After the British occupation of the Punjab in March 1849, the rulers of Paṭiālā acquired Lakhnaur and a few neighbouring villages from the British, surrendering some territory of their own in exchange. After 1947, the historic shrine in Lakhnaur was first placed under the Paṭiālā and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) Dharm Arth Board and later, consequent upon the merger of PEPSU with the Punjab, under the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā

Parbandhak Committee.

The main building of the *gurdwārā* is constructed on a high plinth in the centre of the *havelī*. It is itself in the form of an inner *havelī* consisting of the shrine proper in the centre, a narrow compound, and rooms along three of the walls. A flight of steps leads to the inner shrine which has a square sanctum with a high lotus dome and four smaller decorative domes at the corners. The whole interior, including the cupola is tastefully decorated with designs and patterns in colour. The exterior, too, is adorned with round pilasters, door-sized niches, alcoves, and a wide curved coping. Sikhs gather here in large numbers on the first of each Bikramī month, when special *dīvāns* take place. An annual fair on the occasion of Dussehrā commemorates the special ceremony held on this day in 1670 when offerings were made to Gobind Singh by his maternal uncle, Mehar Chand, and Bhāi Jethā the *masand*, and other Sikhs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shahi, Joginder Singh, *Sikh Shrines in India and Abroad*. Faridabad, 1978

M.G.S.

LAKHPAT RĀI (d. 1748), *dīvān* or revenue minister at Lahore under two successive Mughal viceroys, Zakariyā Khān (1726-45) and Yahiyā Khān (1745-47). He came of a Hindu Khatri family of Kalānaur, in Gurdāspur district of the Punjab. In 1736 when Zakariyā Khān organized a mobile column of 10,000 to scour the country in search of Sikhs then condemned to indiscriminate murder and slaughter, Lakhpāt Rāi and Mukhlis Khān, the governor's own nephew, were put in command of this force. The Sikhs with their fighting force, the Buḍḍhā Dal, were driven to take refuge in the jungles south of the Sutlej. They, however, soon struck back and Buḍḍhā Dal and Taruṇā Dal jointly fell upon

Lakhpat Rāi, defeating his mobile column at Hujrā Shāh Muqīm, near Lahore. Among the Mughal officials killed was Lakhpat Rāi's nephew, Duni Chand. In 1736, Lakhpat Rāi was deputed to proceed to Amritsar to molest Sikhs gathering for the Divālī festival permission for holding which had been secured from the governor himself. This caused confusion and the failure of the revered Bhāi Manī Singh to pay the stipulated amount to the Mughal satrap owing to attenuated attendance was made an excuse for his capture and execution (AD 1737). In the eyes of the Sikhs, Lakhpat Rāi was principally responsible for Bhāi Manī Singh's martyrdom.

Nādir Shāh's invasion of 1739 dealt a severe blow to the Mughal government. Light cavalry bands organized by Zakariyā Khān to suppress the Sikhs impoverished the peasantry by their extortions as a result of which revenues dwindled and the treasury became empty. Zakariyā Khān, holding Diwān Lakhpat Rāi responsible for this financial breakdown, imprisoned him for his failure to discharge the dues of the army. But Lakhpat's brother, Jaspat Rāi, himself an influential courtier paid a large sum from his personal treasure and secured Lakhpat's release and reinstatement. Lakhpat Rāi continued as *diwān* under Yahiyā Khān, when he succeeded Zakariyā Khān in 1745. The death of his brother, Jaspat Rāi, at the hands of the Sikhs in 1746 greatly enraged him and he vowed revenge, declaring that he would not put on his headdress, nor claim himself to be a Khatrī until he had "scourged the entire Sikh Panth." As a first step, he had the Sikh inhabitants of Lahore rounded up and ordered their execution. Intercession by a group of prominent Hindu nobles led by Diwān Kaurā Mall was of no avail. Lakhpat Rāi ignored the request even of his *gurū*, Sant Jagat Bhagat Gosāin, that the killing should not be carried out at least on the Amāvas, the last day of the dark half of the

month which, falling on a Monday, is especially sacred to the Hindus. Executions took place as ordered on that very day, 13 Chet 1802 BK/10 March 1746. The angry Diwān then set out at the head of a large force, mostly cavalry supported by cannon, in search of the Sikhs who were reported to have taken shelter in the swampy forest of Kāhnūvān, on the right bank of River Beās, 15 km south of Gurdāspur. He also mobilized the local populace in these operations. The besieged Sikhs put up a determined fight but were severely outnumbered and scattered with heavy losses. They were chased into the hills and, "to complete the revenge" says Syad Muhammad Latif, the Muslim historian of the Punjab, "Lakhpat Rai brought with him, 1,000 Sikhs in irons to Lahore, and having compelled them to ride on donkeys, bare-backed, paraded them in the bazars. They were, then, taken to the horse-market, outside Delhi Gate, and there beheaded one after another without mercy." On this site was later raised a memorial shrine known as Shahīd Gañj.

More than seven thousand Sikhs lost their lives at Kāhnūvān (1 May 1746). In Sikh history, this devastation is referred to as Chhoṭā Ghallūghārā or Minor Massacre as distinguished from Vaḍḍā Ghallūghārā or the Great Massacre that took place on 5 February 1762. Lakhpat Rāi, in order to ensure total extinction of the Sikhs, ordered their places of worship to be destroyed and their holy books burnt. He decreed that anyone uttering the word *gurū* should have his belly ripped. Considering that the word *gur*, meaning jaggery, sounded like *gurū*, he prohibited its use.

When in March 1747, Shāh Nawāz Khān, brother of Yahiyā Khān and governor of Multān, occupied Lahore, he imprisoned Yahiyā Khān and Lakhpat Rāi, but Ahmad Shāh Durrani who seized Lahore in January 1748 set up a local government in the Punjab, with Jalhe Khān as governor and

Lakhpat Rāi as his *dīwān*. The Durrānī, defeated by the Mughals in the battle of Mānūpur on 11 March 1748, beat a hasty retreat to his own country, and Mu'in ul-Mulk, commonly known as Mīr Mannu, became the governor of Lahore. Mīr Mannū imprisoned Jalhe Khān and Lakhpat Rāi and appointed Kauṛā Mall his deputy and *dīwān*. He demanded from Lakhpat Rāi an indemnity of three lakh rupees which he was not able to pay. Dīwān Kauṛā Mall, who had opposed Lakhpat Rāi's repressive policy towards the Sikhs in 1746, now offered to make up the balance provided the prisoner was handed over to him. Mīr Mannū agreed and transferred charge of Lakhpat Rāi to Kauṛā Mall, who gave him into the custody of the Dal Khālsā. He was thrown into a dungeon where he died a miserable death after six months of indignity and torture (1748).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhaṅgū, Ratan Siṅgh, *Prāchīn Panth Prakāsh*. Amritsar, 1914
2. Giān Siṅgh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970
3. Gaṇḍā Siṅgh, *Sardār Jassā Siṅgh Aḥlūwālā*. Patiala, 1969
4. Harbans Siṅgh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983
5. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Delhi, 1975
6. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I. Princeton, 1966
7. Gandhi, Surjit Singh, *Struggle of the Sikhs for Sovereignty*. Delhi, 1980

S.S.G.

LAKKHĀ, BHĀĪ, a devout Sikh who served as Gurū Hargobind's drummer. He was in attendance upon the Gurū during the battles of Ruhelā and Amritsar (1629).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Chheviṅ Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Siṅgh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*.

Amritsar, 1927-33

3. Giān Siṅgh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā*. Patiala, 1970
B.S.

LAKKHAN RĀI, son of Bīk Chand, a Chāngra Rājput of Ūnā, now a district town of Himāchal Pradesh, embraced Sikhism during the time of Gurū Tegh Bahādur (1621-75), and was later counted, along with his brother Bhoj Rāj, among the poets and scholars patronized by Gurū Gobind Siṅgh. The only work of Lakkhan Rāi that has come down to us is a translation in Hindi verse of the Sanskrit classic, *Hitopadeśa*, completed in 1737 BK/AD 1680. This is the earliest extant work by any of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh's poets and scholars.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Padam, Piārā Siṅgh, *Srī Gurū Gobind Siṅgh Jī de Darbāri Ratan*. Patiala, 1976

P.S.P.

LAKKHĀ SIṅGH was, according to *Gur Ratan Māl (Sau Sākhī)*, one of the attendants of Gurū Gobind Siṅgh at Nāndeḍ in the south. He killed one of the two Paṭhāns who had conspired to assassinate the Gurū. The other assassin, Jamshaid Khān, who actually stabbed the Gurū, had already been done to death by the latter himself.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Padam, Piārā Siṅgh, and Giāni Garjā Siṅgh, eds., *Gurū kiān Sākhīān*. Patiala, 1986
2. Santokh Siṅgh, Bhāī, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Nayyar, Gurbachan Siṅgh, ed., *Gur Ratan Māl arthāt Sau Sākhī*. Patiala, 1985
4. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

P.S.P.

LAKKHĪ MALL, DĪWĀN (d. 1844), an official of the Lahore Government in the Indus territories, which included Ḍerā

Ismā'il Khān, annexed by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh in 1836. Lakkhī Mall's charge also included Bannū which the Sikhs had occupied in 1825. In January 1844 Dīwān Lakkhī Mall led an expedition against Fateh Khān Ṭiwānā, an important chief in the neighbourhood of Bannū-Ṭonk region. He captured Ṭonk from where Fateh Khān Ṭiwānā had fled.

Lakkhī Mall died in March 1844 and was succeeded by his son Dīwān Daulat Rāi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārikh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990
3. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*. Hoshiarpur, 1977

G.S.Ch.

LAKKHĪ SHĀH or LAKKHĪ RĀI (d. 1680), son of Godhū Rām, a Yādobaṅsī Rājput of the Barhtīā clan, belonged to village of Khairpur in the present Muzaffargarh district of Pakistan. Also described as a *bañjārā* or roving trader, he was an affluent man with a permanent residence in Delhi. He was a disciple of the Gurūs. According to *Shahīd Bilās Bhāi Manī Singh*, his daughter was married to Bhāi Manī Rām of 'Alīpur, near Multān, in 1659. As Gurū Tegh Bahādur's body lay in the Chāndnī Chowk after execution, Lakkhī Shāh, accompanied by his son Nagāhīā, passed along the site with his convoy of carts and, assisted by Bhāi Dhūmā son of Kānhā, carried off the headless trunk in one of them. Bhāi Jaitā had already escaped with the head under cover of the dust storm then raging through the city. The body was taken to Lakkhī Shāh's residence in Rāisinā village. Since open cremation would not have been practicable, the entire house along with the body was set aflame. A part of the remains of the burnt body was placed in an urn and buried. With the other part of the ashes, Lakkhī Shāh went to Anandpur. Gurū

Gobind Singh blessed him for his devotion and service and consigned the ashes to the River Sutlej. Sardār Baghel Singh, one of the *misl* leaders, raised on the site in Delhi, in 1783, a shrine now known as Gurdwārā Rikābgañj.

Lakkhī Shāh died at Delhi on Jeṭh *sudī* 11, 1737 Bk/28 May 1680.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kuir Singh, *Gurbilās Pātshāhī 10*. Patiala, 1968
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Garjā Singh, Giāni, ed., *Shahīd Bilās*. Ludhiana, 1961
4. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909
5. Harbans Singh, *Guru Tegh Bahadur*. Delhi, 1982

M.G.S.

LAKKHŪ, BHĀĪ, a pious Sikh of Lahore, lived in very poor circumstances. Because of his appearance, he was once denied entry to the feast Bhāi Buddhū, the brick-manufacturer, had laid out for the Sikhs, seeking their blessing for the success of his venture. Bhāi Lakkhū thereupon pronounced a curse. Bhāi Buddhū begged Gurū Arjan to cancel it. But the Gurū said he was unable to do so. He had no power to undo what his Sikh had done. According to Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, he sent one of his Sikhs, Bhāi Laddhā, to intercede with Bhāi Lakkhū on Bhāi Buddhū's behalf. Bhāi Lakkhū, impressed by Bhāi Laddhā's humility, said, "I cannot take back what I said earlier; but rains this year are going to be heavy, and Buddhū's half-baked bricks will be much in demand."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

LAKKHŪ, BHĀĪ, a pious Sikh of the time of Gurū Hargobind (1595-1644) was also a brave warrior. He commanded a troop in the battle of Kartārpur fought against the imperial army under Qutab Khān, *faujdar* of Jalandhar and a cousin of Paindā Khān. Pāindā Khān, the Pathān who had been reared by Gurū Hargobind and who had remained with him for many years but had now turned hostile and attacked him with his cousin's help. According to *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*, Bhāi Lakkhū fought valiantly at the head of his contingent. He continued to fight even after his horse had been killed, but was felled as an arrow from Qutab Khān's bow hit him in the forehead. As he lay wounded, Qutab Khān severed his head with a blow of his sword. According to *Bhaṭṭ Vahī Mullānī Sindhī*, the battle of Kartārpur raged for three days — 26-28 April 1635.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī*. Patiala, 1970
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

B.S.

LAKSHMĪPUR, in Kaṭihār district of Bihār, is predominantly a Sikh village and has a historical shrine dedicated to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. The ancestors of the inhabitants of this village lived in Kāntnagar, a flourishing port on the left bank of the River Gaṅgā, and it was in fact this latter village where Gurū Tegh Bahādur had stayed on his way back from Assam to Paṭnā in 1670. The whole village accepted the Sikh faith. Subsequently, owing to a change in the course of the river, the entire village was washed away, the residents moving northwards to establish a new habitation which they also called Kāntnagar. But this Kāntnagar itself suffered heavy floods repeatedly. In consequence, the bulk of its

population shifted to new sites further north in the middle of the nineteenth century with the permission of their overlord, the Mahārājā of Darbhāṅgā. Native Bihārī Sikhs are now living in seven different villages within a radius of about 10 km. Each of these villages has a *gurdwārā*, but the one at Lakshmīpur is more famous for here is preserved an old volume of the Gurū Granth Sāhib believed to have been retrieved from the deluge that effaced old Kāntnagar, and several historical documents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Faujā Singh, *Gurū Teg Bahādur, Yātrā Asthān, Pramprāvān te Yād Chinh*. Patiala, 1976

M.G.S.

LAKSHMAN SINGH, BHAGAT (1863-1944), educationist and writer, was born of Hindu parents, Bhagat Kāhan Chand and Bhagatani Gurdittī (the prefix "Bhagat" came down to the family from an ancestor who was a reputed Vaishnava *bhagat* or devotee), on 8 June 1863 at Rāwalpiṇḍī, now in Pakistan, receiving the Sikh rites in 1895 at the hands of Bābā Khem Singh Bedī in direct line of descent from Gurū Nānak. After his early schooling at Rāwalpiṇḍī Presbyterian Mission High School, Lakshman Singh went to Lahore where he joined in 1881 the Municipal Board High School. Not a very brilliant student, he took five years to clear the Matriculation examination and three to obtain his (one-year) Teachership certificate. He went through a variety of employments thereafter, serving in the district court as clerk, postal department as cashier and Municipal Board Middle School at Harīpur in Hazārā district as headmaster. From May 1894 to October 1898, he taught at the Gordon Mission School, Rāwalpiṇḍī. During this period he was, as he records in his autobiography, offered by Dyāl Singh Majīthīā, at the instance of Lālā Harkishan Lāl, editorship of *The Tribune*, which he

declined.

On 5 January 1899 he however launched his own weekly paper *The Khalsa* — the first-ever English-language Sikh journal to make its appearance. Through its columns, he vigorously espoused the cause of the Singh Sabhā, but the paper had to be closed down in April 1901 owing to financial difficulties. Lakshman Singh entered government service as Assistant Inspector of Schools, Firozpur, in 1903, becoming District Inspector of Schools, Jhulum, in 1906. He served as second master at Government High School, Rāwalpiṇḍī, from June 1910 to March 1914, and as headmaster of Government High School, Firozpur, from 1916 to 1918. Retiring from government service in 1922, he took over as manager of Bhūpindrā Khālsā High School, Mogā, which position he quit in February 1927. In 1929, he restarted *The Khalsa*, and continued with his characteristic verve the campaign in behalf of Singh Sabhā reform. Besides editing his own paper, Lakshman Singh contributed articles to *The Tribune* and other journals. He also published two books, *A Short Sketch of the Life and Work of Guru Gobind Singh* (Lahore, 1909) and the *Sikh Martyrs* (Madras, 1929), both written in energetic English style. A book of memoirs, *Bhagat Lakshman Singh : Autobiography*, was published (Calcutta, 1965) posthumously by his lifelong friend and admirer Dr Gaṇḍā Singh.

Bhagat Lakshman Singh died on 27 December 1944 at his residence on the Asghar Mall in Rāwalpiṇḍī.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ganda Singh, ed., *Bhagat Lakshman Singh: Autobiography*. Calcutta, 1965
2. Tuteja, K.L., *Sikh Politics*. Kurukshetra, 1984
3. Piār Singh, *Bhāi Jodh Singh : Jivan te Rachnā*. Patiala, 1983

S.S.B.

LĀLĀ, a Pannū Jatt, was, according to Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, a devoted Sikh contemporary of Gurū Aṅgad. He is said to have accompanied Bhāi Bālā sent out by Gurū Aṅgad in search of the horoscope of Gurū Nānak so that he might have a life story of him written. The two travelled to Talvaṇḍī Rāi Bhoi and obtained from Gurū Nānak's uncle, Lālū, what they had come in search of. *Bhāi Bālevālī Janam Sākhī* mentions the event, but does not name the Sikh who accompanied Bhāi Bālā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kohli Surindar Singh, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

LĀLĀ, BHĀĪ, a Sethī Khatri, was a devoted Sikh of the time of Gurū Arjan. He was a talented musician and recited and expounded the holy hymns at Sikh gatherings.

See Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI.24.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

LĀL, BHĀĪ, a *chaudharī* or headman of the village of Sursingh in the *parganah* of Paṭṭī in present-day Amritsar district of the Punjab, was led to Gurū Arjan's presence by Bhāi Laṅgāh, another *chaudharī* in the same *parganah*. Bhāi Laṅgāh had already been initiated a Sikh. It was now Bhāi Lāl's turn. According to Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, the Gurū taught him how service by hands purified the mind and ended dubiety. Bhāi Lāl served diligently during the digging of the sacred pool, and the

construction of the Harimandar at Amritsar. The Gurū appointed him *masand* or local officiant in his district.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

LĀL CHAND, a confectioner-turned-warrior, won praise from Gurū Gobind Singh for his feats in the battle of Bhaṅgānī (1688). Thus does the Gurū eulogize him in his *Bachitra Nāṭak*, "Wrathful became Lāl Chand. His face turned red, he humbled the pride of many a lion (i.e. enemy stalwarts)." A contemporary poet Saināpati, in his brief encomium to Lāl Chand in his *Srī Gur Sobhā*, likens the intensity of the latter's fighting to "a peasant harvesting his crop," or [a volunteer] "ladling out curry [during a feast]."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Bachitra Nāṭak*
2. Senāpati, Kavi, *Srī Gur Sobhā*. ed. Ganda Singh. Patiala, 1980
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
4. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

P.S.P.

LĀL KAUL, PAṄḌIT (d. 1849), a Kashmīrī Brāhmaṇ, served the Amīr of Afghanistan before entering Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's service. He took part in the Sikh expedition to Kashmir in 1819 under Misr Divān Chand. After this he was for three years employed as governor of Multān, and was subsequently appointed to the command of a cavalry regiment known as Piṅḍivālā Ḍerā, which he led in several actions, the last one of them being the battle of Sabhrāon (10 February 1846). On the annexation of the Punjab in

1849 he was granted a life pension, which for a time he enjoyed together with the *jāgīr* in Kashmir. This *jāgīr* in Kashmir was resumed by Mahārājā Gulāb Singh.

Paṅḍit Lāl Kaul died in 1849. His grandsons, Paṅḍit Dayā Kishan Kaul and Paṅḍit Harī Kishan Kaul, served as prime minister and revenue minister, respectively, in the Paṭiālā state during the reign of Mahārājā Bhūpinder Singh (1891-1938).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1940

S.S.B.

LALL KALĀN, village 10 km west of Samrālā (30°-50'N, 76°-11'E) in Ludhiānā district possesses a shrine called Gurdwārā Gurū Sar, commemorating the visit of Gurū Gobind Singh. When Gurū Gobind Singh, disguised as the Pīr of Uchch and carried in a palanquin, was passing by this village, the commander of an imperial patrol in search of him, suspecting that the Pīr might in fact be the Gurū, stopped and interrogated the party. Sayyid Pīr Muhammad of Nūrpur, who was present and who had in fact recognized the Gurū for he had once been his Persian tutor, testified that the personage inside the palanquin was a most exalted Pīr, and the party was allowed to proceed. A modest-looking shrine was later established under a banyan tree where Gurū Gobind Singh had stopped. The present building was raised towards the close of the nineteenth century by Nāmdhārī Sikhs from whom the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee acquired possession through a legal suit. The Gurdwārā, inside a walled compound is an octagon-shaped room, with the sanctum in the middle. Over the sanctum on the first floor there is a low-domed room built in the same style. In a field next to the Gurdwārā compound there is a peculiar banyan tree having pointed

leaves like those of a *pīpal* tree. The villagers see in this peculiarity Gurū Gobind Sīngħ's own miracle.

M.G.S.

LĀLO, BHĀĪ, was, according to *Bālā Janam Sākhī*, a carpenter by profession who lived at Saidpur, present-day town of Eminābād in Gujranwālā district of Pakistan, and with whom Gurū Nānak put up for three days during his travel through those parts. Bhāi Lālo served him with devotion. That was the time when the Hindu steward of the local Muslim chief had announced a grand feast to which all caste Hindus and saints and *sādhūs* in town and the vicinity were invited. The *Janam Sākhī* records his name as Malik Bhāgo. At the end of the feast, report reached him that Nānak, a holy man born of Kṣatriya parents, had ignored his invitation and had instead chosen to dine with a low-caste carpenter. Messengers were immediately despatched to bring Gurū Nānak to his house. As he arrived, Malik Bhāgo spoke to him in resentful tones: "How is it that you ignored my invitation to the *brahm bhoj* (lit. feast in honour of Brāhmaṇs and other holymen)? Or, is it that the food your casteless host serves you is better than mine?" Gurū Nānak said, "I eat what God sends. There are no castes in God's sight." "Then, you should eat whatever is offered in this house." Sumptuous victuals were thereupon summoned from his kitchen. At the same time, Gurū Nānak asked Bhāi Lālo, who had followed him to the Malik's mansion, to bring food from his house. In the words of *Bālā Janam Sākhī*, "Gurū Nānak took Lālo's coarse bread in his right hand and Malik Bhāgo's delicacies in the left. As he pressed both, milk dripped from Lālo's coarse bread and blood from Malik Bhāgo's delicacies. The entire assembly was lost in amazement."

Bhāi Lālo is counted among the earliest emissaries of the Sikh faith. The word Lālo occurs several times in one of Gurū Nānak

hymns in the measure *Tilaṅg* describing in moving accents the suffering caused by Bābar's invasion. The conjecture is that those lines were addressed to Bhāi Lālo, his disciple.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Kohli, Surindar Sīngħ, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
2. Vir Sīngħ, Bhāi, ed., *Purātan Janam Sākhī*. Amritsar, 1982
3. Harbans Sīngħ, *Guru Nanak and Origin of the Sikh Faith*. Bombay, 1969
4. McLeod, W.H., *Early Sikh Tradition*. Oxford, 1980
Gn.S.

LĀL SĪNGH (1798-1875), of the village of Talvaṇḍī in Gurdāspur district, saw, like his father Dal Sīngħ, a good deal of service under Mahārājā Raṅjīt Sīngħ. He fought in the Multān and Kashmir campaigns of 1818-19. He also fought at the famous battle of Jamrūd in April 1837, where his nephew died fighting. Lāl Sīngħ was appointed in 1848 to co-operate with the *adālātī* or chief justice of the Mājhā region, holding the command of fifty horse. Lāl Sīngħ held half of Talvaṇḍī in proprietary rights. He died in 1875.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Sūrī, Sohan Lāl, *'Umdāt ut-Twārīkh*. Lahore, 1885-89
2. Griffin, Lepel, and C.F. Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*. Lahore, 1909
3. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. IV. Delhi, 1982

S.S.B.

LĀL SĪNGH, BHĀĪ, ruler of the Sikh state of Kaithal, was the younger son of Bhāi Desū Sīngħ, founder of the principality. Unlike other rulers of the cis-Sutlej states, the Kaithal chiefs did not assume the title of *rājah* (king), but preferred to use the family epithet of *Bhāi* (lit. brother). Bhāi Desū Sīngħ, who fell out with Rājā Amar Sīngħ of Paṭiālā in 1778, sought the patronage of the Delhi *Wazīr*, Nawāb Majd ud-Daulah 'Abd ul-Ahad. The

latter claimed from him arrears in payment of revenue plus a fine of four lakh rupees. Of this amount Desū Singh arranged to pay three lakh rupees and in lieu of the balance payable he left his son, Lāl Singh, as a hostage. As the balance was not forthcoming soon enough, Lāl Singh was tortured. This embittered him and he became a rebel against his father, who on his release from Delhi interned him at Kaithal. When Desū Singh died in 1781, Lāl Singh was still in confinement. His elder brother Bahāl Singh did all he could to keep him in prison, but Lāl Singh contrived to escape, killed Bahāl Singh and took possession of all the estates of his father. He was a politically shrewd person and could clearly see where his advantage lay. He had great influence with Rājā Bhāg Singh of Jind; he befriended the powerful Diwān Nānū Mall of Patīālā, and in the family dispute in the ruling family there he supported Rānī Ās Kaur against the weak-minded Rājā Sāhib Singh. This strategy enabled him to retain possession of a few villages in distant districts of Fatehābād and Sirsā. He responded to the call of Bābā Sāhib Singh Bedī for a religious war against the Afghāns of Rāikoṭ in 1798 and grabbed Rāi Ilyās' fort of Wākhā and its surrounding territory. He joined hands with the Marāṭhās to wipe out the British adventurer, George Thomas, in 1802, but was astute enough to perceive the rising influence of the British and, along with Rājā Bhāg Singh, joined hands with them on 15 September 1803, preventing the Marāṭhās from making further inroads. According to Sir Lepel Griffin, "Lal Singh was, at the time of the British advance northwards, in 1809, the most powerful cis-Sutlej chief, after the Raja of Patiala." In 1819, Bhāi Karam Singh, son of Bhāi Dhannā Singh and first cousin of Bhāi Lāl Singh, died. Both his widow, Māi Bhāgbharī, and Bhāi Lāl Singh made claims to his estates. The British government, however, allowed the latter to succeed to the estates with a small maintenance grant to the

widow.

Bhāi Lāl Singh died at Kaithal soon after.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Griffin, Lepel, *The Rajas of the Punjab* [Reprint]. Delhi, 1977
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Delhi, 1978
3. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Garb Gañjanī Tikā*. Lahore, 1910

M.G.S.

LĀL SINGH MORĀNVĀLĀ, promoted a general in the Sikh army during the prime-ministership of Jawāhar Singh, was a member of the Council of Regency constituted by Mahārānī Jind Kaur in December 1844. He took part in the operation against Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammū launched by the Lahore Darbār troops in February 1845. During the first Anglo-Sikh war, Lāl Singh Morānvālā saw action in the battle of 'Alivāl (28 January 1846) under the command of Ranjodh Singh Majiṭhīā. In 1848, he was appointed chief justice of the Sindh Sāgar Doāb. During the Hazārā revolt of 1848 he showed sympathies with Chatar Singh Aṭārivālā, occupied Wazirābād, joined Rājā Sher Singh along with his troops and fought against the British. He took part in the battles of Rāmnagar (22 November 1848), Cheliānvālā (13 January 1849), and Gujrāt (21 February 1849).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Chopra, B.R., *Kingdom of the Punjab*. Hoshiarpur, 1969
2. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1956
3. Griffin, Lepel, *The Punjab Chiefs*. Lahore, 1865

GI.S.

LĀL SINGH NAROTAM (1840-1926), also known as Sant Lāl Singh Hare Rām, a Nirmalā scholar, was born the son of Bhāi Kirpāl Singh and Rāj Karnī Devī on 14 September 1840 at

Bherā, Jehlum district, now in Pakistan. The family claimed descent from Bhāi Mannā Sīng, one of Gurū Gobind Sīng's disciples. Lāl Sīng received his preliminary education in Sikh texts from his father and from itinerant *sādhūs* who frequented his house. Around 1880, he came to Amritsar where he established his own seminary which he named Hare Rām Āshram and which was affiliated to the Nirmalā order. Here he spent the rest of his life, studying and teaching. The epithet *narotam* (lit. man par excellence) came to be added to his name in recognition of his scholarship. He wrote both verse (Punjabi) and prose (Sadhuکاری) and his known works number sixteen. His first original work, completed in 1881 but still unpublished, is *Gur Bigyān Prakāsh* or *Salok Sahaskritī Tīkā*. It is an exposition in the form of a dialogue of "Sahaskritī Saloks" from the Gurū Granth Sāhib. This was followed by *Ādi Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī Ke Prayāi*, 400 large-sized folios, a glossary of Gurū Granth Sāhib completed in 1883. *Gurū Giān Prakāsh* (1886) deals with subjects like exaltation of *nām*, i.e. absorption in the Name of God. *Sudhāsar Mahātām* (since published) mainly pays homage to the Gurū Granth Sāhib. *Brahm Prakāsh Granth* was, according to the author, in three volumes of which only one is now extant. It contains a summary of some important Hindu classics such as the Upaniṣads, the Epics and the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. Published works of Sant Lāl Sīng include *Srī Gur Bhagat Māl Saṭik* (1908), *Bachan Prakāsh* (n.d.), *Parlok Jhākī* (1926), *Giān Sāgar* (1966), *Narotam Mājhan* (n.d.), and *Istrī Bhagat Mālā* (1971). Among those yet unpublished are *Granth Sākhī Pramāṇ*, *Narotam Bārā Māhā*, *Man Sambodhan Granth*, *Gobind Satotra*, *Niranākārī Darshan*, *Giṇatī Sabadoṅ Kī*, *Mahimā Prakāsh (Sākhī Saṅgraha)*, *Kabit Sukkhā Sīng Ke* and *Srī Guru Sabad Sār*. The last mentioned work completed in 1898 explains theological terms such as *oṅkār*, *satinām* and *gurprasādi*. Sant Lāl Sīng also

wrote a commentary on Gurū Gobind Sīng's *Zafarāmāh* but the first ten pages of the 69-page manuscript have been lost.

Sant Lāl Sīng Narotam died at Amritsar on 22 June 1926.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ganeshā Sīng, Mahant, *Nirmal Bhūshan arthāt Itihās Nirmal Bhekh*. Amritsar, 1994 Bk/AD 1937
2. Diāl Sīng, Mahant, *Nirmal Panth Darshan*. Delhi, 1965
3. Muni, Arjan Sīng, *Srī Nirmal Pañchaitī Akhārā*. Kankhal, 2006 Bk/1949
4. *Srī Sudhāsar Mahātām*. Delhi, 1969

S.S.A.

LĀL SĪNGH, RĀJĀ (d. 1866), son of Misr Jassā Mall, a Brāhmaṇ shopkeeper of Saṅghoī, in Jehlum district in West Punjab, entered the service of the Sikh Darbār in 1832 as a writer in the treasury. He enjoyed the patronage of the Dogrā minister Dhiān Sīng and, when in 1839 Misr Belī Rām had displeased the latter because of his sympathy with Chet Sīng Bājvā, he was promoted in his place Dāroghah-i-Toshākhānā, which position he held until the reinstatement of the former.

Lāl Sīng rose to power during the heyday of Wazīr Hīrā Sīng Dogrā's authority when he was given a minor military command for the maintenance of which a few districts were leased out to him. Lāl Sīng increased his influence by winning the favour of those in power. To this end, he engineered, in 1843, the murder of Belī Rām, his own benefactor, and Bhāi Gurmukh Sīng, both disliked by the minister. He displayed similar ingratitude towards Rājā Hīrā Sīng who had throughout been well disposed towards him. Besides confirming him as the controller of the Toshākhānā, Hīrā Sīng had appointed him young Mahārājā Duleep Sīng's tutor in place of Jawāhar Sīng and had also created him Rājā with grants of *jāgīrs* at Rohtās. But when Mahārāṇī Jind Kaur turned against Hīrā

Singh, he lost no time in joining hands with her and her brother, Jawāhar Singh, to bring about his downfall.

By his beguiling manner Lāl Singh won the confidence of Mahārāṇī Jind Kaur and became her closest adviser. In December 1844, he was appointed a member of the Council of Regency under her. He was made Wazīr on 8 November 1845 after the assassination of Jawāhar Singh. As Wazīr and as a commander, Lāl Singh proved disloyal to the Sikh Darbār in the Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46. He in fact acted in conformity with the secret instructions received from the British officials. He supplied military information to Captain Peter Nicholson, at Ferozpur, and two divisions of Sikh troops under his command remained entrenched at Ferozeshāh without attacking Ferozpur. Brigadier Littler's garrison troops were thus allowed to escape from there and form junction with Lord Gough's army at Ferozeshāh. After the reverse at Ferozeshāh, Lāl Singh fled to Lahore and offered to the Council of the Khālsā to relinquish his office. He was relieved of the office of Wazīr, but no change in the military command was made.

On the eve of battle of Sabhrāon (10 February 1846), Lāl Singh is alleged to have sent to Captain Nicholson a map of the Sikh entrenchments. During the battle, he kept his artillery battalions and the dreaded *Ghorcharās* away from the battlefield. He himself retired to Lahore. After the war, he was suitably rewarded by the British. He was confirmed as Wazīr of the State of Lahore under the Resident, Henry Lawrence. He, however, lost British patronage when it came to light that he had sent written instructions to Shaikh Imām ud-Dīn, the governor of Kashmir, to thwart the occupation by Gulāb Singh of the valley granted him by the British under a treaty signed on 16 March 1846. Lāl Singh was tried by a Court of Inquiry and found guilty. He was removed from his high

office and expelled from the Punjab with a pension of 12,000 rupees per annum. He was sent to Āgrā and then to Dehrā Dūn, where he died in 1866.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Trial of Raja Lal Singh*. Punjab Government Records Office, Lahore
2. Cunningham, Joseph Davey, *A History of the Sikhs from the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej*. London, 1849
3. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, ed., *The Punjab Papers*. Hoshiarpur, 1970
4. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. II. Princeton, 1966
5. Chopra, Barkat Rai, *Kingdom of the Punjab*. Hoshiarpur, 1969
6. Chopra, Gulshan Lal, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*. Hoshiarpur, 1960
7. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, 1983

J.S.K.

LĀLŪ, BĀBĀ (1444-1542), paternal uncle of Gurū Nānak and the son of Shiv Rām and Mātā Banārasī, was born at Talvaṇḍī Rāi Bhoi. He was the younger brother of Mahitā Kālū, father of Gurū Nānak.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Sri Gur Pratāp Sūraj Cranth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Chhibbar, Kesar Singh, *Bansāvalīnāmā Dasān Pātsāhān Kā*. Chandigarh, 1972
3. Kohli, Surindar Singh, ed., *Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā*. Chandigarh, 1975
4. McLeod, W.H., tr., *The B40 Janam-sakhi*. Amritsar, 1980

Gn.S.

LĀLŪ, BHĀĪ, headman of Khaḍūr (Sāhib), a village in Amritsar district of the Punjab, became a devout Sikh of Gurū Aṅgad. According to Bhāi Manī Singh, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*, he along with Bhāi Durgā and Bhāi Jivandā once begged the Gurū to show them the way to liberation. Gurū Aṅgad

replied that *paropkār*, doing good to others, was the best way to secure release from the bondage of birth and death. He further elaborated that *paropkār* could be practised in different ways. One could help the poor and the needy with one's wealth or by sharing one's victuals with them; one could render physical service to others; or one could impart knowledge or give good counsel to fellowmen. The three Sikhs bowed to the Gurū and humbly dedicated themselves to deeds of service.

Bhāi Lālū continued to pay homage to Gurū Amar Das.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

Gn.S.

LĀLŪ, BHĀĪ, also known as Bhāi Lālo, was a well-to-do Sabharvāl Khatri of the village of Ḍallā, now in Kapūrthālā district of the Punjab, who received spiritual instruction at the hands of Gurū Angad. He was a close associate of Bhāi Pāro in whose company he once visited Goindvāl in the time of Gurū Amar Dās. Joy radiated from his face as he saw the Gurū. The Gurū blessed him saying, in the words of Sarūp Dās Bhallā, *Mahimā Prakāsh*, "Lālū, my beloved Sikh, hath become *lāl* (lit. crimson) i.e. a ruby)" Lālū was appointed head of a *mañjī*, or preaching district. Tradition attributes supernatural powers to him, especially as a healer. A shrine at Ḍallā honours his memory.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
2. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971

B.S.D.

LĀLŪ, BHĀĪ, a Vij Khatri, was initiated into

Sikh faith by Gurū Arjan. The Gurū instructed him in the virtues of humility and of sharing with others whatever one had to eat. Bhāi Santokh Singh, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, mentions Bhāi Lālū's name among those who earned prominence for their diligent service during the excavation of the sacred pool at Amritsar. His name also figures in Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 18.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manī Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

LAMBE, a village 6 km from Chandigarh (30°-44'N, 76°-47'E) has a shrine called Gurdwārā Amb Sāhib Jī Pātshāhī 7. The Gurdwārā commemorates the visit of Gurū Har Rāi who came and stayed here in a mango grove belonging to a devotee, Bhāi Kakṛū. A tree believed to be the one under which the Gurū sat is still known as Gurū kā Amb (Mango) or Kakṛū kā Amb.

The present *gurdwārā* was raised in 1960 by Sant Ishar Singh in whose memory, too, there is a *gurdwārā* just outside the village. The main *gurdwārā* is a double-storeyed domed structure within an enclosed compound. The hall on the ground floor has the *prakāsh asthān* in the centre. There are separate rooms for Gurū kā Langar. Another large building near by which belongs to the *gurdwārā* is the local Khālsā high school.

The *gurdwārā* is administered by the Shiromanī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. An annual fair is held during January-February to celebrate the birth anniversary of Gurū Har Rāi.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārān*. Amritsar, n.d.

2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.C.S.

LAMBVĀLĪ, village 11 km northeast of Jaito (30°-26'N, 74°-53'E) in Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab, claims a historical *gurdwārā* established in honour of Gurū Gobind Singh who made a brief halt here sojourning in these parts towards the close of 1705.

Tradition persists in the village about visits by Gurū Nānak and by Gurū Hargobind. The present-building of the shrine, called Gurdwārā Sāhib Pātshāhi X, comprising a 13-metre square hall with the sanctum at the far-end and a verandah around it, was completed during the 1970's. The Gurdwārā is endowed with 22 acres of land and is managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. Major Sikh anniversaries are marked by special gatherings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Singh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Amritsar, n.d.

M.C.S.

LAMMĀÑ, also known as Lammāñ-Jaṭpurā, in Ludhiāṇā district, is 14 km from Rāikoṭ (30°-39'N, 75°-37'E) on the Gurū Gobind Singh Mārg. Gurū Gobind Singh stayed in the village for a few days in December 1705 on his way from Chamkaur to Dīnā and Kānḡar. While Rāi Kalhā had despatched a fast messenger, Nūrā Māhī, to Sirhind to bring news of Mātā Gujārī and two younger sons of Gurū Gobind Singh, rumoured to have been taken into custody by the local governor, the Gurū halted at Lammāñ-Jaṭpurā to await his return. Nūrā Māhī returned and tearfully narrated the tragic happenings at Sirhind. Gurū Gobind Singh sat listening with perfect composure, his eyes fixed on the ground. With the tip of

his arrow he was digging, as if absent-mindedly, at the root of a *dab* weed plant. As Nūrā concluded his doleful tale, the Gurū pulled out the *dab* plant and said, "The roots of tyrants have been dug; they shall be uprooted." He told his Sikhs not to grieve. He sat in prayer and thanked the Timeless God that he had rendered unto Him what was His. He blessed the Nawāb of Mālerkoṭlā who had spoken in defence of the children at the Sirhind court. He also blessed Rāi Kalhā for his devotion and service, and gave him a sword and a jug as souvenirs.

There are two *gurdwārās* in Lammāñ to commemorate Gurū Gobind Singh's visit.

GURDWĀRĀ SĀHIB PĀTSHĀHĪ DASVĪÑ is inside the village on the site of the house of one Bhāi Rām Dit Singh where the Gurū had stayed overnight. It consists of a Mañjī Sāhib, a small square room topped by a lotus dome in which the Gurū Granth Sāhib is seated. In front is a rectangular hall. Ancillary buildings for *laṅgar* and the *granthī* are across a paved courtyard. This Gurdwārā is managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee through a local committee. There is in the Gurdwārā a hand-written copy of the Gurū Granth Sāhib which the inhabitants believe to have been given to the *saṅgat* by Gurū Gobind Singh himself.

GURDWĀRĀ GURŪSAR PAÑJUĀNĀ is on the outskirts of the village and marks the spot where the Gurū sat during the day to meet the visiting devotees. The building constructed in the 1940's consists of a large square hall within which is the *prakāsh asthān* and two small cubicles. Over the *prakāsh asthān*, there is a domed room. Close by is the 45-metre square bathing tank called Gurū Sar. The Gurdwārā is managed by Sant Ajaib Singh of Bopārāi who constructed the complex.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Siṅgh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Siṅgh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
M.G.S.

LANE, STEPHEN, an American, who served for some years in Scindia's army rising to the rank of lieutenant. He joined Mahārājā Ranjīt Siṅgh's army in 1834, and was entrusted with the command of a battalion. Being an habitual drunkard, he was dismissed from service after about 18 months and deported to Ludhiāṅā.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers in Northern India, 1785-1849* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

G.I.S.

LANG, a village 11 km northwest of Paṭiālā city (30°-20'N, 76°-26'E), claims a historical shrine called Gurdwārā Dukh Bhañjan Sāhib Pātshāhī Nauviñ. The designation Dukh Bhañjan is only a recent addition, the old name coming down the generations being Gurdwārā Nauviñ Pātshāhī. According to local tradition, Gurū Tegh Bahādur halted here during his journey to the eastern parts in 1665. He arrived accompanied by his mother, his wife and a number of Sikhs. The shrine established to commemorate the holy visit was originally a small hut. It was replaced by a proper Mañjī Sāhib by Mahārājā Karam Siṅgh of Paṭiālā (1798-1845), who also made an endowment of 500 *bighās* of land. Under post-Independence tenancy laws, the tenants became owners of all but seven *bighās*. The building was reconstructed by Sant Chhoṭā Siṅgh (d. 1975) who looked after the shrine for two decades. A small square room, constructed over the spot where he was cremated, is being developed into a picture gallery containing paintings of scenes from Sikh history. The main building consists of a

square assembly hall, with the sanctum in the centre marking the site of the original Mañjī Sāhib. A domed square room has been constructed on the first floor over the sanctum. The Gurdwārā is managed by a committee of local Sikhs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Siṅgh, Giāni, *Twārīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Tārā Siṅgh, *Srī Gur Tīrath Saṅgrahī*. Amritsar, n.d.
M.G.S.

LAṄGĀH, BHĀĪ, a well-known figure in early Sikh history, was originally a follower of Sultān Sakhī Sarwar. Son of Abu ul-Khair, a Dhillon Jatt with a Muslim name, belonging to the village of Jhabāl, in the present Amritsar district of the Punjab, he was one of the three *chaudharīs* or revenue officials of the *parganah* of Paṭṭī, who between them were responsible for collecting, on behalf of the governor of Lahore, a revenue of Rs 900,000 from villages under their jurisdiction. Laṅgāh alone had 84 villages under him. It is said that once Laṅgāh was afflicted with a serious illness. Neither medicine nor prayer to the patron saint of his sect, Sakhī Sarwar, proved of any avail. He met a Sikh who counselled him to pray to God Almighty and to Gurū Nānak. Laṅgāh soon recovered and was converted a Sikh. He lovingly contributed the labour of his hands as well as money for the excavation of the sacred pool and the construction of the Harimandar at Amritsar. His devotion and earnestness were applauded by Gurū Arjan, who appointed him a *masand* (officiant) in his own area. He was one of the privileged Sikhs who were included in the marriage party of Gurū Hargobind in 1604. Laṅgāh, again, was one of the five Sikhs chosen to accompany Gurū Arjan on his last journey to Lahore. He witnessed the torturous scenes leading to the Gurū's martyrdom and helped to cremate his earthly remains. He continued to enjoy the

confidence of the next Gurū, Gurū Hargobind. Known for his fighting skills as well as for his religious faith and piety, Bhāi Laṅgāh was appointed one of the commanders of Gurū Hargobind's newly trained force. Later, when the Gurū visited Lahore and had a small shrine constructed on the spot where Gurū Arjan's body had been cremated, Bhāi Laṅgāh was appointed to look after it. He served in this capacity for many a long year. Bhāi Laṅgāh died at Dhilvān, on the bank of the River Beās.

Among Bhāi Laṅgāh's descendants was the Sikh general, Baghel Singh of Karor Singhīā *misl*, who triumphantly entered Delhi in 1770 and had several Sikh shrines erected to mark the historical sites in the capital. Māi Bhāgo, who fought with the Mājha contingent in the battle of Khidrānā (present-day Muktsar), was the granddaughter of Bhāi Laṅgāh's younger brother, Piro Shāh.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33
3. Macauliffe, Max Arthur, *The Sikh Religion*. Oxford, 1909

T.S.

LAṄGAR CHHANNĪ, a village in Ambālā district of Haryānā, about 13 km southeast of Ambālā cantonment (30°-21'N, 76°-50'E), is sacred to Gurū Tegh Bahādur. According to local tradition, the Gurū halted in this village while travelling from Haridvār to Lakhnaur Sāhib along with the members of his family. Laṅgar Chhannī at that time was inhabited by Raṅghar Muslims, and, at the place where the Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Tegh Bahādur Sāhib stands now, there was a *takīāh* or seat of Muslim faqīrs. Even long after the Gurū's visit the place continued to be called a *takīāh*. During the period following the fall of Sirhind in 1764, this

territory around Kesarī and Shāhzādpur was seized by Sardār Karam Singh of the Shahīd *misl*. Later, a Sikh family, Chahals of village Balānā, 7 km southwest of Ambālā city, came and settled in Laṅgar Chhannī. The memory of the Gurū's visit to the place was still alive. The old *takīāh* in the course of time gave place to a *derā* where *sādhūs* of Udāsī and Nirmalā sects resided. The Gurdwārā was established during the Gurdwārā Reform movement in the 1920's. The present building was raised in 1938. It consists of a single flat-roofed rectangular room, with a verandah and a small brick-paved open space in front. An old *nīm* tree which stands near by is believed to have existed since the time of Gurū Tegh Bahādur's visit. The Gurdwārā is managed by a committee of the local *saṅgat*.

M.G.S.

LAṄGAR SINGH, BĀBĀ, an eighteenth-century Nirmalā saint, was the son of Bhāi Parshādā Singh and Māi Valtohi, a devout Sikh couple contemporary with Gurū Gobind Singh (1666-1708) and living at Koṭ Kapūrā (30°-35'N, 74°-49'E) now in Farīdkoṭ district of the Punjab. The names Parshādā (lit. bread or meal), Valtohi (lit. kettle) and Laṅgar (lit. food, meal, kitchen), it is said, were given them by the people for their warm hospitality. Laṅgar Singh after his education at Anandpur under Bhāi Kesar Singh, who had been a student of Bhāi Karam Singh, one of the five Sikhs sent by Gurū Gobind Singh to Vārāṇasī to study Sanskrit, settled down at Harike Kalān, a village 18 km east of Muktsar, where he established a *derā* or seminary to teach Sikh texts and tenets. His disciple, Mahant Nikkā Singh, founded five other *derās*, one each at Barnālā, Paṭiālā, Mālerkoṭlā, Rāikoṭ and Jagrāon. According to Giānī Giān Singh, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā*, it was Bābā Laṅgar Singh who identified, for raising commemorative shrines, the various spots

connected with the battle of Khidrānā (Muktsar). The famous Māghī fair of Muktsar also owed its origin to his initiative. Bābā Langar Singh died after a brief illness at Amritsar where he had gone on pilgrimage. His *samādh* or memorial shrine is at Harike Kalān where his place of residence still houses a Nirmalā school.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ganeshā Singh, Mahant, *Nirmal Bhūshan arthāt Itihās Nirmal Bhekh*. Amritsar, 1994 Bk
2. Diāl Singh, Mahant, *Nirmal Panth Darshan*. Delhi, 1965
3. Giān Singh, Giānī, *Twārīkh Gurū Khālsā*. Patiala, 1970 G.S.G.

LATKAN, BHĀĪ, a Ghūrā Khatrī, received instruction at the hands of Gurū Arjan and became a Sikh. The name also appears in Bhāi Gurdās, *Vārān*, XI. 24.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Mani Singh, Bhāi, *Sikhān dī Bhagat Mālā*. Amritsar, 1955
2. Santokh Singh, Bhāi, *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*. Amritsar, 1927-33

T.S.

LĀVĀN is the title traditionally given a short four-stanza composition by Gurū Rām Dās included under *rāga Sūhī* (p. 773) in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The word *lāvān*, in the Indian tradition, also stands for the marriage ceremony: in Hindu society the couple reverentially circumambulates the holy fire to the singing of holy hymns from Hindu scriptures. Among Sikhs the couple circumambulates the Gurū Granth Sāhib, completing a circuiting as each of the quartets of *Lāvān* is being sung or intoned (see ANAND KĀRAJ).

In the Sikh canonical literature the human soul is likened to a bride whose marriage (union) with Lord-husband is the ultimate end of human life. The very first

lāv (singular of *lāvān*) with which begin the marriage rites is the Lord's ordinance showing the way for leading a happy wedded life. The two-fold emphasis here requires man to be ever absorbed in the Divine Name and to hold fast to his moral and social obligations. This endeavour for simultaneous perfection in spiritual as well as social spheres is required to move successfully towards the goal of *mukti*, the ultimate end of human life.

The second quartet (the couple makes the second circumambulation as the verse is being sung) tells man that his earlier endeavour is rewarded in the meeting of the True Gurū. As a result of this, the human heart becomes free of all fears and all the filth of selfishness is washed off his mind. Ever in the presence of God, he sings His praises. He realizes that all beings are, in essence, manifestations of the Divine who pervades within and without.

The third quartet advises man to cultivate in his heart love of the Lord and detach himself from the mundane world. Company of the good and the holy is declared to be auspicious. It is in the holy congregation that glory of the Ineffable Lord is sung. And it is to singing of His praise that man must dedicate himself.

The fourth quartet shows the human mind unlocking the Divine mystery. Man achieves mystical union with the Absolute One. This union results in indescribable bliss for the *īva*-bride and all desires of 'her' heart are fulfilled.

The four quartets of the hymn depict the four stages of human consciousness seeking realization. It begins in man's endeavour simultaneously to advance on the spiritual and social planes (1). To achieve this man is advised to live under the guidance of the Gurū. It is under the Gurū's guidance (2) that man will be led to cultivating in his mind an intense longing for the Lord and detachment from the world.

He now revels in the company of the good and the holy (3). As love for the Divine is awakened in the human heart and man's grip on human values of life tightens, he gains proximity to the Divine and becomes one with Him (4). Thus, the religious ceremony of *lāvān* begins with man's quest for God-realization and concludes with the attainment of this ideal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadārth Sīr Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1964
2. *Sikh Rahit Maryādā*. Amritsar, 1975
3. Jogendra Singh, *Sikh Ceremonies*. Chandigarh, 1968
D.S.

LAWRENCE, JOHN LAIRD MAIR (1811-1879), Governor-General of India, younger brother of Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, was born on 4 March 1811 at Richmond, in Yorkshire, England. He was educated at Bristol, Londonderry, Bath and Haileybury. In 1830, he took up appointment under the East India Company and served from 1830-46 as a civilian administrator, as magistrate and as collector of Delhi. In 1846, he was appointed commissioner of the newly annexed Jalandhar Doāb by Governor-General Lord Hardinge. In 1849, he joined the Punjab Board of Administration as a member, and, after its dissolution in 1853, became the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

In comparison with Henry Lawrence, John was a cold, practical administrator. He did not possess his brother's understanding of the Sikhs and their institutions. He ruled with severity and introduced several changes. Some of these changes appeared vexatious innovations to the general mass of the Sikh people smarting under the shock of defeat and humiliation. John Lawrence also disbanded and dispersed the 92,000-strong *Khālsā* army. Its artillery was dismantled and carted away to Calcutta, and its *ghoṛcharhās* and *jāgīrdārī* force allowed to lapse.

In 1849, John Lawrence was nominated a member of the Board of Administration which Governor-General Lord Dalhousie had constituted to offset Henry Lawrence's influence in the Punjab. The Lawrence brothers sharply differed in their views on almost all political issues. Henry believed that the annexation of the Punjab was both unjust and impolitic, and that a policy of moderation and conciliation should be pursued towards the Sikhs. John was in favour of enforcing a more rigorous policy in the Punjab. The third member of the Board, Charles Greville Mansel, with his legal training, was interested more in the judicial aspect than in politics. The divergence of views in the Board led to its dissolution in 1853. This gave Lord Dalhousie the excuse to oust Henry Lawrence. John Lawrence became Chief Commissioner of the Punjab and inherited the powers of the Board. He did not possess his brother's genius for personal relations and for winning the people's hearts, yet unfettered control over all departments allowed him to establish firmly the roots of British power in the Punjab. He divided the province into seven districts, pacified and settled the northwest frontier, improved agriculture, reduced land-tax, and introduced the system of European learning and education in the Punjab.

In 1859, John Lawrence returned home and served as a member of Secretary of State's India Council till 1864, when he was appointed Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1864-69). He returned to England in 1869 and was created Baron Lawrence of the Punjab.

He died on 26 June 1879.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Smith, Bosworth R., *Life of Lord Lawrence*. London, 1885
2. Gibbon, Fredrick, P., *The Lawrences of the Punjab*. London, 1908

3. Trotter, L.J., *Lord Lawrence*. London, 1880
4. Temple, Richard, *Lord Lawrence*. London, 1890
5. Smith, Vincent, *The Oxford History of India*. Oxford, 1958

B.J.H.

LAWRENCE, SIR HENRY MONTGOMERY (1806-1857), elder brother of Governor-General John Laird Mair Lawrence, was born on 28 June 1806 at Matura, in Ceylon. After education at schools in Londonderry and Bristol, he joined the Bengal Artillery, in 1823, as a Second-Lieutenant. In 1833, he was appointed an officer for the revenue survey of North-West Province, and, in 1839, he became assistant to the political agent, North-West Frontier Agency, at Ferozpur. In 1841, when he was posted to Peshāwar, he took part in the Khaibar operations. From 1843 to 1846, he was resident in Nepal. In 1846, after the first Sikh war, Lord Hardinge appointed him agent at Lahore and, after the treaty of Bharovāl the same year, he became the British resident there. He served as chairman of the Board of Administration after annexation.

Few Englishmen of that time, it has been said, understood the Sikhs as well as did Sir Henry Lawrence. He had come in contact with them in 1839, first as Political Assistant at Ludhiānā and then in the same capacity at Ferozpur. His admiration of the hardy and militant race of the Sikhs enabled him to handle with tact the Darbār politics when, after the treaty of Bharovāl, he wielded unlimited power as Resident at Lahore. Sympathy and moderation marked his treatment of the Sikhs and he throughout resisted Lord Hardinge's more stringent policy. His civil administration was run by a council of eight leading *sardārs*, six of them Sikhs, one Hindu and one Muhammadan, each with specific portfolios.

Towards the Sikh army, Henry Lawrence adopted a conciliatory attitude. He introduced a system of regular payments

against the old practice of keeping the troops in arrears for months. He was convinced of the qualities of the Sikh soldiers and recommended their wholesale enlistment in the British army. Thus he sought to pacify the common mass of the disbanded soldiery and attach it to British interests. He reduced tensions in the frontier districts by pacification and settlement of the Sindh Sāgar Doāb, Bannū, Hazārā, Peshāwar and the entire trans-Indus region.

Politically, Henry Lawrence was apprehensive of the influence of Mahārānī Jind Kaur, widow of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. He detained her in the Lahore Fort and implicated her in what is known as the Premā plot. In August 1847, he had her expelled from Lahore. Earlier, he had been instrumental in the expulsion and dismissal of Wazir Lāl Singh, who was believed to have been behind the Kashmir revolt.

In pursuing a moderate policy towards the Sikhs and the Punjab, Lawrence had to wage a private war with the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie. At heart, he was opposed to the annexation of the Sikh kingdom. In his communication to the Home Government and to friends in England, he described the annexation of the Punjab as immoral, unjust and impolitic. Eventually, he fell out with the Governor-General. The latter did not like Lawrence personally, nor his policies. He was also resentful of his popularity among the Sikhs. As he commented sarcastically: "[Lawrence] supposes himself as the king of the Punjab."

In January 1853, Henry Lawrence resigned his post as chairman of the Board of Administration owing to differences with Lord Dalhousie. He was killed in action on 4 July 1857 while defending the Lucknow residency during the Indian rising.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Khilani, N.M., *Punjab under the Lawrences*, 1846-58.

Punjab Government Records Office Monograph No.2

2. Smith, Vincent, *The Oxford History of India*. Oxford, 1958
3. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968

B.J.H.

LEHAL KALĀN, village 9 km southeast of Lahirā (29°-56'N, 75°-48'E), in Saṅgrūr district of the Punjab, was visited by Gurū Tegh Bahādur, who halted briefly on a sandy mound, about 400 metres west of the village. An old farmer, Aṛak by name, served him, and received instruction from him. Bhāi Aṛak constructed a simple memorial at the mound in honour of the Gurū. His descendants continued to manage it until 1883 when Bhāi Mall Singh, a *mahant* of Dhantān, constructed the square domed Mañjī Sāhib which still stands. This is the seat of the holy Gurū Granth Sāhib. A large marble-floored hall, with a square sanctum, completed in 1980, caters for larger gatherings. Gurdwārā Srī Gurū Tegh Bahādur Sāhib now attracts on special occasions. Within the Gurdwārā compound has been built the *samādh* of Bābā Aṛak. A *mahant* claiming descent from Bābā Aṛak manages the Gurdwārā.

M.G.S.

LEIGH, WILLIAM, an Irish adventurer, who while serving with the 19th Light Dragoons in Bombay, shot down, in 1803, his captain and fled his unit. He travelled in the remote parts of Sindh and Afghanistan. In Khorāsān he embraced Islam and adopted the name of Muhammad Khān. He came to Lahore in 1825, and, in an interview with Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, stated that he knew the art of cartography. He showed him maps of Kābul, Kandahār, Sindh and Peshāwar. The Mahārājā gave him appointment and attached him to General Ventura. There is no mention of him in the Sikh records after 1830.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grey, C., *European Adventurers of Northern India*. Lahore, 1929

G.I.S.

LITTAR, village in Ludhiāṇā district, 8 km northeast of Rāikoṭ (30°-39'N, 75°-37'E), has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Mañjī Sāhib Chhevīn Pātshāhī. The Gurdwārā was established in memory of Gurū Hargobind, who is said to have stayed here briefly under a *karīr* tree during his sojourn in the Mālvā area in 1631-32. For this reason it is also known locally as Gurdwārā Karīr Sāhib. It was served by a line of Udāsī priests from among whom Sant Naraiṇ Dās is still remembered with respect. The shrine is now managed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee. The present building is a flat-roofed rectangular hall with a verandah on three sides constructed in 1972.

M.G.S.

LITTLER, SIR JOHN HUNTER (1783-1856), garrison commander at Fīrozpur, the concentration point of British forward movement preparatory to the first Anglo-Sikh war, was born on 6 January 1783 at Tarvin, Cheshire, England. He joined the 10th Bengal Native Infantry in August 1800 and served in the campaigns under Lord Lake in 1804-05, and at the reduction of Java in 1811. In 1841, he was promoted major-general. At the outbreak of the first Anglo-Sikh war in 1845 he was in command of the Fīrozpur division. He had 7,500 troops and 35 guns at Fīrozpur, when, in December 1845, two divisions of the Sikh army under Tej Singh laid siege to it. Although Fīrozpur lay isolated and vulnerable, the siege was not pressed with any seriousness. The Sikh commanders having encircled it in a bold sweeping move made no attempt to capture it, with the result that, after the battle of Mudkī (18 December 1845), Littler was able to move out with all

his men and guns and, three days later, effecting junction with the main British army under Lord Gough, his troops took part in the battle of Ferozeshāh (21 December 1845).

After the first Anglo-Sikh war, Littler was put in command of the occupation troops at Lahore. He opposed evacuation of Lahore as the date stipulated in the Agreement of 11 March 1846 for the withdrawal of British troops drew close. He wrote on 31 August to Lord Hardinge putting forth the view that the British occupation force was needed for public safety. He made out the point that the Sikh Darbār was incapable of maintaining its integrity without British support. A ruse was played on the Darbār. Littler threw out a hint to the Darbār that the troops would leave soon, and a few regiments were kept ready for a fictitious move across the Sutlej to Firozpur. It was then given out that Wazīr Lāl Singh and other chiefs had solicited the prolongation of occupation to support the government.

Sir John Littler left the Punjab in January 1848 to become the military member of the Governor-General's council and Major-General Whish replaced him at Lahore. He returned home with the rank of lieutenant-general in 1851. He died on 18 February 1856.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Gupta, Hari Ram, *Panjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*. Chandigarh, 1956
2. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968

B.J.H.

LOBH, meaning greed, avarice, covetousness or cupidity arising out of the acquisitive instinct of man, has been denounced in almost every ethical system. Sikhism treats it as one of the Five Evils that hinder man's spiritual progress as well as his moral growth. Personifying *lobh* in one of his hymns, thus does Gurū Arjan address him: "O *lobh*, you have lured the best of men who gambol about

under your sway. Their minds waver and run in all directions. You have respect neither for friend nor for one worthy of adoration, neither for father, mother or kindred. You make one do what one must not do ..." (GG, 1358). *Lobh* is indeed a variant of *kām*. While the latter means desire in general or erotic desire in particular, the former implies inordinate desire to possess worldly goods, more often than not at others' cost. It may take one of the two forms. A *lobhī* or greedy person may either desire to grab and enjoy or he may grab and accumulate, becoming either a profligate or a miser. In both cases, as Gurū Arjan says, "pelf becomes the breath of life for the greedy" (GG, 914). Greed leads to such vices as mendacity, exploitation and abuse of power. It destroys stability and tranquillity of the mind. To quote Gurū Nānak, "The greedy mind is never still and wanders in all four directions" (GG, 876). "It stays not with the compassionate Lord" (GG, 359).

Antidote to *lobh* is contentment (*sabr*, *santokh*) and not absolute renunciation. "Happiness lies in contentment," declares Gurū Arjan. "Worthless are the dominions if they bring not fulfilment" (GG, 745). The Gurū recommends *grihastha* or normal life of a householder, and does not totally discard worldly possessions; what is disapproved is attachment to them and hankering after them. "What we eat and drink is sacred," says Gurū Nānak, "for that is God's own gift" (GG, 472). But these "riches cannot be accumulated without sin," and, what is more, "these accompany not man in death" (GG, 417). Gurū Amar Dās, Nānak III, warns: "Do not be led astray by *māyā*... Know that your millions shall not keep you company," (GG, 1087). On the other hand, as says Gurū Nānak, "Contentment is the quality of the angels."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Śabadarth Sṛī Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Amritsar, 1964

2. Sher Singh, *The Philosophy of Sikhism*. Lahore, 1944
 3. Avtar Singh, *The Ethics of the Sikhs*. Patiala, 1970
 4. Nripinder Singh, *The Sikh Moral Tradition*. Delhi, 1990
- L.M.J.

LOHĀRĪPĀ, a Gorakhpanthī *yogī*, whose name occurs in Gurū Nānak's *Sidh Gosṭi* in the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The *Sidh Gosṭi* is a versified account of the Gurū's discourse with a group of Nātha ascetics. Among them is mentioned Lohārīpā which is taken to be the Punjabi form of Luipā, Tibetan name for Matsyendranāth who flourished in the 10th century AD. Lohārīpā in Gurū Nānak's *Sidh Gosṭi* may be the name given a contemporary Nātha *yogī*. In the verses in the text, he says that the *yogīs* live in the woods away from the world, eat roots and fruit and bathe at the pilgrim centres, thus attaining peace and tranquillity. Gurū Nānak said that without cherishing the Lord's Name, the mind will not be stilled. Whether in the family or outside, one should not even for a wink be oblivious of Him.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bhallā, Sarūp Dās, *Mahimā Prakāsh*. Patiala, 1971
2. Bhārati, Dharam Vir, *Siddha Sāhitya*. Allahabad, 1968
3. Dwivedi, Hazārī Prasad, *Nāth Sampradāya*. Varanasi, 1966
4. Jodh Singh, *The Religious Philosophy of Guru Nanak*. Varanasi, 1983

Gn.S.

LOH SIMBLĪ, commonly called NASIMBLĪ, is an old village in Paṭiālā district, about 5 km southwest of Ambālā city (30°-23'N, 76°-47'E). It has a historical shrine, Gurdwārā Mañjī Sāhib Pātshāhī X, dedicated to Gurū Gobind Singh who, according to local tradition, visited the site during his stay at Lakhnaur in 1670. The Gurdwārā is situated inside the village. The present double-storeyed building, constructed in 1952, comprises a square sanctum within a rectangular pavilion on the

ground floor and a hall on the first floor. Above the hall and over the sanctum is a domed square pavilion. 'The Gurdwārā is administered by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbāndhak Committee through a local committee. A three-day festival is held annually to mark the birth anniversary of Gurū Har Rāi which falls during January-February.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twarīkh Gurū Khālsā* [Reprint]. Patiala, 1970

M.G.S.

LOPON, village 25 km southeast of Mogā (30°-48'N, 75°-10'E) in Farīdkoṭ district, was visited by Gurū Hargobind during one of his tours in these parts. Gurdwārā Gurū Sar on the southern outskirts of the village commemorates the event. Constructed by Giāni Indar Singh of Bhiṇḍrān in 1960, the present building is a spacious rectangular hall, at the far end of which is the domed sanctum. The Gurdwārā is managed by a manager-cum-*granthī* appointed by the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and assisted by a committee of the local *saṅgat*. Devotees assemble in large numbers on *amāvasyā* (the last day of the dark half of the month) to offer obeisance at the Gurdwārā and to have a dip in the *sarovar*. An annual fair is held from 1 to 3 August, now corresponding to 17 to 19 Sāvan, to celebrate the anniversary of Gurū Hargobind's visit to Lopoṅ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Giān Singh, Giāni, *Twarīkh Gurduārīān*. Amritsar, n.d.
2. Narotam, Tārā Singh, *Srī Guru Tīrath Saṅgrahi*. Kankhal, 1975

M.G.S.

LUDHIĀNĀ (30°-54'N, 75°-52'E), one of the major cities in the Punjab, claims a historical

shrine, Gurdwārā Gaū Ghāṭ Pātshāhī I, situated on the bank of the stream Buḍḍhā Nālā. According to local tradition, Gurū Nānak visited the site in the course of his travels during the early sixteenth century. The local chief, Nawāb Jalāl ud-Dīn Lodhī, living in the fort near by, came to pay obeisance and besought the Gurū to save the town from erosion by the River Sutlej. Gurū Nānak told him to be sympathetic and just towards his subjects and to leave the rest to God. Only a platform called Tharā Sāhib existed here to commemorate the Gurū's visit until a proper building was constructed in 1972-73. The present building is a small rectangular hall in front of a flat-roofed sanctum where two volumes of the Gurū Granth Sāhib are placed side by side. A *sarovar* has since been added by diverting the Buḍḍhā Nālā and reclaiming part of what used to be its bed once upon a time. The Gurdwārā is affiliated to the Shiromaṇī Gurdwārā Parbandhak Committee and is managed by a local committee.

M.G.S.

LUDHIĀNĀ POLITICAL AGENCY, renamed North-West Frontier Agency in 1835, was established in 1810 as the main official channel of Anglo-Sikh political and diplomatic communications. When, in February 1809, Lt-Col David Ochterlony established a British military post at Ludhiānā during Charles Metcalfe's negotiations with Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, the town belonged to Rājā Bhāg Singh of Jīnd. Ranjīt Singh had seized Ludhiānā from the ruling Muhammadan family during his Mālva campaign of 1807 and bestowed it on Bhāg Singh. From April 1809 the Ludhiānā military post served as a link with the Sikh government at Lahore, and Bhāg Singh was allowed a compensation of Rs 500 per month for the temporary occupation of his territory. As commander of the post and performing both military and political functions, Ochterlony

realized the strategic importance of Ludhiānā, and he recommended to his government its retention on a permanent basis.

In May 1809, the British decided to withdraw their military detachments from Ludhiānā on moral as well as on political grounds. Lord Minto had given a personal assurance to Ranjīt Singh that the treaty of friendship and alliance between the Sikhs and the British had rendered the stationing of British troops on the Sutlej frontier unnecessary. Yet the post continued, mainly because of the strong pleadings of Ochterlony, Metcalfe and Seton, who maintained that its retention was essential for the security of British interests. But Lord Minto kept his word and the military post was withdrawn in April 1810, and Ludhiānā was converted into a political agency. Lt-Col Ochterlony was appointed agent to the Governor-General at Ludhiānā, and stayed at the post until 1815. He had three assistants, Birch, Ross and Murray, to deal with the affairs of the protected Sikh chiefs and hill states between the Sutlej and the Yamunā. In 1815, the agent's office was shifted to Karnāl which was considered more central to the area the agency looked after. In 1822, it was moved to Ambālā. Ludhiānā was reduced to a sub-agency to deal with only the Lahore Darbār.

Lieut Murray held charge of Ludhiānā sub-agency as political agent till 1823, when Claude Wade succeeded him. In his dealings with the Lahore Darbār, Wade discovered certain anomalies in the jurisdiction, function and authority of Ludhiānā sub-agency. It was directly under the control of the Delhi Residency, but had to take orders from the political agent at Ambālā on many a matter, especially in relation to the Sikhs. Moreover, the Mahārājā's government suggested that, as Ludhiānā was nearer Lahore, it was a more convenient channel of intercourse between the two governments. The point was also

stressed that, since Ambālā was concerned with safeguarding the interests of the protected states, Lahore government's territorial disputes with them could not with propriety be entrusted to it. In 1827, while Ambālā was given full jurisdiction over protected cis-Sutlej states, Ludhiānā was given full authority not only to deal with the disputed cis-Sutlej territorial possessions of the Lahore government, but also to conduct all political and diplomatic relations with it. In 1832, Ludhiānā regained the status of political agency, and Wade was authorized, as political agent, to deal with all British political affairs in relation to the Sikh Darbār, and to territories beyond the Sutlej and the Indus. Three years later, the designation of the Ludhiānā Political Agency was changed to North-West Frontier Agency.

The political officers who held charge of the agency for over three and a half decades (1810-1845) were Ochterlony, Murray, Wade, Clerk, Richmond and Broadfoot. The sub-agencies at Ambālā, Fīrozpur, Kaithal, Sabāthū and Nāhan were served by men like Cunningham, Nicholson, Henry Lawrence, Mackeson, Mills, Malville and Abbott.

The Sikh government at Lahore did not have a counterpart of the Ludhiānā political agency. Its diplomatic representation was through its *vakīls* or envoys stationed at Ludhiānā (Rāi Kishan Chand and two subordinate *vakīls*, Rāi Govind Jas and Faqīr Shāh Dīn), at Fīrozpur Rāi Rām Dayāl, at Ambālā and at Delhi Rāi Anand Singh.

While the Ludhiānā political agency played an important role in the evolution of Anglo-Sikh diplomatic relations, the vast mass of its records of transactions are, in spite of their bias and inaccuracies, our primary source of information on the political history of the Sikhs in the first half of the nineteenth century. These records were used by Murray,

Wade, Prinsep, Mac Gregor, Edwardes, Cunningham and others in writing their books on Sikh history. The records of the Ludhiānā agency are especially full and comprehensive. Of particular interest are Lake's transactions in the cis-Sutlej region (1805-1806) in the wake of Holkar's arrival in the Punjab, Minto-Ranjīt Singh correspondence relating to the Metcalfe mission (1808-1809), and the despatches of Edmonstone, Ochterlony, Seton and Carey. Later Ludhiānā agency records contain Anglo-Sikh transactions from 1810-1845. They comprise documents on the Indus navigation scheme, the claims of the Sikh government in respect of 47 cis-Sutlej territories, Anglo-Sikh Afghān affairs, and the exchange of political and complimentary missions between the Sikhs and the British government. The transactions from 1834 onwards contain despatches of the North-West Frontier Agency and the correspondence of Wade, Clerk, Richmond and Broadfoot. Documents abound on Burnes' mission to Kābul (1837-1838), Macnaghten's mission to Lahore (1838) and the Tripartite treaty, Sikhs' role in the first Afghān war, and British policy towards the State of Lahore till the beginning of hostilities in December 1845. Another interesting category of documents pertains to periodical reports furnished by the British newswriters from places such as Multān, Peshāwar, Lahore and Kābul.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *Anglo-Sikh Relations*. Hoshiarpur, 1968
2. Bal, S.S., *British Policy Towards the Panjab 1844-49*. Calcutta, 1971
3. Bhagat Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His Times*. Delhi, 1990

B.J.H.